Middle Kingdom Studies 2

The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)

vol. II

edited by

Gianluca Miniaci

Wolfram Grajetzki

MKS

GHP

The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)

Contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources

Volume II

Edited by

Gianluca Miniaci, Wolfram Grajetzki

Middle Kingdom Studies 2

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Front cover: Model of a scribe from shaft 16L25/1C (2710/144) at Deir el-Bersheh, compare colour plate XIII

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In the bloom

Middle Kingdom Studies

Series

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Introduction

This is the second volume for the World of Middle Kingdom Egypt, and at the same time the second volume of the new series Middle Kingdom Studies. Although just started, the series has already established its place inside the Egyptological literature with the interest shown by colleagues. For this year another three volumes series have been planned for the MKS: *Birth tusks: the armoury of health in context – Egypt 1800 BC*, by Stephen Quirke; *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art. Proceedings of the MeKeTRE Study Day held at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (3rd May 2013)*, edited by Lubica Hudáková, Peter Jánosi, and Andrea Kahlbacher; *Dossiers of Ancient Egyptian Women. The Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period,* by Danijela Stefanović. The aim of MKS for next future is also to attract young scholars with new ideas and innovative researches, to widen the borders of Egyptology into adjacent geografic areas, and to bring Egyptology inside the different research environments of history, archaeometry, anthropology, and sociology.

The current volume contiues the scope and method of the first one, containing a selection of contributions from established scholars on variety of topics, ranging in date from the beginning of the Middle Kingdom to the early New Kingdom. The cardinal focus of this volume is on the archaeology including objects from museum collections or from so far unpublished excavations. Other contributions relate to written sources, religion, and contacts between Egypt and the neighbouring regions.

Anna Consonni reports on an early Middle Kingdom tomb containing several burials of different periods recently discovered found under the temple of Amenhotep II at western Thebes. The tomb was sealed by the layer of consctruction of the temple of Amenhotep II. The tomb architecture and equipment appear comparatively modest, but some women placed here were adorned with costly jewellery providing again evidence for the wide spread of wealth in the Middle Kingdom.

Marleen De Meyer presents the contents and architecture of three Middle Kingdom burials excavated at Deir el-Bersheh. The burial chambers were found heavily looted, but an accurate archaeological documentation has allowed the partial reconstruction of their original contents. The burials were equipped with decorated coffins and wooden models. Some fragments belong to a wooden sun boat model, a rather rare object type among Middle Kingdom models. Fragments of a face might belong to an anthropoid wooden coffin. Remains of inscribed coffins demonstrated that they were decorated with Coffin (or Pyramid) Texts.

Ingrid Melandri examines the burials for royal women in the Twelfth Dynasty. She presents the evidence for each tomb, identifying two types of burials. The 'niche'-type, featured by niches along a corridor, is best attested for king's daughters. To this type belong eight burials found in a gallery next to the pyramid of Senusret III. The 'male' type, which basically copied royal architecture, is best attested in the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Dahshur, but also around the pyramid of Senusret III at Dahshur.

John Coleman Darnell and Colleen Manassa Darnell give a preliminary report on fieldwork carried out in the area of Umm Mawagir, Kharga Oasis. The exact nature of the Umm Mawagir settlement is not yet certain, but the remains provide evidence for bread making and intensive activity within the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. Substantial remains of buildings were excavated. The site provides further evidence of the extent to which the Kharga Oasis was integrated within the Egyptian economy. The pottery found there was locally produced, alongside clear evidence for Nubian pottery remains.

William Vivian Davies presents the unpublished tomb no. 73 at Elkab. Although only small parts of the inscriptions framing the entrance of the tomb chapel are preserved today, the author was able to show that it belonged the local governor Sobkenakht I, who lived during the Second Intermediate Period. Thus, the tomb provides further evidence for the power of the local governors at Elkab, in a period where the evidence for monumental tomb architecture is rare.

Marilina Betrò analyses the rare case of single window found in T-shaped tombs discovered by the University of Pisa excavations at Dra Abu el-Naga MIDAN.05 (Theban necropolis). The paper suggests that new models of funerary architecture generated in the New Kingdom must be rooted in the previous traditions of the Middle Kingdom, possibly also related to the solar cult.

Wolfram Grajetzki and Gianluca Miniaci provide the first edition of a stela of the 'treasurer' Senebseumai, a well known official of the Thirteenth Dynasty, known from several stelae and statues. This piece is an important addition to the other known monuments of this important official who was certainly one of the most powerful officials of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Ashraf Senussi and Said Abd Alhafeez Abd Allah Kheder publish two relief decorated blocks found during 1970s excavations at Hawara. The blocks date most likely to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and provide new prosopographical and new art historical data for the cemeteries around one of the royal pyramids at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Stephen Quirke considers a range of scoops and shells especially attested in late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period context. Evidently, they are related to the cosmetic equipment found in several burials of the time. However, stelae of the late Middle Kingdom often include depictions of the 'seven sacred oils', suggesting that these scoops and shells might be also relate to burial rituals of the time.

Gloria Rosati looks at a group of wooden stelae mainly from one Theban tomb complex whose burials mostly date to the end of the Second Intermediate Period and early New Kindgom. The stelae are covered with plaster and then painted. They show always a single main person standing, with a short text dedicated to Sokar. Thanks to the philological and epigraphic analysis carried out by the author, these stela can now be firmly assigned to the early Middle Kingdom. A re-evaluation of the context of the Tomb C 37 carried out by Gianluca Miniaci, as an archaeological appendix to the article, helps in assessing the dating for this category of objects.

Julien Siesse publishes a scarab belonging to the king's wife Tjan, wife of the king Khaneferra Sobekhotep (IV). He also takes the opportunity to provide a list of all Thirteenth Dynasty queens. They are not well attested, and often only from scarabs, that do not provide further evidence for their husbands.

Fred Vink explores one of the aspects of the magical wands, a category of objects widespread during the Middle Kingdom. He closely investigates the framing lines which encircle the figures carved on these objects, suggesting for these borders a deeper symbolic meaning.

Paul Whelan presents two group of memorial monuments, most of them found at Abydos. First group is featured by the depictions of mummiform figures in relief. The second group is dominated by a carved and pierced-work *ankh*-sign, as central motif of the decoration. The stelae all date to the late Middle Kingdom, from Senusret III onwards. The author relates the pierced-worked *ankh*-signs to Coffin Text spell 788 that starts with the phrase 'opening of the sight'. Furthermore, the mummiform shape of the people represented on these stelae points directly to the underworld god Osiris, who himself is shown as mummy. Interestingly, the mummyform figures on stelae were copied in the Ramesside period. Such a practice might be related to the increased building activity at Abydos during the Ramesside Period, when some of the Middle Kingdom stelae of similar type must have been found.

Pascal Vernus analyses the passages on the sandal maker in the 'Teaching of Cheti'. There, the sandal maker is described as somebody living on corpses and biting leather. The latter motif is also known from depictions in tomb scenes and may even beatteste in the burial of a woman who might have been a sandal maker.

Nathalie Favry looks are the transmission of titles in the Middle Kingdom. Against expectations, she shows that father to son succession was not a very common practise. It appears more frequent only when a family was well established in a region or inside an institution. The results raise further questions about social mobility in the Middle Kingdom and apprenticeship in Ancient Egypt in sociert across the periods.

Mohamed Gamal Rashed discusses the hieroglyphic sign of egg and provides an explanation why it is used in the spelling of the goddess Isis. He concludes that the usage is related to the mythical birth of Horus as expressed in Coffin Text spell 148.

Karin Kopetzky reviews the evidence for the local mayor at Byblos, their dating and their relationship to Egypt. Unlike many earlier approaches, the author considers the full range of datable evidence, including the material culture of objects related to certain mayors and their tombs. The dating of pottery also plays an important part in her article. She proposes two scenarios for the succession of the Byblos rulers, linking them with the well established stratigraphy at Tell el-Dab'a.

Acknowledgments are due to many people who helped us to bring this volume into existence. First of all we are grateful to all contributors, who made this volume an important scholarly work for a period that is still too little studied in the stream of current researches. Sincere thanks go also to those who supported of the whole process of editing of the volume: Christiane Müller-Hazenbos, Stephen Quirke, Elena Tiribilli, Cristina Alù, Anna Giulia De Marco, Mattia Mancini, Julie Santoro. Our special thanks go to Paul Whelan for all the professional help he provided us any time we called for his assistance.

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List of Abbreviations

Ä&L = Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete (Vienna)
ÄA = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden)
AAeS = Aula Aegyptiaca Studia (Barcelona)
ÄAT = Ägypten und Altes Testament. Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments (Bamburg/Wiesbaden)
AAWLM = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- und Socialwissenschaftlichen Klasse (Wiesbaden)
Abh.K.M. = Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wiesbaden)
ABS = American Behavioral Scientist (New York)
ACE Reports = Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports (Sidney/Warminster/Oxford)
Achet = Achet Schriften zur Ägyptologie (Berlin)
ADAIK = Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK). Ägyptologische Reihe (Glückstadt/Mainz/Berlin)
ADOG = Ausgrabungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ÄDS = Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz (Basel)
AeDS = Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz (Mainz)
AEG = Aegyptus: Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia (Milan)
AEg = Archaeopress Egyptology (Oxford)
Aegyptus = Aegyptus: Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia (Milan)
AERAGRAM = Ancient Egypt Research Associates newsletter (Brighton)
ÄF = Ägyptologische Forschungen (Glückstadt/Hamburg/New York)
AfO = Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin/Graz/Vienna)
ÄgFo = Ägyptologische Forschungen (Glückstadt/Hamburg/New York)
AH = Aegyptiaca Helvetica (Geneva/Basel)
AHAW =Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse (Heidelberg)
AHL = Archaeology & History in Lebanon (Beirut)
AJA = American Journal of Archaeology (Baltimore/New York/Concord/New Haven)
AnAe = Analecta Aegyptiaca (Copenhagen)
AnnLex = D. Meeks, Annee lexicographique, Egypte ancienne. Vols. I-III, 1980-1982 (Paris)
AnOr = Analecta Orientalia (Roma)
Antike Welt = Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte (Zürich/Mainz)
AO = Der Alte Orient (Leipzig)
AOASH = Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
AOAT = Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Kevelaer/Neukirchen/Vluyn/Münster)
AÖAW = Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Vienna)
AOB = Acta Orientalia Belgica (Ath/Brussels)
ÄOPHAMP = Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptisches Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin (Berlin)
AOS = American Oriental Series (New Haven)
APAW = Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin)
APEF = Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund (Leeds, London)
ARC = Archaeological Review from Cambridge (Cambridge)
Archéo-Nil = Archéo-Nil: Bulletin de la société pour l›étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil (Paris)
ÄS = Agyptologische Sammlung
AS = Archäologische Sammlung
ASAE = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (SAE) (Cairo)
ASAW = Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl. (Berlin) [before 1919: ASGW]
ASCEVOA MS = Archeologia e storia della civiltà egiziana e del Vicino Oriente antico. Materiali e studi (Imola)
ASE = Archaeological Survey of Egypt (London)
ASE Memoirs = Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoirs (London)
ASOR = Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research (South Hadley/New Haven)
ÄUAT = Ägypten und Altes Testaments: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alen Testaments (Bamburg/Wiesbaden)
AUU HR = Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum (Uppsala)
AV = AVDAIK: Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo (Berlin / Mainz am Rhein)

AVDAIK = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo (Berlin/Mainz am Rhein)
B. TAVO = Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Beihefte Reihe B (Wiesbaden)
BAAL Hors-Série = Bulletin d›archéologie et d›architecture libanaises Hors-Série (Beirut)
BAB = Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving te's-Gravenhage (Leiden)
BACE = Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology (North Ryde)
BAe = Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca (Brussels)
BAEE = Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología (Madrid)
BAH = Bibliothèque archéologique et historique (Paris)
BAR IS = British Archaeological Reports International Series (Oxford)
BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Boston)
BD = T.G. Allen, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (Chicago, 1960)
BdE = Bibliothèque d'Étude, IFAO (Cairo)
BE = Bibliothèque égyptologique (Paris)
BEHE SSR = Bibliothèque de l›École des hautes études. Section des sciences religieuses (Turnhout)
BEM = Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum (Cairo)
Berytus = Berytus: Archaeological Studies (Beirut)
BES = Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar (New York)
BEStud = Brown Egyptological Studies (Oxford/Providence)
BEVRMOL = Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden (Leiden)
BG = Bibliothèque générale (Cairo)
BGM = Beihefte der Göttinger Miszellen (Göttingen)
BIAA OP = Occasional publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (London)
BIE = Bulletin de l›Institute d›Égypt (Cairo)
BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) (Cairo)
BiMes = Bibliotheca Mesopotamica (Malibu)
BiOr = Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden)
BM = British Museum (London)
BM EA = Egyptian Antiquity in the British Museum (London)
BMA = The Brooklyn Museum Annual (New York)
BMB = Bulletin du Museé de Beyrouth (Beirut)
BMFA = Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston)
BMMA = Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) (New York)
BMPES = British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan (Leuven/Paris/Walpole)
BMRAH = Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Brussels)
BMRP = British Museum Research Publications (London)
BMSAES = British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan (London)
BÖAIK = Berichte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Kairo (Vienna)
BOREAS = Boreas: Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilisations (Uppsala)
BOS = Bonner orientalistische Studien (Bonn)
BS = Bollingen Series (Princeton)
BSAC = Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte (Cairo)
BSAE = British School of Archaeology in Egypt (London)
BSAE/ERA = British School of Archaeology in Egypt/Egyptian Research Account (London)
BSAK = Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte (Hamburg)
BSEG = Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève (Geneva)
BSFE = Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte (Cairo)
BSGE = Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Égypte (Cairo)
BzÄ = Beiträge zur Ägyptologie (Wien)
C = circa
CAA = Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum (Mainz)
CAAE = Cahiers de l'Association angevine d'égyptologie Isis (Angers)
CAJ = Cambridge Archaeological Journal (Cambridge)
CASAE = Cahiers supplémentaires des ASAE (Cairo)
CCE = Cahier de la céramique égyptienne (Cairo)
CCEM = Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean (Vienna)
CdE = Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles (Brussels)
CEA = Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne (Brussels)
CENIM = Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et méditerranéenne (Montpellier)
CG = CGC: Catalogue General du Musee du Caire (Cairo Museum)
CGC = Catalogue General du Musee du Caire (series, Cairo Museum)
CHANE = Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden)

Civilisations = Civilisations. Revue internationale d›anthropologie et de sciences humaines (Bruxelles)
CNIANES = Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies Publications (Copenhagen)
CRIPEL = Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille (Paris/Lille)
CSEG = Cahiers de la Société d›égyptologie (Genève)
CT = A. de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts. Vols. I-VII (Chicago, 1935-1961)
DAWW = Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wisssenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Wien)
DE = Discussions in Egyptology (Oxford)
Dendera = Le temple de Dendara. Vols. I-XI (Cairo,1934-2000). Vols. I-V: E. Chassinat; Vol. VI: E. Chassinat and F. Daumas; Vols. VII-IX: F. Daumas; Vols. VIII-IX: S. Cauville
DF = Damaszener Forschungen (Mainz am Rhein)
DFIFAO = Documents de Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo)
DGÖAW = Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)
Die Religionen der Menschheit = Die Religionen der Menschheit (Stuttgart)
DOPM = Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph (Oxford)
EA = Egyptian Archaeology (London)
EAO = Égypte, Afrique et Oriente (Paris)
ECIE = Excavations of the Czech Institute of Egyptology (Prague)
Edfu = Le Marquis de Rochemonteix, Le temple d'Edfou I, 1897; E. Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou II-XIV, 1918-1928; S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle, Le temple d'Edfou XV, 1985-1987 (Cairo)
EES ASE = EES Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Memoirs (London)
EES EM = EES Excavation Memoirs (London)
EES OP = EES Occasional Publications (London)
EgUit = Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden)
EI = Eretz Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies (Jerusalem)
EJÖAI = Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahresheften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes (Wien)
EM = in wheelan willems
EME = Études et Mémoires d'Égyptologie (Paris)
Encounters with Ancient Egypt = Encounters with Ancient Egypt (London)
ERA = Egyptian Research Account (London)
ErghÖJh = Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahresheften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien (Vienna)
ERNAS = European Review of Native American Studies (Wien/Budapest)
ESAP = Egyptian Studies Association Publication (Cairo)
Esna = S. Sauneron (ed.), Le temple d›Esna. Vols. I-V (Cairo, 1963-1975)
ET = Etudes et Travaux. Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne d'Académie polonaise des sciences (Warsaw)
EtU = Études Urbaines, IFAO (Cairo)
EtudAlex = Études Alexandrines, IFAO (Cairo)
EVO = Egitto e Vicino Oriente: Rivista della sezione orientalistica dell'Istituto di Storia Antica, Università degli Studi di Pisa (Pisa)
Expedition = Expedition: The Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)
ExSaq = J. E. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara 1905-1908. Vols. I-III (Cairo)
Faulkner = R.O. Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (Oxford, 1962)
FECT = R. Faulkner, The ancient Egyptian coffin texts: spells 1-1185 & indexes. Vols. I-III (Oxford, 2004)
FEPT = R. Faulkner, The ancient Egyptian pyramid texts (Oxford, 1969)
FFP = Fouilles Franco-Polonaises (Cairo)
FIFAO = Fouilles de l'Institute Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) du Caire. Rapports prélimimaires (Cairo)
FSN = F. Hintze, W.F. Reineke, Felsinschriften aus den sudanesischen Nubien (Berlin, 1961-1963)
Gardiner, Grammar = Sir A.H. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the study of Hieroglyphs, 3rd rev. ed. (London, 1969)
Genava = Genava. Bulletin du musée de Genève. Musée d'art et d'historie (Genève)
GHPE = Golden House Publications Egyptology (London)
GM = Göttinger Miszellen (Göttingen)
GMas = Giza Mastabas (Boston)
GOF = Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe, Ägypten (Wiesbaden)
Gr.Md. = Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter (Berlin)
HÄB = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim)
HÄS = Hamburger Ägyptologische Studien (Hamburg)
HD = Habelts Dissertationsdrucke (Bonn)
HdO = Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Abt. Bd. I: Ägyptologie (Leiden)
HPKSMB = Hieratische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin)
HSM = Harvard Semitic Monographs (Cambridge/Mass)
HSS = Harvard Semitic Studies (Cambridge/Mass)
Human Affairs = Human Affairs: Postdisciplinary Humanities & Social Sciences Quarterly (Bratislava)

IA = Imago Aegypti. Internationales Magazin für ägyptologische und koptologische Kunstforschung, Bildtheorie und Kulturwissenschaft (Gottingen)
IBAES = Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie (Berlin/London)
JAEI = Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections (Tucson)
JAMT = Journal of Archaeological Methods and Theory (New York)
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society (Baltimore/Boston/New Haven)
JAR = Journal of Archaeological Research (New York)
JARCE = Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston/Princeton/New York/Cairo)
JE = Journal d›Entrée (Cairo Museum)
JEA = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, EES (London)
JEgH = Journal of Egyptian History (Swansea)
JEOL = Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)
JHC =Journal of the History of Collections (Oxford)
JMA = Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology (Sheffield)
JMFA = Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)
JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)
JÖAI = Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien (Wien)
JSSEA = Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (Toronto)
KARNAK = Les Cahiers de Karnak. Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (Cairo)
KÄT = Kleine Ägyptische Texte, ed. W. Helck (Wiesbaden)
KAW = Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt (Mainz am Rhein)
Kêmi = Kêmi: Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptienne et coptes (Paris)
KhM = Kunsthistorisches Museum
KMT = KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt (San Francisco)
KSG = Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen (Wiesbaden)
КСИНА = Краткие сообщения Института народов Азии СССР (Москва)
LÄ= W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds.), Lexikon der Ägyptologie. Vols. I-VII (Wiesbaden, 1972-1975)
LÄS = LAeS: Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien (Glückstadt/Hamburg/New York)
LD = K.R. Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien. Vols. I-VI (Berlin, 1849-1859)
LDA = Les Dossiers d›Archeologie (Djion)
Lesko = H.L. Lesko, A Dictionary of Late Egyptian (Providence, 1990)
Lexica 1 = Hannig, R., Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit, II (Mainz am Rheim: KAW 112, 2006).
LGG = C. Leitz, Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen. Vols. I-VII (Leuven, 2002)
LingAeg - StudMon = Linguae Aegyptia - Studia monographica (Göttingen)
LingAeg = Lingua Aegyptia. Journal of Egyptian Language Studies (Göttingen)
M&G = Maß und Gewicht: Zeitschrift für Metrologie (Hamburg)
MAIBL = Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-letters. New Series (Paris)
MÄS = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien (Berlin/Munich/Mainz am Rhein)
MDAIK = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK) (Mainz/Cairo/Berlin/Wiesbaden)
MedKøb = Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen)
MEEF = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund (London)
MEES = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society (London)
Memnonia = Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde de Ramesseum (Cairo/Paris)
Memnonia CS = Memnonia Cahier supplémentaire (Cairo)
Menes = Menes (Wiesbaden)
MFA = Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston)
MIE = Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien/Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte/Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte, IFAO (Cairo)
MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) du Cairo (Berlin/Cairo)
MJbK = Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst (München)
MKS = Middle Kingdom Studies (London)
MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
MMA Papers = The Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers (New York)
MMAF = Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire (Paris)
MMH = Manchester Museum Handbooks (Manchester)
MMJ = Metropolitan Museum Journal (New York)
MonAeg = Monumenta Aegyptiaca (Brussels)
MOS = Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlung (Berlin)
MRAH Brussels Regina Elisabeth (Brussels)
MRE = Monographies Reine Élisabeth (Brussels/Turnhout)
MSAW = Münchner Studien zur Alten Welt (München)
Mus = Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales/Tijdschrift voor Orientalisme (Louvain)

MVÄG = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen-aegyptischen Gesellschaft (Berlin/Leipzig)
MVEOL = Mededelingen en Verhandelingen Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)
Nehet = Revue numérique d›Egyptologie (Paris)
NLH = New Literary History (Baltimore)
Nova StudAeg = Nova Studia Aegyptiaca (Barcelona)
ÖAI: Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts
OBO = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg/Göttingen)
OBOSA = Orbis biblicus et orientalis. Series Archaeologica (Freiburg)
Occasional Volume EEF = Occasional Volume of the Egyptologists' Electronic Forum (http://www.egyptologyforum.org/)
OCE = Oxfordshire communications in Egyptology (London)
OIMP = Oriental Institute Museum Publications (Chicago)
OIP = Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)
OIS = Oriental Institute Series (Chicago)
OLA = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Louvain)
OLP = Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica (Leuven)
OM = Orientalia Monspeliensia (Leiden/Monpellier)
OMRO = Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)
OPET
ORA = Orientalische Religionen in der Antike (Tübingen)
Orientalia = Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii instituti biblici, Nova Series (Rome)
OWH = Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte (Halle/Saale)
PALMA = Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, Egyptology (Turnhout)
PdÄ = Probleme der Ägyptologie (Leiden/Boston/Köln)
pEbers = G. Ebers, Papyrus Ebers: Die Maasse und das Kapitel über die Augenkrankheiten (Stuttgard, 1889)
Philippika = Philippika: Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden)
Phoenix = Phoenix: Bulletin van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)
PIA = Papers from the Institute of Archaeology (London)
PIAAS = Publications of the Institute for Asian and African Studies (Helsinki)
PIREI = Publications Interuniversitaires de Recherches Égyptologiques Informatisées (Utrecht/Paris)
PM = B. Porter, R. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. Vols. I-VIII (Oxford, 1927-)
PMB = Bulletin of the Palestine Museum (Jerusalem)
PMMA = Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Egyptian Expedition) (New York)
PPEF = Publications Palestine Exploration Fund (London)
PPYE = Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt (New Haven)
Progetti = Progetti. Documenti per l›archeologia egiziana (Pisa)
PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (London)
PTT = Private Tombs at Thebes (Oxford)
Publikation der Nubien-Expedition 1961-1963 = Publikation der Nubien-Expedition 1961-1963 (Berlin)
Pyr. = K. Sethe, Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte nach der Papierabdrüchen und Photographien des Berliner Museums. Vols. I-II (Leipzig, 1908-1910)
Pyr.§ = K. Sethe, Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1908-22)
QRS = Quaderni de La ricerca scientifica (Rome)
QuadAc = Quaderni di Acme, Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Università degli studi di Milano (Milan)
Radiocarbon = Radiocarbon. An international journal of radiocarbon and other isotope dating (Tucson)
RAMAGE = Revue d'archéologie moderne et d'archéologie générale (Paris)
Ranke, PN = H. Ranke, Die altägyptischen Personennamen. Vols. I-II (Glückstadt, 1935-1952)
RÄRG = Bonnet, H., Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin, 1952)
RB = Revue biblique (Paris)
RdE = Revue d'Égyptologie (Paris)
RevArch = Revue archéologique (Paris)
Revue du Louvre = La Revue des Musées de France. Revue du Louvre (Paris)
RIK = Rock Inscriptions from Kumma, see D.Dunham, J.M.A.Janssen, Second cataract forts I: Senna, Kumma (Boston, 1960)
RISE = R.I.S.E.: ricerche italiane e scavi in Egitto (Cairo)
RKÄ = Reihe klassische Ägyptologie (Bonn)
RSO = Rivista degli Studi Orientali (Rome)
S&N = Sudan&Nubia. Sudan Archaeology Research Society (London)
Saeculum = Saeculum: Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte (Freiburg)
SAGA = Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg)
SAHL = Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant (Cambridge, MA)
SAK = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur (Hamburg)
SAOC = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation (Chicago)

SASAE = Supplément aux ASAE (Cairo)
SAT = Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch (Wiesbaden)
SDAIK = Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (Wiesbaden)
SDAIK = Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (Wiesbaden) Serapis = Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology (Chicago)
SGKAO = Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients (Berlin)
SHEDET = Shedet journal (Al-Fayoum)
SHR = Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden)
SIE = Studies in Egyptology (London/New York)
SJE = The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications (Uppsala)
SO = Sources Orientales (Paris)
SÖAI = Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts (Vienna)
SÖAW = Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klassse (Vienna)
SOKAR = Fachzeitschrift für Geschichte und Archäologie Altägyptens (Berlin)
SPAW = Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil-hist. Klasse (Berlin)
SRaT = Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel (Dettelbach)
StOr = Studia Orientalia, of the Finnish Oriental Society (Helsinki)
StudAeg = Studia Aegyptiaca (Budapest/Rome)
Studi sull'Antico Egitto = Studi sull'Antico Egitto (Roma)
StudPohl = Studia Pohl (Rome)
Syria = Syria: Revue d›art orientale et d›archéologie (Paris)
Ta-mery = Ta-Mery: Jaarlijks magazine voor vrienden van het Oude Egypte (Oud-Beijerland)
TAVO = Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients (Tübingen)
Tb = E. Naville, Das aegyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. Bis XX. Dynastie. Vols. I-III (Berlin, 1886)
TbT = Totenbuchtexte (Basel)
TdE = Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt (Puerto de la Cruz, Tenerife)
Techné = Techné: Research in Philosophy and Technology (Charlottesville)
THEBEN = Theben (Mainz am Rhein)
TLA = Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html)
TOTEM = The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology (London, Ontario)
TPC = C. M. Firth, G. Gunn, Excavations at Saqqara. Teti pyramid cemeteries. Vols. I-II (Cairo, 1926)
TR = Temporary Registers of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
Transactions of the State Hermitage Museum = Transactions of the State Hermitage Museum (Saint Petersburg)
TT = Theban Tomb
TTS = Theban Tombs Series (London)
UC = Petrie Museum University College London Inventory Number
UCL = University College, London
UCLA = University College, Los Angeles
UGAÄ = Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens (Hildesheim/Leipzig/Berlin)
UMI = A dissertation present to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (New Haven)
UMM = University Museum monograph (Philadelphia)
Urk. = K.Sethe, H.W. Helck, H. Schäfer, H. Grapow, O.Firchow (eds.), Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums. Vols. I-VIII (Leipzig-Berlin, 1903-1957)
USE = Uppsala Studies in Egyptology (Uppsala)
UZK = Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit der Ägyptischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)
VA = Varia Aegyptiaca (San Antonio)
VAS = Varia Aegyptiaca Supplements (San Antonio)
V&MO = Vicino & Medio Oriente (Rome)
VESE = Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten (Leipzig)
VIAÄ = Veröffentlichungen des Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien (Wien)
ВІСНИК = Вісник Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка. Історія (Kiev)
VO = Vicino Oriente (Rome)
VOHD = Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland (Wiesbaden)
Wb = A. Erman, H. Grapow, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache. Vols. I-VI (Berlin-Leipzig, 1957)
WdO = Die Welt des Orient: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes (Göttingen/Wuppertal)
WorldArch = World Archaeology, University College (London)
WSA = Wahrnehmungen und Spuren Altägyptens. Kulturgeschichtliche Beiträge zur Ägyptologie (Würzburg)
WVDOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft (Leipzig/Berlin/Saarbrücken/Saarwellingen)
YES = Yale Egyptological Studies (New Haven)
Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie = Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie (Darmstadt)
ZÄS = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig/Berlin)

Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC) II,* MKS 2, London 2016, 1-11

Tombs in transition: MIDAN.05 and windows in the early Eighteenth Dynasty

Marilina Betrò

Abstract

Windows are a very rare element in Theban tombs, present only in the Eighteenth Dynasty, mainly in its early part. The University of Pisa excavations at Dra Abu el-Naga recently added three new examples of tombs with this feature: MIDAN.05, whose investigation has been completed in 2014, and two new tombs, T1 and T2, opening onto its forecourt, not yet excavated. The first phase of MIDAN.05, a T-shaped tomb with one single window, probably dates to the true beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when rishi-coffins were still in use. This paper suggests that the evolution of new models of funerary architecture in the New Kingdom must be slightly backdated to the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, before Hatshepsut. At the same time the importance of openings –both intercolumnia and windows– in saff*-tombs as well in the early Eighteenth Dynasty Theban funerary architecture stresses the vitality of a tradition well rooted in the Middle Kingdom, possibly related to the solar cult.*

The tomb MIDAN.05 was discovered in 2004 by the archaeological expedition of the University of Pisa at Dra Abu el-Naga (MIDAN, *Missione archeologica Italiana a Dra Abu el Naga*), and investigated since 2005.[1] The excavation, documentation and conservation work in the area, which had started in 2003 with Theban Tomb 14 –the Ramesside tomb of Huy, a priest attached to the cult of Amenhotep I–, revealed that MIDAN.05 was the oldest and largest of a cluster of rock-cut tombs arranged around its forecourt. With the only exception of TT 14, all these tombs were completely unknown and unrecorded: two of them, brought to light in 2010 and not yet investigated, had been hewn out of the northern side of the court and were probably contemporary with MIDAN.05;[2] on the southern side, Huy's TT 14 was cut into the rock (or maybe used a pre-existing tomb);[3] in the Third Intermediate Period a secondary tomb, 'E', was added, exploiting the still intact rock between MIDAN.05 and TT 14. A fifth tomb lies still buried under the modern stairway and path to TT 14[4] (Fig. 1).

MIDAN.05, datable to the very beginning of the New Kingdom, underwent multiple interventions over the years (and centuries), which modified the original project.[5] Its oldest design prefigured a T-shaped tomb, later expanded, originally made up by a portion of the present transverse hall, approximately corresponding to the length of the façade, and by a chapel –room 'd'– whose door is aligned with the main entrance of the tomb (Fig. 2). The chapel is almost entirely occupied by a rectangular shaft, dug into the rock ('f'), about 4.50 m deep, which houses at its bottom four funerary chambers.

A very important clue for dating the first stage of the tomb might be represented by some finds in the west funerary chamber of the shaft, room 'j'. This chamber, re-used during the Late Period, contained hundreds of fragments belonging to one or maybe two entirely destroyed *rishi*-coffins, lying next to the rock floor on the lower layer of the deposit filling the room.[6] They are in too poor a state of preservation to offer a precise clue for their dating and can only be "broadly dated between the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth dynasty",[7] but the almost total disappearance of *rishi* coffins after the reign of Thutmose I[8] provides

[1] Betrò, in Betrò, Del Vesco, Miniaci, *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu el-Naga*, 10; Betrò, in Betrò, Miniaci, Del Vesco, *EVO* 35, 2012, 21-7; Betrò, Miniaci, in Taylor, Vandenbeusch (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Coffins*.

[2] Betrò, Miniaci, Del Vesco, *EVO* 35, 37-8.

[3] Betrò in Betrò, Del Vesco, Miniaci, *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu el-Naga*, 82.

[4] Betrò, in Betrò, Miniaci, Del Vesco, *EVO* 35, 22-3.

[5] Betrò, Del Vesco, *EVO* 29, 8-9, fig. 2.

[6] Betrò, Miniaci, *EVO* 32, 9-20.

[7] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 76.

[8] *Op. cit*., 129. Although Miniaci says here that "the latest use of *rishi* coffins dates to somewhere between the reigns of Thutmosis I and Thutmosis III", the analysis of the only three examples datable after Thutmosis I induces him to specify, a few lines below, that "it is remarkable that all the *rishi* coffins attested during the phase of Tuthmosis III pose some chronological problems". In one case (Khay, cat. *r*T16MMA), Thutmose III "is only the *terminus ante quem*"; the second coffin

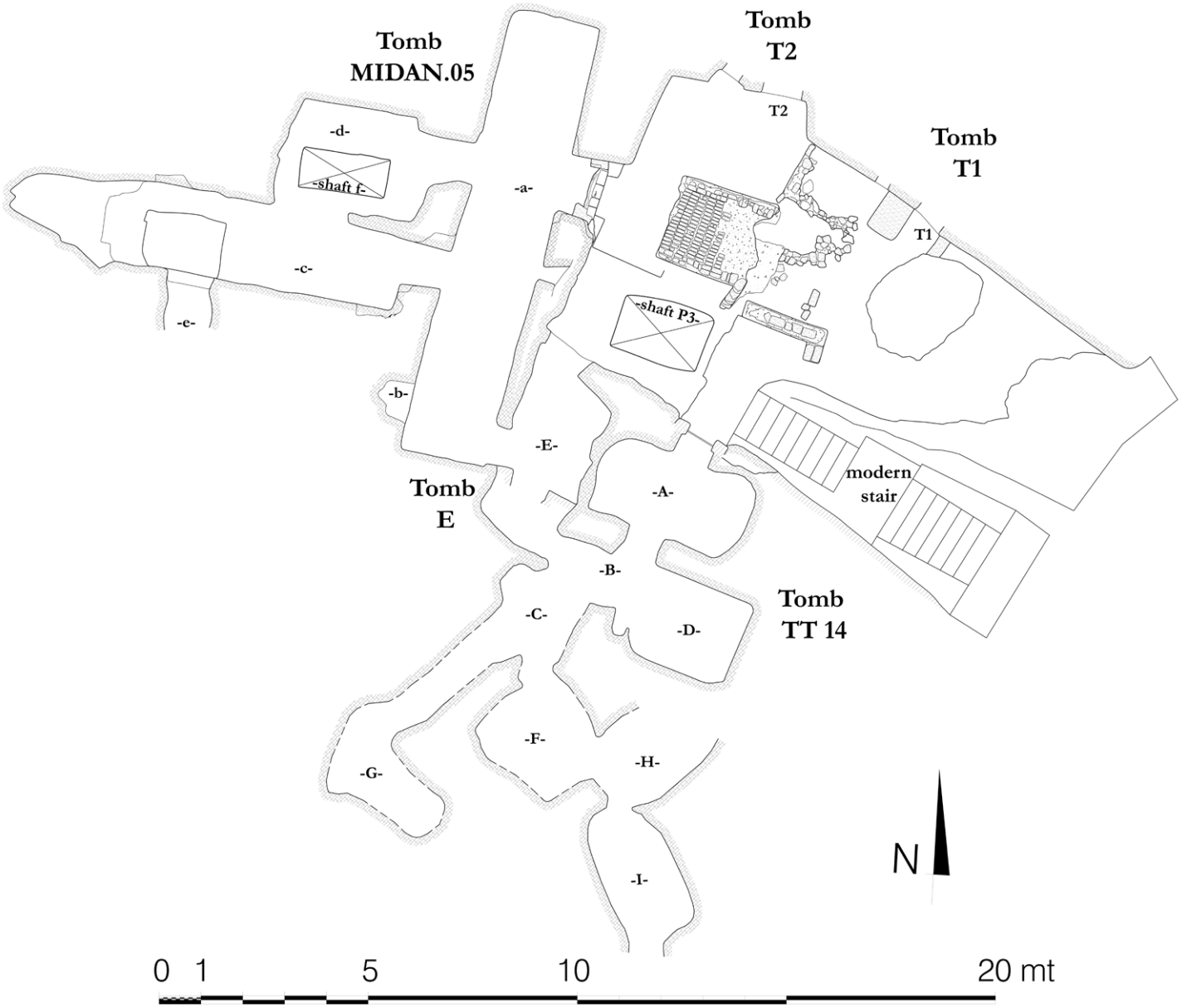

Fig 1 – Plan of the area with MIDAN.05 and the cluster of tombs around its forecourt (plan by P. Del Vesco, E. Taccola)
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a significant *terminus ante quem* for dating the first phase of the tomb.

A further peculiar feature of this tomb contributes, together with the *rishi* fragments, to define MIDAN.05 as an early T-shaped Theban tomb: the presence of a single window to the left of the door (Fig. 3). This architectural element is shared with the two yet unexcavated tombs (T1 and T2) discovered in 2010 on the northern side of its forecourt (Fig. 4).

The window of MIDAN.05 opens in the south wing of its façade at 112 cm from the door and 116 cm from the floor. It is 98 cm high, 60 cm wide and 49 cm deep. Its lower part was found blocked by three rows of mud-bricks accurately laid and joined by a whitish mortar (Fig. 5 a-b). Looking at the window from the inside, in the transverse hall, the mud-bricks can be seen to have been plastered with the same pinkish and very fine gypsum used as the base for the largely destroyed paintings. In places where the bricks are now missing, the pink mortar, still *in situ* in spite of the loss of its support, forms a kind of thin but hard screen (Fig. 6). These details suggest that the window, which was part of the original plan (first phase of the tomb), was closed by bricks in a second phase, and plastered and painted on the inside face. The type of bricks, mortar and plaster seems to be contemporary with the decoration of the hall, which can be dated, according to the few preserved scenes, to sometime before the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty,

(cat. *r*T01PH) comes from a disturbed context and has parallels with earlier *rishi* types, while the attribution of the third (cat. *r*T01Ry) to Sitre, nurse of Hatshepsut, "is nothing more than an engaging hypothesis".

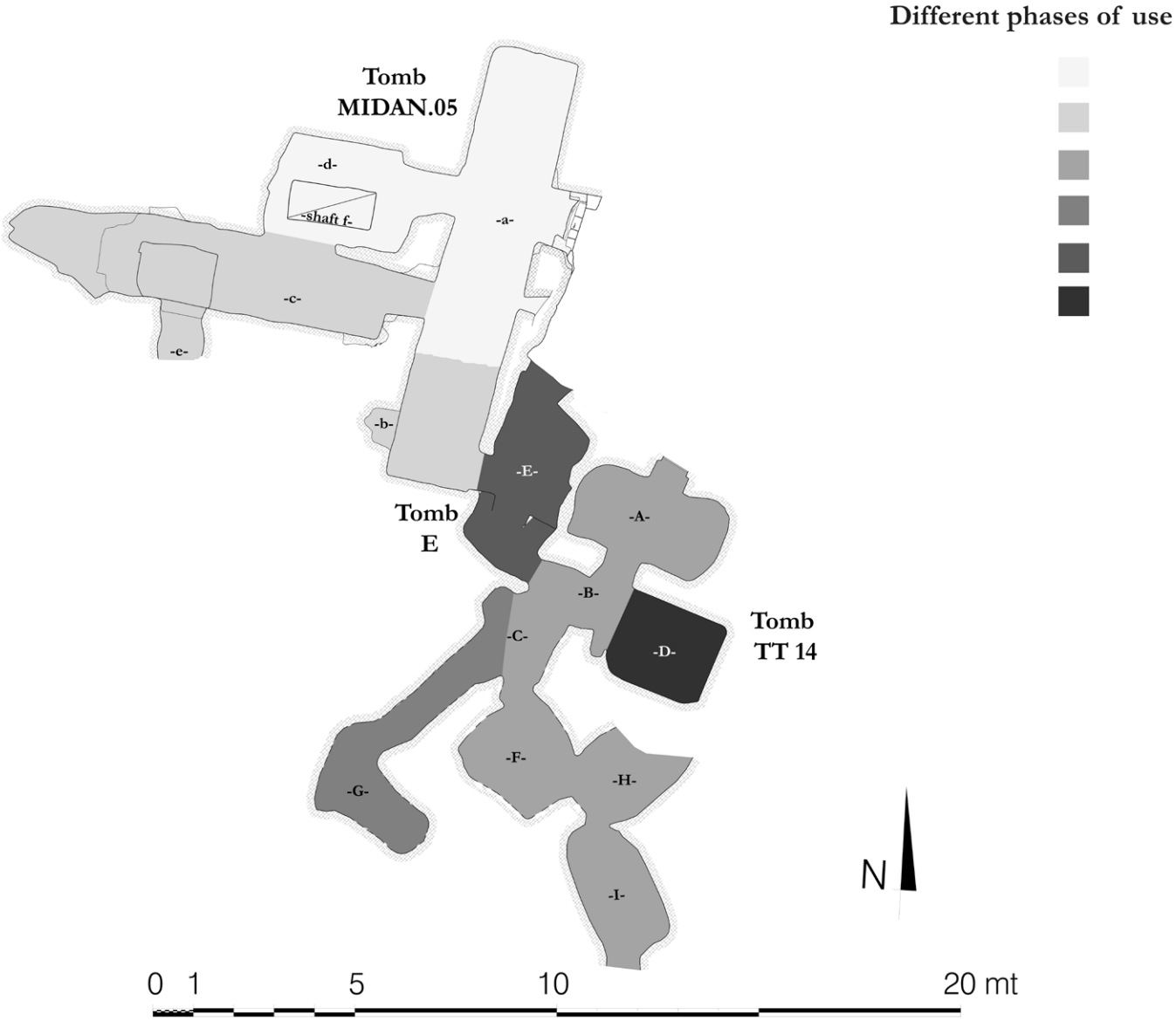

Fig 2 – Chronological sequence of architectural modification in MIDAN.05 and its neighbouring tombs, highlighted with different levels of grey (lighter = older; darker = earlier) (plan by P. Del Vesco, E. Taccola, adapted by G. Miniaci) © MIDAN – University of Pisa

from Hatshepsut-Thutmose III to Thutmose IV.[9] It must be concluded that the window represents an element older than the decoration and that its closure was functional to it and made just before.

At the moment, it is not possible to know whether the two windows in the nearby tombs T1 and T2 underwent the same modifications: they are completely filled by deposits of flash-floods and debris. Anyway, if they too were blocked by bricks, these are no more in place.

Windows are a rare element in Theban tombs, present only in the Eighteenth Dynasty, mainly concentrated in its early part (up to Hatshepsut) and from Amenhotep III to Ay.[10] Only sixteen tombs with windows are listed by Friederike Kampp among the many hundreds recorded in the Theban necropolis: nine of them are datable to the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, not later than Hatshepsut/Thutmose III (TT 81, –177–, TT 67, TT 71, TT 252, TT 397, TT 317, –141–, –216–) ; the remaining seven date from Amenhotep II to Ay (TT 93, –28–, TT 48, TT 192, –281–, –396–, TT 271). A further tomb belonging to the first part of the dynasty could be added to the group, but its typology is still dubious (Table 1).[11]

It should be noted that the above mentioned examples

[9] For a study of some of these scenes see Simini, *EVO* 35, 53-62; Marini, *EVO* 37, 89-100.

[10] Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole,* 70, table 51; Wasmuth, *Innovationen und Extravaganzen*, 16.

[11] Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 639, in contrast to Melanie Wasmuth, does not include in her list tomb –30–, which, being still partially buried, could be "ein kleines Portikusgrab mit 2 pfeilern oder eine Grabfassade mit zwei Fenstern zu beiden Seiten des Eingangs".

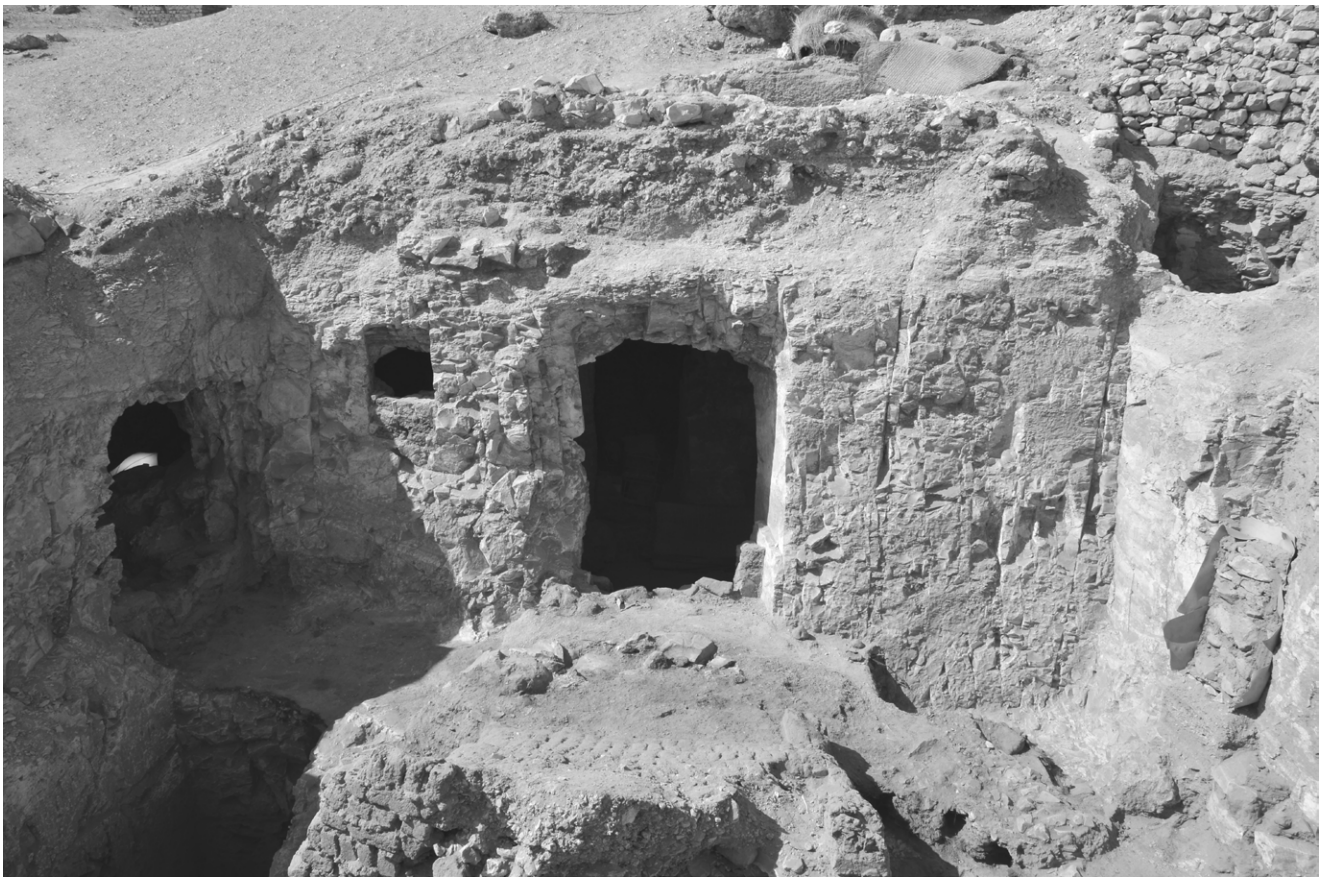

Fig. 3 – The façade of MIDAN.05 with its single window © MIDAN – University of Pisa

Fig. 4 – T2 and T1 with the combination ‘single window-door’ (from left to right), during the excavation of the forecourt. View from the South © MIDAN – University of Pisa

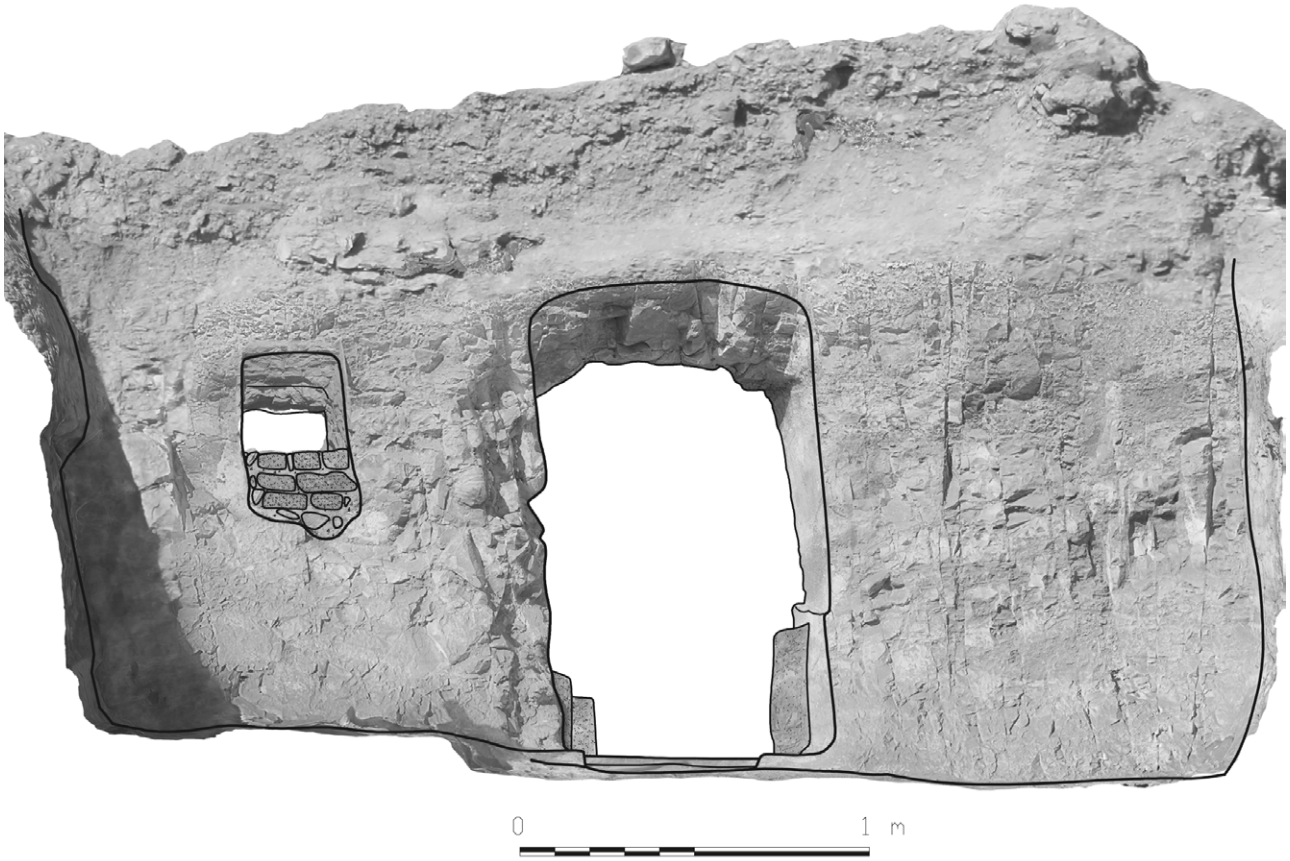

Fig. 5a – Orthorectified photo of the façade of MIDAN.05 overlapped with the line drawing of the window and its partial brick closure (by E. Taccola) © MIDAN – University of Pisa

concern mostly tombs with an even number of windows, symmetrically arranged. In three cases this cannot be stated beyond any doubt, because of the lack of detailed archaeological information: in TT 397 (= Kampp –87–) a rectangular breach in the extreme upper right of the façade is certainly to be interpreted as a window; a corresponding opening on the left side can be argued, but this was not seen by Kampp as the forecourt was completely buried under masses of rubble (Fig. 7a).[12] A similar situation can be found with tomb –216–, presenting to an observer only a small portion of its upper left façade above ground. Here Kampp could recognize an opening which she identified as "ein artifiziell angelegtes Fenster".[13] Whether a symmetrical window on the right side of the façade exists has yet to be established. Evidence of what seems to be a one-window T-shaped tomb is provided by TT 317: judging from the plan provided by Sakuji Yoshimura and Jiro Kondo,[14] the tomb certainly has a single opening on its left aisle, south of the main door, but Kampp's description leaves in doubt whether it is a true window or just a breach, and the Japanese

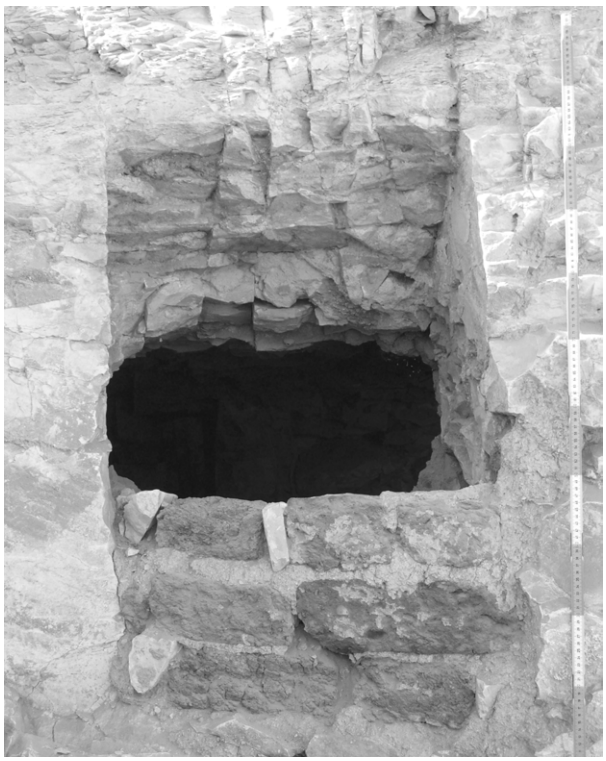

Fig. 5b – Detail of the window from the outside © MIDAN – University of Pisa

[12] Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 606.
[13] *Op. cit*., 732.
[14] Yoshimura, Kondo, *LDA* 149-50, 110.

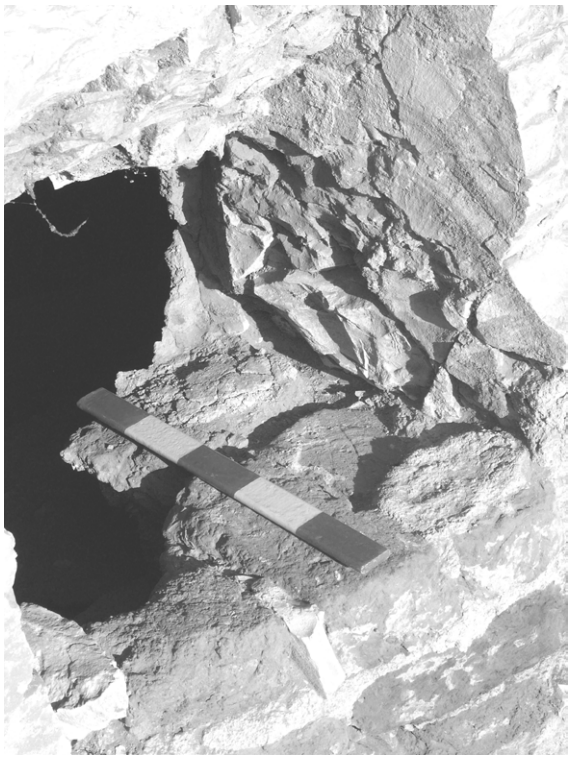

Fig. 6 – Detail of the window, remaining part of the brick closure; view from above. Note, on the back of the window, a fragment of gypsum and mortar –still in situ–, plastering the bricks which closed the window © MIDAN – University of Pisa

mission, unfortunately, gives no detailed description of the tomb (Fig. 7b).[15]

The single windows of MIDAN.05 and the two tombs T1 and T2 are therefore so far the only solid archaeological evidence of this feature.

Although the second part of the Eighteenth Dynasty shows an interesting revival of this architectural element, probably to be connected with the importance of light and the cultic use of windows in the Amarna Period,[16] the distribution of a significant percentage of tombs with windows in its first part is not casual and awards attention.

Eberhard Dziobek's hypothesis that windows represent the intermediate passage between *saff* and T-shaped tombs[17] has a strong rational appeal and provides a good reason for such a concentration in the transition from the Middle Kingdom models to the new T-shaped Theban tomb. Nonetheless, this theory has been challenged by the new interpretation of many of the so-called *saff* tombs as 'pseudo-*saff*', that is to say archaizing tombs newly carved at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty (or slightly earlier), and, above all, by the coexistence of different models – the traditional *saff*, tombs with windows, and possibly T-shaped tombs – in the same period.[18] The resulting scenario is that of a period filled with new ideas and experimentation, leading to different innovations, rather than following a single linear 'genealogical' derivation.[19]

Hatshepsut's reign, as recent research trends stress, is certainly marked by exceptional creativeness and open-mindedness.[20] Nonetheless, the possibility exists that some of this, particularly the process of evolution and definition of new models of funerary architecture, must be slightly backdated to the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Chronology is here a fundamental discriminating factor, yet at the same time one that is difficult to manage with the necessary precision: we are speaking of little more than a generation, 30 or perhaps 40 years, that can also concern changes in the life and in the choices of single individuals. It is well known that the construction of a tomb could be a long process, starting well before reaching old age. It would be ideal to be able to specify the lifespan of the owners of the graves concerned, the progress of their careers, and the exact moment they began construction of their own tomb. Such a date is available, e.g., for Theban Tomb 71, one of the two funerary monuments of Senenmut, thanks to the discovery of an *ostrakon* from its forecourt by Norman de Garis Davies in 1926.[21] The *ostrakon*, dated to year 7, month 4 of *pr.t*, day 2, records "the beginning of work in the tomb on this day" and the approximate amount of quarrying material.[22] The date coincides with that of a jar label found in the burial chamber of Senenmut's parents, Ramose and Hatnofer, located below his own tomb and certainly hewn out before the construction of the artificial terrace, during the very first works for TT 71.[23] Although the exact date of Senenmut's death is not known, it seems certain that he lived at least until the year 18 or 19 and probably later.[24] He started, therefore, to prepare his first funerary monument more than ten years before his death.

This could be true also in the case of other high officials of the time. Ineni (TT 81) started his activity earlier than Senenmut: according Dziobek, Ineni was already placed by Amenhotep I in charge of many offices in the domain of Amon and, by Thutmose I, as overse-

[15] Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 573; plan at p. 574.
[16] Kemp, *JEA* 62, 81-99; Vomberg, *Sokar* 19, 86-9.
[17] Dziobek, in Assmann, Davies, Burkard (eds.), *Problems and Priorities*, 69-79.
[18] Kampp-Seyfried, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 6-7; Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches,* 279-302.
[19] See also Kampp-Seyfried, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 6.
[20] Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*.
[21] Hayes, *Ostraka and name stones*, 4.
[22] *Op. cit.*, #62, 21, pl. 13.
[23] Dorman, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 32. See also Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 95-6.
[24] Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 177-9.

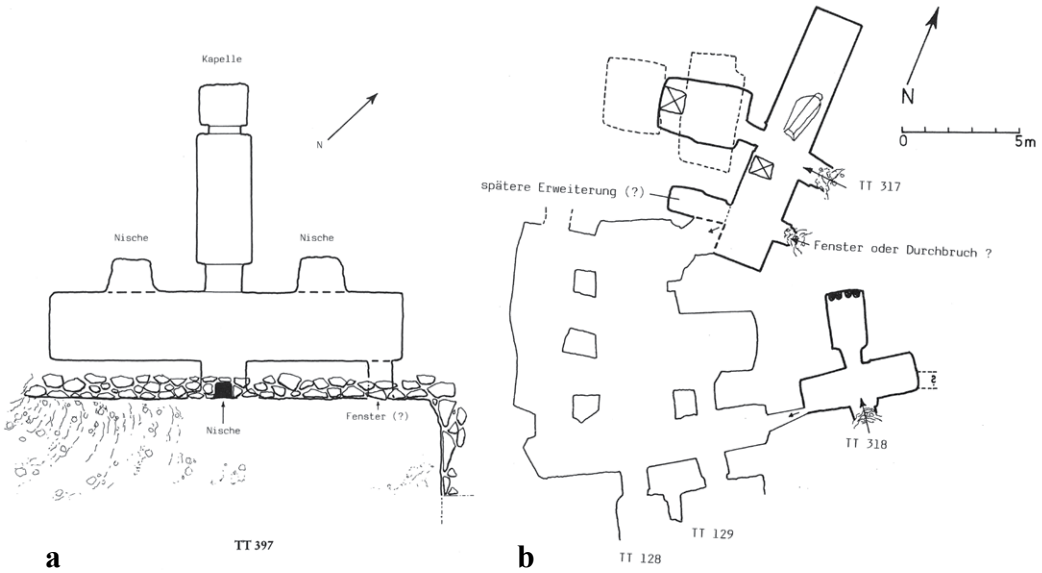

Fig. 7 – (a): Plan of TT 397 from Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 606; (b): Plan of TT 317 from Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 574

er of the treasury, granaries, fields and all works of Amon, beyond being mayor of Thebes and architect for the king's royal tomb.[25] He had already reached the *apex* of his career when Thutmose II died and was retained by Hatshepsut among her most trusted and powerful officials. It is still debated whether he re-used an ancient *saff*-tomb or made for himself *ex novo* a pseudo-*saff*:[26] in both cases it is not known the date he started works nor when he decided to alter the *saff*-model of his tomb and to close the *intercolumnia* with brick walls, leaving windows at their top. The change to the project was made before proceeding with the decoration,[27] which, according to Barbara Engelmann-von Carnap, dates to before Hatshepsut's ascent to the throne.[28] This places the second phase of TT 81, with the construction of brick walls among the pillars and the making of windows, *before* Hatshepsut.

It is highly probable that, in such a fervid cultural climate, Ineni was "a true innovator in the area of tomb construction",[29] tracing the path to the following tombs of Senenmut, Hapuseneb, Useramon. His key-role in the conception of a completely new model for the king's tomb, as architect of Thutmose I, and the fact that one and the same person was involved in the architectural-religious revolution in the royal funerary complex and in the transformation of his own tomb cannot be neglected. Nonetheless, a full appreciation of the dynamic processes acting in that period must look also at the choices of other officials coeval with him. While the vizier Ahmose-Aametu, who probably married Ineni's sister, opted for a very traditional model, making for himself a pseudo-*saff* tomb anew (TT 83),[30] the choice of Senmen, owner of TT 252, was completely different and deserves attention: his funerary monument is indeed an orthodox T-shaped tomb with two windows.[31] A further remarkable feature of this monument, recurring also in the tomb of Senenmut (TT 71), was a three-chambered superstructure with statues above the tomb, whose parallels were traced back by Karl Seyfried to similar Middle Kingdom structures in the Theban necropolis.[32] It represents the oldest example of Seyfried's 'Obere Ebene' in the evolutionary line of New Kingdom tombs. Daniel Polz notes that, although TT 252 plays no role in the studies of Dziobek, Kampp and Engelmann-von Carnap on the early evolution of the Theban tomb, it is worth considering that Senmen was coeval with the owners of the earliest tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty and his tomb has the two extraordinary features of a superstructure and two windows.[33]

Senmen is better known as the steward and tutor of princess Neferura, daughter of Hatshepsut.[34] This ap-

[25] Dziobek, in Assmann, Davies, Burkard (eds.), *Problems and Priorities*,122-3; Shirley, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*, 176-7.

[26] In favour of the first thesis are Dziobek, in Assmann, Davies, Burkard (eds.), *Problems and Priorities*; Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 323-6; Dorman, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*, 4; while Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches,* 284-6 does not exclude the second.

[27] Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches,* 301.

[28] Engelmann-von Carnap, *Thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs*, 82-3. A different view in Laboury, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*, 54-5, according whom Ineni's biography is retrospective.

[29] Dorman, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and innovation*, 4.

[30] The decoration of his tomb pre-dates Hatshepsut's ascent to the throne and is probably contemporary to that of Ineni: Engelmann-von Carnap, *Thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs*, 82.

[31] Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 527-30.

[32] Davies, *PSBA* 1913, 282-5 (only the superstructure); Seyfried, in Assmann, Davies, Burkard (eds.), *Problems and Priorities*, 235-9 and 242-3.

[33] Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches,* 289-90.

[34] Roehrig, *The Eighteenth Dynasty titles royal nurse*, 57-8; Roehrig, Dorman, *VA* 3, 127-34; Shirley, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and innovation*, 181.

parently places him among a later series of officials and tombs, but actually he was rather aged at the time and could have started the construction of his tomb before Hatshepsut, maybe under her father Thutmose I or her husband Thutmose II. No traces of its decoration are preserved and the available scant evidence with his titles (mostly a few remains of inscriptions from the superstructure, his statue and some bricks from the area)[35] is liable to support contrasting theories. The seal impressions stamped on the bricks, listing an almost complete set of his known charges[36], give him the title of *ḫrd n kȝp n Nb-pḥtj-Rˁ*, 'child of the *kap* of Ahmose', together with those related to Neferura: *ȝtw n ḥˁ.w nṯr.t n ḥm.t-nṯr Nfrw-Rˁ*, *mnˁ n sȝ.t ḥm.t-nṯr Ḥȝ.t-šps.wt*, *jmj-rȝ pr n sȝ.t-nswt*, 'keeper of the divine body of the god's wife Neferura, tutor of the daughter of the god's wife Hatshepsut, steward of the king's daughter'.[37] The title 'child of the *kap* of Ahmose' means that the official grew up at the court of Ahmose, being either contemporary with the king or raised in the school of pages renewed and restored by Ahmose. Bernard Mathieu proposes that the recruitment of pages in the *kap* was determined according to the birth of a boy on the same day as the Crown Prince. An alternative to the birth of Senmen on the same day as Ahmose –he adds– could have his birth on the same day as Ahmose's son, Amenhotep I.[38] The two interpretations imply of course two drastically different appraisals of Senmen's age when he was tutor of Neferura: in the first case he would be a rather aged man; in the second he could be around 35 years. It is noticeable that the above-quoted inscription, although putting the name of the queen inside a cartouche, does not mention her royal name Maatkara and refers to her only as god's wife. This is convincing proof that the text was composed before her ascent to the throne. The fact that on the bricks her daughter Neferura holds the same title of god's wife, which it is supposed she assumed only after her mother's enthronement,[39] is no more a difficulty: in at least one scene from the so-called *Netjery-menu* at Karnak, belonging to the pre-coronation period, the title of 'god's wife [and god's hand] of Amun' was borne by Hatshepsut as well as her daughter Neferura.[40]

A reappraisal of Theban Tomb 345 could equally give important information: this is a T-shaped tomb, without windows, whose owner Amenhotep had the title of *wab*-priest and *sȝ nswt tpj n ˁȝ-ḫpr-kȝ-Rˁ*, 'first King's son of Thutmose I'. Kees rejected its dating to Thutmose I, rather connecting Amenhotep to the funerary cult of that king and placing him in the age of Thutmose III,[41] but Kampp thinks that the title, as well as stylistic details of the scenes drawn by the Lepsius Expedition (*LD* III, 9 a-c), suggest the earlier date given in PM, and Polz agrees with her.[42] In this case, we would have here the oldest example so far known of a closed T-shaped tomb.

It is within this framework that the evidence brought by MIDAN.05 must be evaluated: here the information provided by the *rishi* fragments found in its shaft 'f' assumes a decisive meaning. Although it cannot be excluded the possibility that they represent a late persistence of a funerary custom about to disappear, the consistent picture of *rishi* distribution not later than Thutmose I[43] raises the question whether MIDAN.05 is not to be considered as one of the very first examples of T-shaped tomb.

The meaning of windows in the funerary architecture of early Eighteenth Dynasty and, in a broader perspective, the importance of openings –both *intercolumnia* and windows– from the Middle Kingdom onwards, is an aspect which deserves a thorough discussion, which, however, is beyond the limits and scope of this article. The need to let light filter inside seems to be the crucial reason for such a feature, but the failure of the 'house-model' theory[44] leaves no more than a pragmatic or cultic-religious explanation. The former does not account for the absence of windows in the closed T-shaped tomb.

Windows were part of the 'upper level' (in Karl Seyfried's sense) of a funerary monument, mainly related to the solar cult and including not only superstructures but "all architectural elements *within* or above the tomb façade".[45] From the reign of Amenhotep III on, solar aspects were developed through architecture and decorative programs in a more manifest way, with large pyramid chapels above the tomb, and, inside it, solar hymns along the central axis, on doorways jambs or thickness, sometimes accompanied by a representation of the ador-

[35] Seyfried, *Entwicklung*, 250-3.

[36] He also was *jrj-pˁ.t ḥȝtj-ˁ*, 'noble and count', and, in the tomb of Senenmut, also *ḫtm.w bj.tj*, 'seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt'.

[37] Seyfried, *Entwicklung*, 251.9. Seyfried notes how very probably the 'funerary cone' Davies-Macadam no. 120 is actually the seal impression on the many bricks found on site and copied first by Lepsius (*LD* III, 25), who misinterpreted the first signs. See also *Urk*. IV, 418, 4 ff.

[38] Mathieu, *GM* 177, 41-8.

[39] Shirley, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and innovation*, 181.

[40] Gabolde, *Monuments*, 55, pl. 11; Laboury, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and innovation*, 67, who stresses the political meaning of Hatshepsut's emphasis on her daughter.

[41] Kees, *ZÄS* 85, 45-56.

[42] Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 584-5; Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 345.

[43] See above n. 8.

[44] Steindorff, Wolf, *Die thebanische Gräberwelt*, 44.

[45] Kampp-Seyfried in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 8. Italics in the quoted sentence is mine.

Inventory number	Owner	Architectural typology	Dates of construction /finishing	Evidence for dating
MIDAN.05		T-shaped tomb with 1 window	1st phase: *c*. Thutmose I	*Rishi*-coffins in chamber *j*
T1		T-shaped tomb with 1 window	Probably same dating as MIDAN.05	Location in the forecourt of MIDAN.05; architecture
T2		T-shaped tomb with 1 window	Probably same dating as MIDAN.05	Location in the forecourt of MIDAN.05; architecture
TT 81	Ineni	*Saff* or pseudo-*saff* with windows	Before Hatshepsut's reign	Career and tomb decoration: DZIOBEK, in ASSMANN, DAVIES, BURKARD (eds.), *Problems and priorities*, 122-3; ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP, *Thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs*, 82-3; POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 301
TT 252	Senmen	T-shaped tomb with 2 windows	Before Hatshepsut's reign	Titles on seal-impressions; Hatshepsut as God's wife; no use of her royal name Maatkara
-177-		T-shaped tomb with 2 windows	Hatshepsut	KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 721, on the ground of the cartouche of the queen
TT 71	Senenmut	Pseudo-*saff* with windows	Year 7 of Hatshepsut beginning of work	Ostrakon: HAYES, *Ostraka and name stones*, 4; #62, 21, pl. 13
TT 67	Hapuseneb	Pseudo-*saff* tomb with windows	Hatshepsut	Career and tomb architecture and decoration: KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 289-292; POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 290-1; BACS, *Current Research of the Hungarian Archaeological Mission*, 8-21
TT 397	Nacht	T-shaped tomb with 1 or 2 windows	Hatshepsut	KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 606, on the ground of the owner's genalogy
TT 317	Djehutjtnefer	T-shaped tomb with one window?	Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III	KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 573, on the ground of a possible identification of the owner with the same person mentioned in the tomb of Pahery at el-Kab
-141-		T-shaped tomb with 2 windows (MANNICHE, *ASAE* 72)	Probably Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III	KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 645: dating on the ground of the window and kind of mortar
-216-		T-shaped tomb with window/s?	Probably Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III	KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 732: dating on the ground of decoration and kind of plaster
-30- (?)		T-shaped tomb with 2 windows (WASMUTH, *Innovationen und Extravaganzen*, 16) or "Portikusgrab mit 2 pfeilern" (KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 639)	Early Eighteenth Dynasty	KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 639: dating on the ground of decoration, plaster, proportions of the windows or pillars

Table 1 – Tombs of the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty with windows

ing deceased.[46] The presence of prototypes of later pyramid superstructures in at least two tombs with windows of the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty (TT 252 and TT 71) is certainly an interesting point to evaluate in light of this perspective, as well as its Middle Kingdom ancestors identified by Seyfried.[47] The renaissance of windows in the second part of the Eighteenth Dynasty is a further element pointing to a relationship of this architectural feature with the solar cult since its true beginning. During the Eighteenth Dynasty the relationship between the circuit of the sun god and funerary conceptions is best known through the texts and representations in royal tombs. The theme of solar renewal belongs to the esoteric literature of the Books of the Netherworld, a wisdom apparently reserved only for the king as well as his capacity to share the destiny of the sun god and be reborn to a new eternal life.[48] Nonetheless, the hope of joining the journey of Ra and enter the equipage of his bark is also expressed in some chapters of the Book of the Dead, available to many officials of the period. Some of these spells were already part of compilations circulating during the first part of the dynasty: BD 119, exhorting the deceased as Osiris to raise and travel in the sky with Ra, and BD 102, 'Going Aboard the Bark of Ra', are inscribed in the burial chamber of Djehutj, owner of TT 11, dating to the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.[49]

Whether windows had a role in these conceptions and in rituals performed in the forecourt or in the transverse hall, is difficult to ascertain: most tombs with windows were not investigated in a proper way or the results of archaeological researches on the site were not fully published. In some cases, as mentioned, they have not yet undergone clearance. In the case of MIDAN.05, the extensive modifications of its forecourt made during the Late Period, especially in the area in front of the main door and façade, obliterated any remains of possible previous traces of usage. In the transverse hall, the total loss of wall paintings in the southern aisle –both the eventual wall decoration of the first phase and the later one following the closing of the window– prevents us from formulating a hypotheses. A study of the scenes placed around or in front of windows in other tombs could possibly give valuable hints in regard to this question. Attention must be drawn to the fact that not only is the immediate context next/under a window possibly meaningful, but all the space affected by the light beam entering from the window: light was the immaterial but effective manifestation of the sun god. In the above mentioned later doorways with solar hymns, the object of the adoring deceased's veneration is always invisible, substituted by the daylight entering from the main door. Paintings, reliefs, cultic objects and architectural elements onto which a window projected light could be therefore equally meaningful: statues, offering tables, niches,[50] etc.

What is the meaning of single windows, such as those of MIDAN.05, its neighbouring tombs T1 and T2 and possibly that of TT 317? In this speculative scenario it remains difficult to say. An intriguing parallel could be provided by the still unclear and debated interpretation of the single window room in the memorial temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri.[51] But the possibility to consider them as 'Extravaganzen' cannot be excluded.[52]

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[46] Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, xiv-xv.

[47] Seyfried, in Assmann, Davies, Burkard (eds.), *Problems and Priorities*, 242-3.

[48] Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*; Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*; Assmann, *Egyptian solar religion*.

[49] Galán, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and innovation*, 257.

[50] In the tomb of Amenhotep, vizier of Lower Egypt, in Asasif, two niches exactly correspond to the two windows on the opposite wall: Eigner, *MDAIK* 39, 42; Eigner, in Gordon, *MDAIK* 39, 80.

[51] Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 29, 221-42; Białostocka, *ET* 27, 37-60.

[52] Wasmuth, *Innovationen und Extravaganzen*.

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Precious finds from an early Middle Kingdom tomb in Thebes: reconstructing connections between the dead and their goods

Anna Consonni

Abstract

In the area of the temple of Millions of Years of Amenhotep II at Thebes, three funerary structures dating back to the Middle Kingdom were excavated. One –designated A17– is a multiple burial complex formed of a sloping passage, a corridor and two small chambers. The tomb is very rich in materials, mostly ceramics, the study of which has allowed us to define the subsequent phases of tomb use. Nine primary burials were placed in the main chamber, along with their well-preserved funerary equipment. They are discussed here for the first time, in order to help better understand the chronology of the tomb and the nature of its occupants.

The excavations in the area of the temple of Millions of Years of Amenhotep II in Western Thebes, directed since 1997 by Angelo Sesana (CEFB – *Centro di Egittologia F. Ballerini*, Como), revealed the presence of numerous funerary structures that occupied the whole precinct of the temple both before its construction and again after its abandonment.[1]

This cemetery[2] was part of a wider necropolis extending to the temple of Thutmosis IV,[3] including the Ramesseum.[4] Prior to construction of the temple of Amenhotep II, the area was occupied by tombs dating back to the period between the Middle Kingdom and the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. One of these structures was discovered in the south-eastern part of the temple, just north of its southern boundary wall. The entrance was partially covered by some later mud-brick structures linked to the economic functions of the temple itself (Fig. 1).

The tomb, named A17,[5] consists of a sloping ramp ending in a small open passage, with a niche (labelled A) on the northern side (Fig. 2). The entrance, originally decorated with uninscribed funerary cones found in the debris of the court,[6] is cut into the conglomerate and still partially closed by a mud-brick wall. A corridor (C), 3 m long and 1.7 m high, oriented east-west (with reference to the Nile rather than to true north), ends in a transverse irregular chamber, D (length about 5 m; width 2.5 m). At its north-western and north-eastern corners, two passages lead into two funerary chambers, E (length 5.2 m; width 2.5 m; maximum height: 1 m) and F (length 2.5 m; width 1.5 m; height: 1.2 m).

The structure of the tomb recalls the 'corridor type' well-known in the Theban Necropolis at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.[7] The architectonic scheme has been adapted to the geological *substratum* of this area. Particularly, as the whole tomb –except the ceiling– was cut into a layer of compact sand, it was impossible for the ancient builders to dig funerary shafts, as in other simi-

[1] Sesana, in Leblanc, Zaki (eds.), *The Temples of Millions of Years*, 73-9, with bibliography of previous work; Sesana, Quirino, *RISE* 4, 321-42; Sesana, Consonni, Quirino, *RISE* 5, 257-62; Sesana, Consonni, Quirino, *RISE* 6, 211-8; Sesana, Consonni, *Memnonia* 24, 185-98.

[2] The tombs uncovered belong to several phases: Middle Kingdom-early Eighteenth Dynasty, Third Intermediate-Late Period, along with traces of burial activities extending into the Ptolemaic Period.

[3] Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, 7-9; Bresciani, *QRS* 100, 248-58; Bresciani, *EVO* 3, 1-26, esp. 1-15; Bresciani, *EVO* 4, 1-40, esp. 12-7; Guidotti, *EVO* 8, 25-61; Guidotti, *EVO* 10/1, 21-35.

[4] Nelson, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 88-94; Aston, *Burial Assemblages*, 237-47; Leblanc, in Leblanc, Zaki (eds.), *The Temples of Millions of Years*, 105-18.

[5] The tomb, excavated under the supervision of E. Croce, with C. Busi, L. Castellano and T. Quirino, is named with the number of the square where its entrance was discovered. Anthropological study of the remains is being undertaken by G. Bellandi. Sesana, *RISE* 4, 333; Sesana, *RISE* 5, 259-60; Consonni, Sesana, in Bader, Knoblauch, Köhler (eds.), *Vienna 2*.

[6] They are modelled in Nile C, with red slip on the outside (base diameter: 8-9 cm; height: 20-21 cm). Uninscribed funerary cones are well known in late First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom tombs in the Theban area. See for example Arnold, *MDAIK* 28/1, 13-31, esp. 20-1; Loyrette, Nasr, Bassiouni, *Memnonia* 4-5, 115-27, esp. 123, fig. 4.o.

[7] Arnold, *Grabungen im Asasif*, 46-8, type IIb, tav. 20, with examples in the Ramesseum area; Kampp-Seyfried, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 2-10, esp. 3, type IIIa. Another similar but bigger tomb is still under excavation.

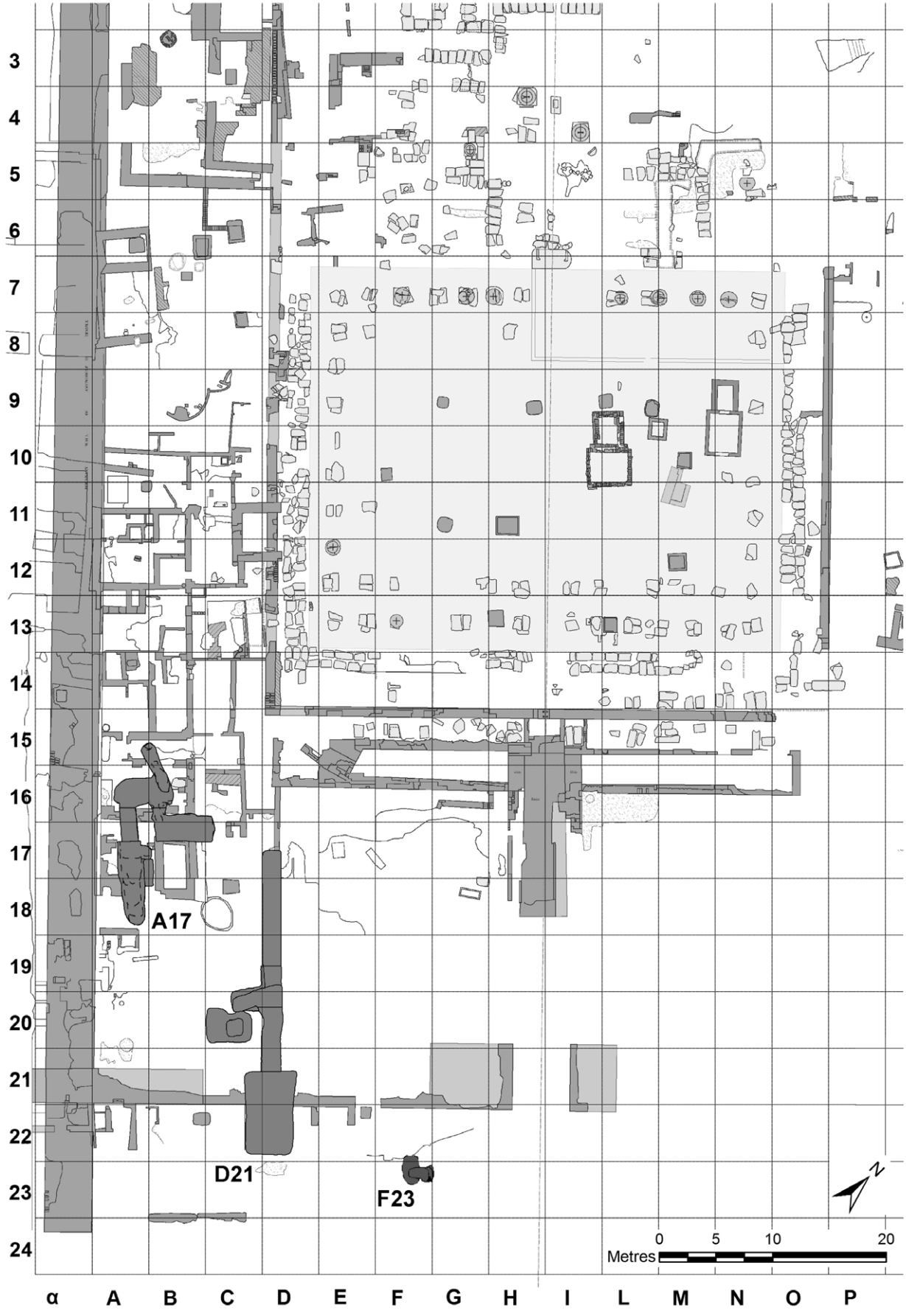


Fig. 1 – Plan of the temple of Millions of Years of Amenhotep II, showing the position of tomb A17 and of the other Middle Kingdom tombs, D21 and F23 (plan: arch. E. Negri; GIS and data processing: T. Quirino)

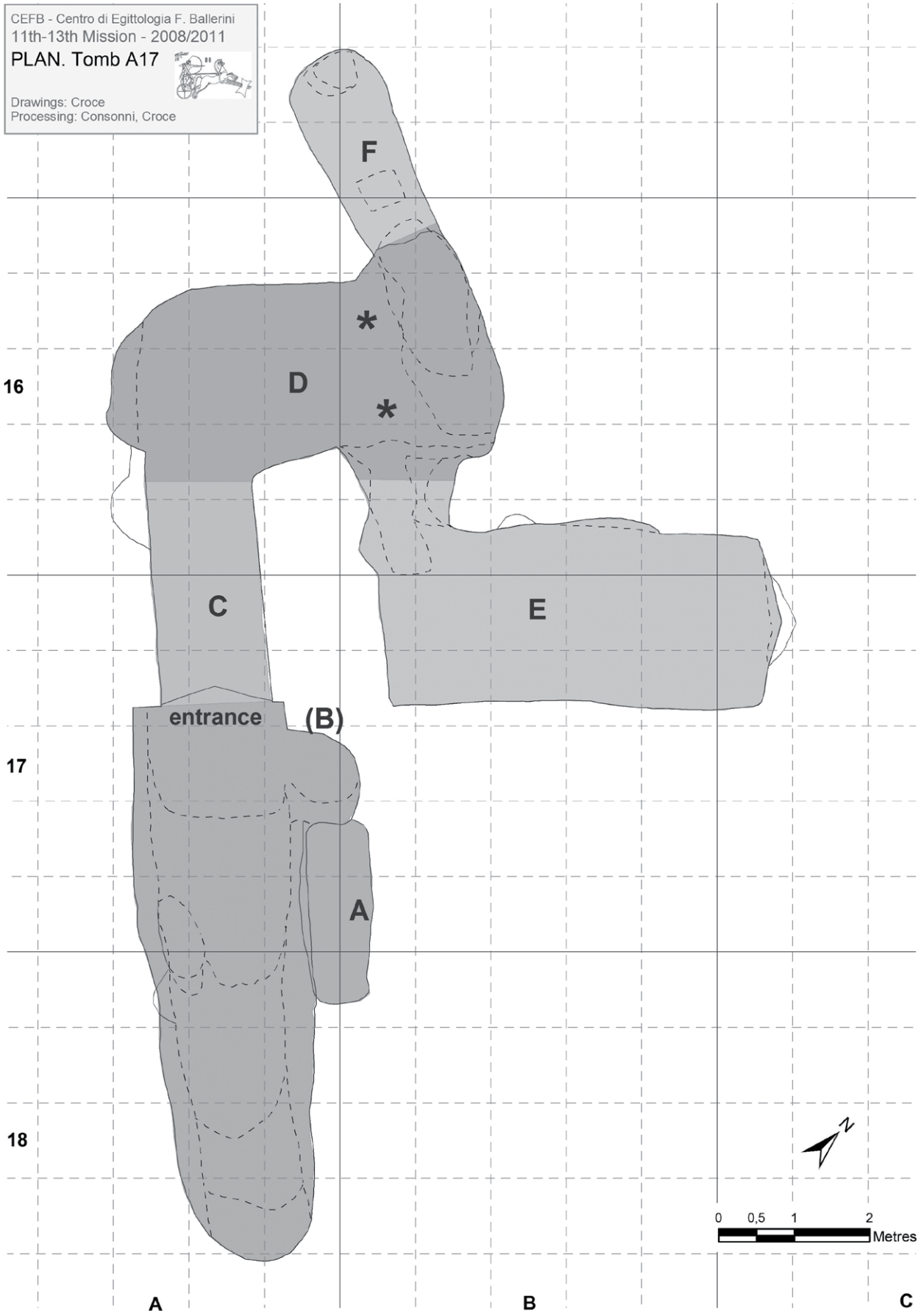


Fig. 2 – Plan of tomb A17. The asterisks mark the positions of the ritual vessels found at the eastern and western ends of chamber D (plan: E. Croce; GIS and data processing: E. Croce, T. Quirino)

lar structures.[8] This resulted in the burials being placed in chambers E (where the assemblages were well preserved) and F (where the original burials were disturbed by later burials and episodes of looting).

The study of the pottery assemblage recovered from the excavation allows us to define different stages of tomb occupancy. The first occupation occurred during the early Middle Kingdom, when burials were made in chambers E and F. A group of vessels –mainly hemispherical cups used as burners, *hes* vases and miniature plates, bowls and jars associated with terracotta offering plates– was discovered *in situ* in front of the entrance of the two burial chambers. The character of this deposit is clearly ritual[9] and its position was close to the burials for which the ceremonies were performed. Only in the corridor do the materials suggest a prolonged use of the tomb, continuing into the late Middle Kingdom. After a period of disuse, clearly marked by flood levels in rooms E and D, the whole tomb was reused during the late Second Intermediate Period-early New Kingdom, before the building of the temple during the reign of Amenhotep II.[10] The burials of this phase are very disturbed and the pottery of the original funerary assemblages is distributed in the upper levels inside the tomb as well as in the corridor and in the open passage. I will focus in this contribution on the Middle Kingdom burials found in chamber E.

The burials in chamber E

Chamber E originally housed nine primary burials[11] –five females, two males and two children– without traces of coffins, but with generally well-preserved funerary assemblages (Fig. 3).

Despite the fairly good state of conservation of the context, most of the burial goods and the skeletal remains were not precisely in their original position: they had been disturbed, mainly by the repeated action of water from ancient floods which entered through the south opening. We cannot exclude the possibility that human activities, such as the subsequent deposition of new bodies, may have also somehow caused the displacement of what was already in the chamber.

The bodies were placed side-by-side, oriented east to west, with heads facing in either direction. Only the child T62 was lying in a contracted position on its left side, with the head to the south, facing west.

The poor condition of the skeletal remains makes it difficult to reconstruct exactly the original position and treatment of the dead. Nevertheless, despite the fact that no traces of bandages or materials for the preparation of bodies have been documented, anthropological study allows us to hypothesise that they had once been wrapped in bandages. They were probably laid supine or, in some cases, on their right side, tightly bound, with hands on their hips.[12]

Irregular pieces of limestone were found on the floor of the chamber, one still in position under the head of T65. We may suppose that they could have been used as substitutes for headrests[13] and they also served to isolate the burials from the sand of the tomb floor.

The pottery

Very little pottery was found in the chamber and what there is was not always clearly associated with a single individual.

Two globular bottles were found complete: one –in Marl A3,[14] with a band of oblique hatching finely incised at the shoulder (Fig. 4.8)– in the north-east corner of the chamber, and the other –in Nile C, covered with a thick red slip– between the heads of the male T61 and the child T62 (Fig. 4.7). The short, wide neck and the globular body find parallels in the Theban area during the early Twelfth Dynasty (Sesostris I-Amenemhat II).[15] The type of incised decoration on the marl bottle covers a longer time span, from the early to the late Middle Kingdom, but the best parallels date to the beginning of the period.[16]

[8] As in coeval and similar tombs in the area of the temple of Thutmosis IV. *Cf.* Guidotti, Silvano, *La ceramica del tempio di Thutmosi IV a Gurna*, 12, 14.

[9] Seiler, *Tradition und Wandel,* 48-52.

[10] Probably from about the fourth regnal year, *cf.* der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 164-6.

[11] Bellandi *et al.*, in Ikram, Kaiser, Walker (eds.), *Egyptian Bioarchaeology: Humans, Animals, and the Environment*, 19-32, esp. 23-8. The analysis of the skeletal remains reveals in many cases arthritis of the spine, heavy dental wear –but limited presence of caries– chronic anaemia in women and children and dental defects caused by episodes of stress during childhood. The male T61 exhibited a perforation of the scapula.

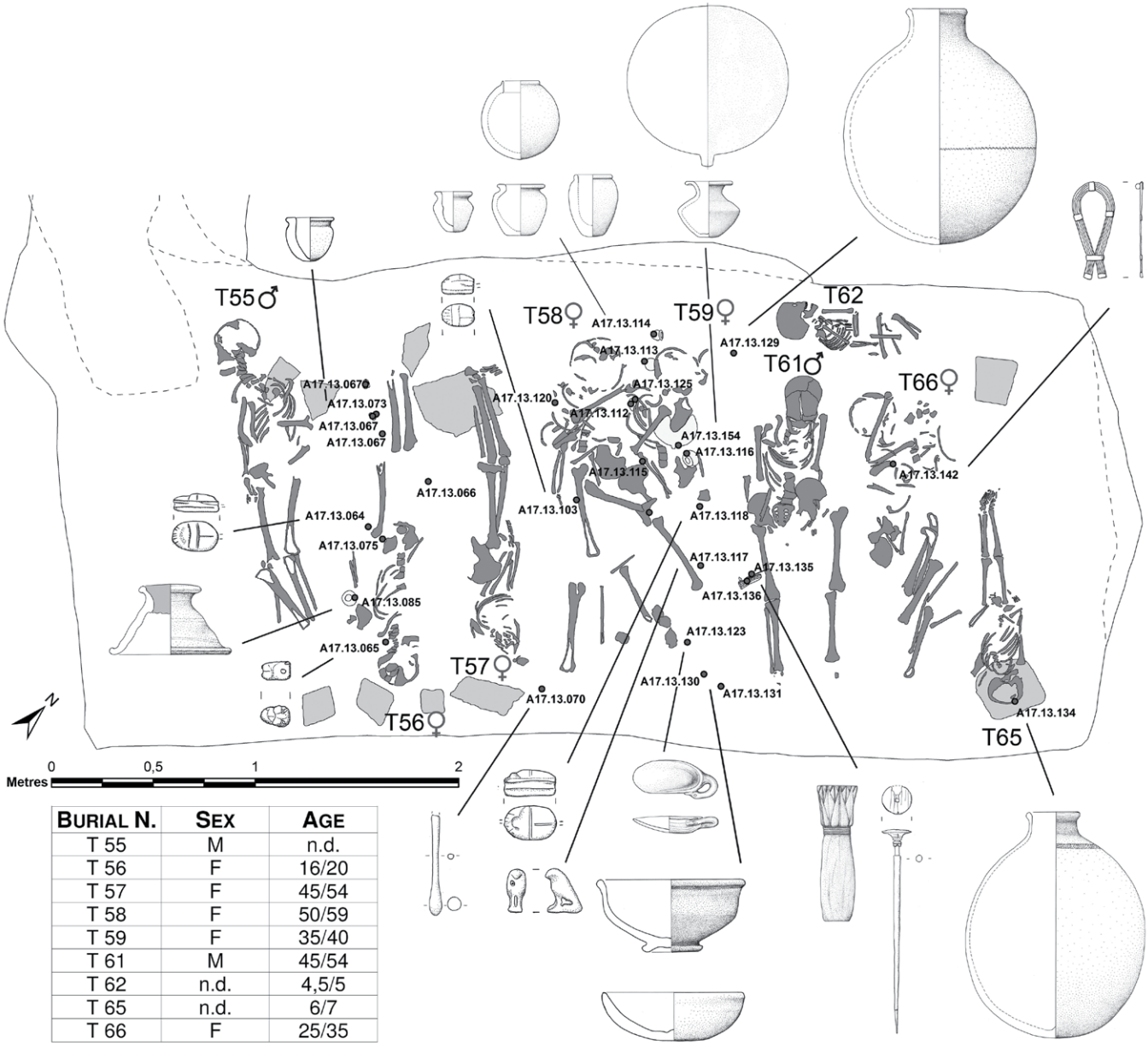
[12] *Art. cit.*, 23. For a parallel in a coeval tomb where the bodies were placed and treated in a similar way *cf.* Anthes, *MDAIK* 12, 1-68, esp. 7.

[13] Seidlmayer, in Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture*, 205-52, esp. 226: in the Elephantine necropolis the same function is played by mudbricks.

[14] The fabrics have been designated according to the Vienna System: Nordström, Bourriau, in Arnold, Bourriau (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, 140-87.

[15] Seiler, in Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery*, vol. II, 299-320, esp. fig. 13.2-3. *Cf.* also Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. I, 406-7, II.A.9.

[16] Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, 8, pl. 39; Marchand, in Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery*, vol. II, 273-97,



Burial N.	Sex	Age
T 55	M	n.d.
T 56	F	16/20
T 57	F	45/54
T 58	F	50/59
T 59	F	35/40
T 61	M	45/54
T 62	n.d.	4,5/5
T 65	n.d.	6/7
T 66	F	25/35

Fig. 3 – Plan of chamber E with the positions of the burials and of the principal grave goods (anthropological data, courtesy of G. Bellandi: n.d. = non determinabile; M = male; F = female; GIS and data progessing: A. Consonni, E. Croce, T. Quirino. Note that the materials are not to scale)

An irregular miniature plate in Nile B2 was also found near T61 (Fig. 4.6).

A hemispherical cup with a knife-cut rounded base, reconstructed from fragments spread throughout the lower levels of the chamber, was probably supported by the lower base found near the female T56[17] (Fig. 4.1, 3). The thin walls, the fine fabric and the thin red slip suggest a date for the bowl in the early Middle Kingdom.[18]

Some of the vessels would have been originally part of the richest funerary assemblage in the tomb, belonging to the female T59. Since the pottery and other funerary goods clearly underwent a displacement towards the east caused by the action of water,[19] it is difficult to reconstruct the original position of every single item. For example, one of the vessels, the small biconical jar, was found at the breast of T59, the others

esp. 221, fig. 69, tav. 4b.

[17] Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. I, 816-9, III.M.1.c, no. 12.

[18] Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. I, 60-3, I.A.2.c; Arnold, in Arnold (ed.), *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, 106-46, esp. 140-1, fig. 75; Arnold, *JMMA* 26, 5-48, esp. 10, fig. 11.

[19] This displacement is clearly marked by the position at the time of excavation of the disc and the handle of the mirror, which will be discussed in detail below: the former was found at the breast of T59 and the latter near the right leg of T61, *cf.* fig. 3.

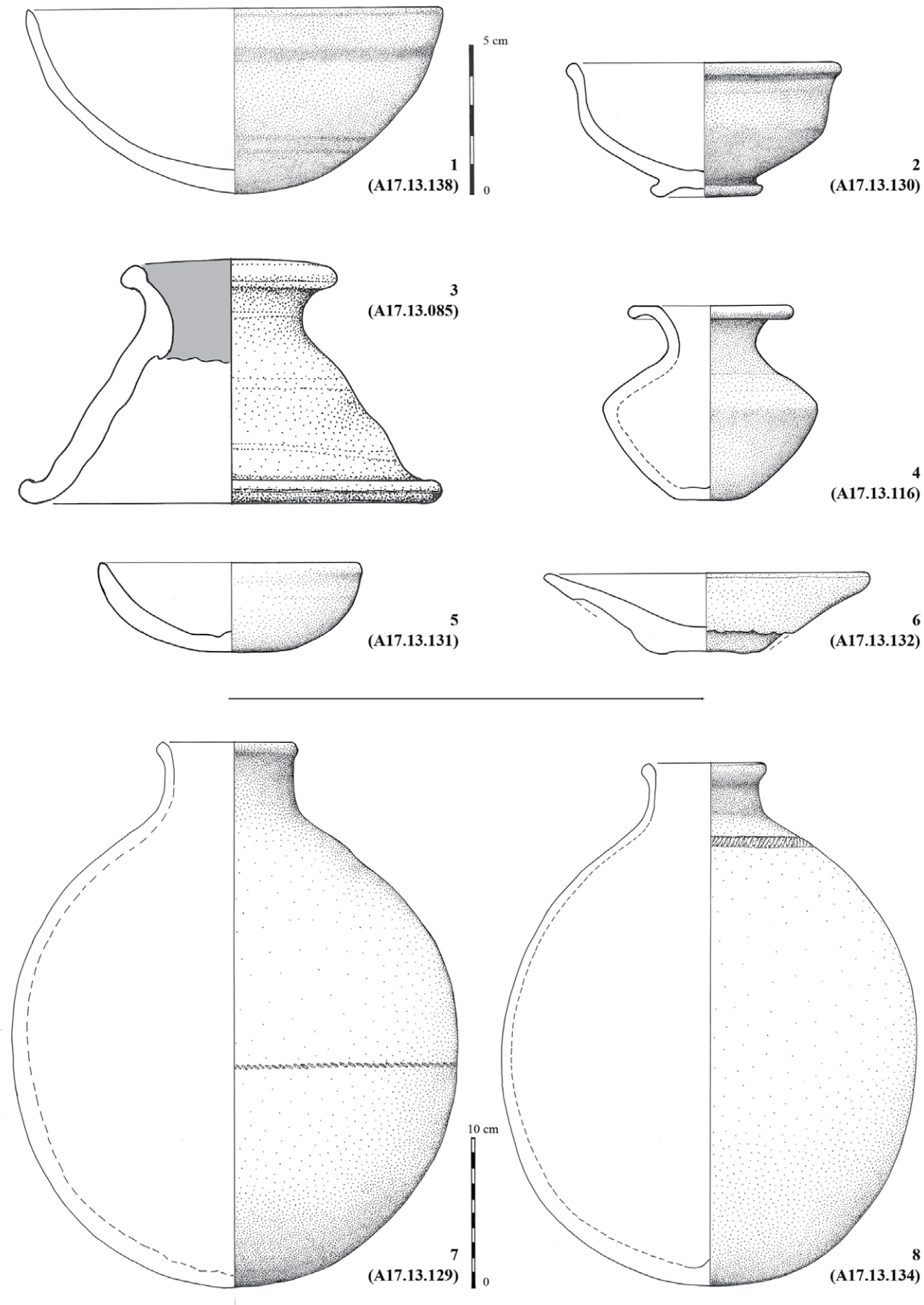


Fig. 4 – Pottery found in chamber E (drawings: M. Ravaglia; L. Zito)

at her feet. Two of these vessels are similar in fabric –Nile B1– and in surface treatment– a thick red slip, slightly polished (Fig. 4.2, 4). The carinated cup on a short foot recalls marl examples, with or without decoration, dated to the end of the Eleventh or the early Twelfth Dynasty.[20] The small biconical vessel, probably a cosmetic container, can be dated to the same time.[21] A marl irregular cup, more comparable to stone vessels (Fig. 4.5),[22] completes the group of pottery that we can associate with T59.

Another object which was also probably part of the funerary equipment of the same woman is a fancy shaped oval pottery spoon, with a short handle in the form of a duck head turned backward, probably used as a cosmetic applicator (Fig. 6.3; Pl. I).[23] The surface is carefully burnished and has a brown slip, slightly polished, most likely imitating wood. The only added naturalistic details are the eyes, rendered with grooves. The duck motif, frequently associated with objects related to the care of the body, could have a merely aesthetic function or, especially in a funerary context, could allude to regeneration or rebirth.[24] I know of no exact contemporary parallels for this object, even though wooden or ivory spoons with long modelled handles are known in the late Middle Kingdom at Kahun,[25] Hawara[26] and Sheik Farag.[27] Spoons with a duck head carved in wood or stone are also well-known in later periods.[28]

All the parallels for the pottery described above suggest a dating to the early Middle Kingdom,[29] fixing a quite short time span for the use of chamber E. This date is further confirmed by the chronology of the ritual deposit found in front of the chamber itself.[30]

This small group of vessels exhibits all the features of burial pottery.[31] It comprises: a model plate, containers for supplies for the dead (probably all related to male or child burials), a drinking cup, and personal care objects. These lattermost objects, more carefully and fancily shaped, are all related to female burials.

Personal ornaments, amulets and other grave goods

Almost all of the burials of chamber E were provided with grave goods in addition to the pottery. They will be described in connection with the burial to which they were either certainly or probably related. I will start from the north end of the chamber, where the supposed oldest burials in the tomb were placed.[32]

The children T65 and T62 and the male T61 did not have any burial goods other than the vessels described above.

The female T66 had an amulet in the form of the hieroglyphic *s3*, probably in electrum, found below her chest (her body having been significantly disturbed by the action of floodwater). It is composed of five wires, placed side by side and bound together by seven small metal bands with tips overlapping at the back. The top band is provided with a ring at the rear for suspension from a necklace (Fig. 5.12).

This amulet can be compared with one found in the North Triangular Court of the temple of Montuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, not so far from the temple of Amenhotep II: a tattooed woman was buried in a pit with a wooden box containing a *seweret* bead and an elec-

[20] Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. I, 222-3, I.F.1.c, nos. 5 e 6.
[21] Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. I, 970-1, IV.2.C.6, no. 3; Slater, *The Archaeology of Dendereh*, type M1h; Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 24.
[22] Edel, in Kemp, Merrillees (eds.), *Minoan Pottery*, 176-214, Abb. 61, 17m.
[23] When it was unearthed it had its surface covered by a whitish substance that was not identifiable. Spoons with a long or short handle were used as cosmetic tools in domestic and ritual contexts *cf.* Wallert, *Der Verzierte Löffel,* 49-52; Arnold, in Roehrig (ed.), *Hatshepsut*, cat. nos. 139, 216.
[24] Bailleul-LeSuer (ed.), *Between Heaven and Earth*, 160.
[25] Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, 29, pl. VIII.17, wood.
[26] Bourriau (ed.), *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 145, cat. no. 153: found in a poor burial at Haraga (necropolis W2, tomb 539) and regarded as a personal item; Engelbach, *Harageh*, 2-3, pl. 62.
[27] Kroenke, *The Provincial Cemeteries of Naga ed-Deir*, 68, made of ivory and wood.
[28] Vandier, *Catalogue des objets de toilette égyptiens*, 32; Bailleul-LeSuer, *Between Heaven and Earth*, 161.
[29] We could probably restrict this time span further to the early Twelfth Dynasty, from Amenemhat I to Amenemhat II (period Seiler II.1-early II.2, with reference to the chronology of the Theban pottery proposed by Seiler, in Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. II, 299-320).
[30] Consonni, in Bader, Knoblauch, Köhler (eds.), *Vienna 2*. As part of this ritual deposit there is a Nile B1 carinated bowl with pedestal foot and red slip inside and out. The narrow stem and the proportions of the body recall the features recognised in Twelfth Dynasty footed cups, developed in the reign of Sesostris I from a First Intermediate Period tradition. This type seems to disappear after the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty (Amenemhat II), *cf.* Schiestl, Seiler (eds.) *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. I, 296-9, I.F.20.c; Arnold, in Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, 55-8, nos. 11-3, pl. 69; Czerny, in Bietak (ed.), *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant*, 133-42, esp. 135.
[31] Seiler, *Tradition und Wandel*, 48-52.
[32] We can reasonably suppose that the deposition of bodies began at the bottom of the chamber. This was the most convenient solution, particularly considering the fact that the maximum height of the ceiling is only 1 m. This makes it very difficult to move around inside the chamber, both for the modern archaeologist and −we can assume– also for the ancient users.

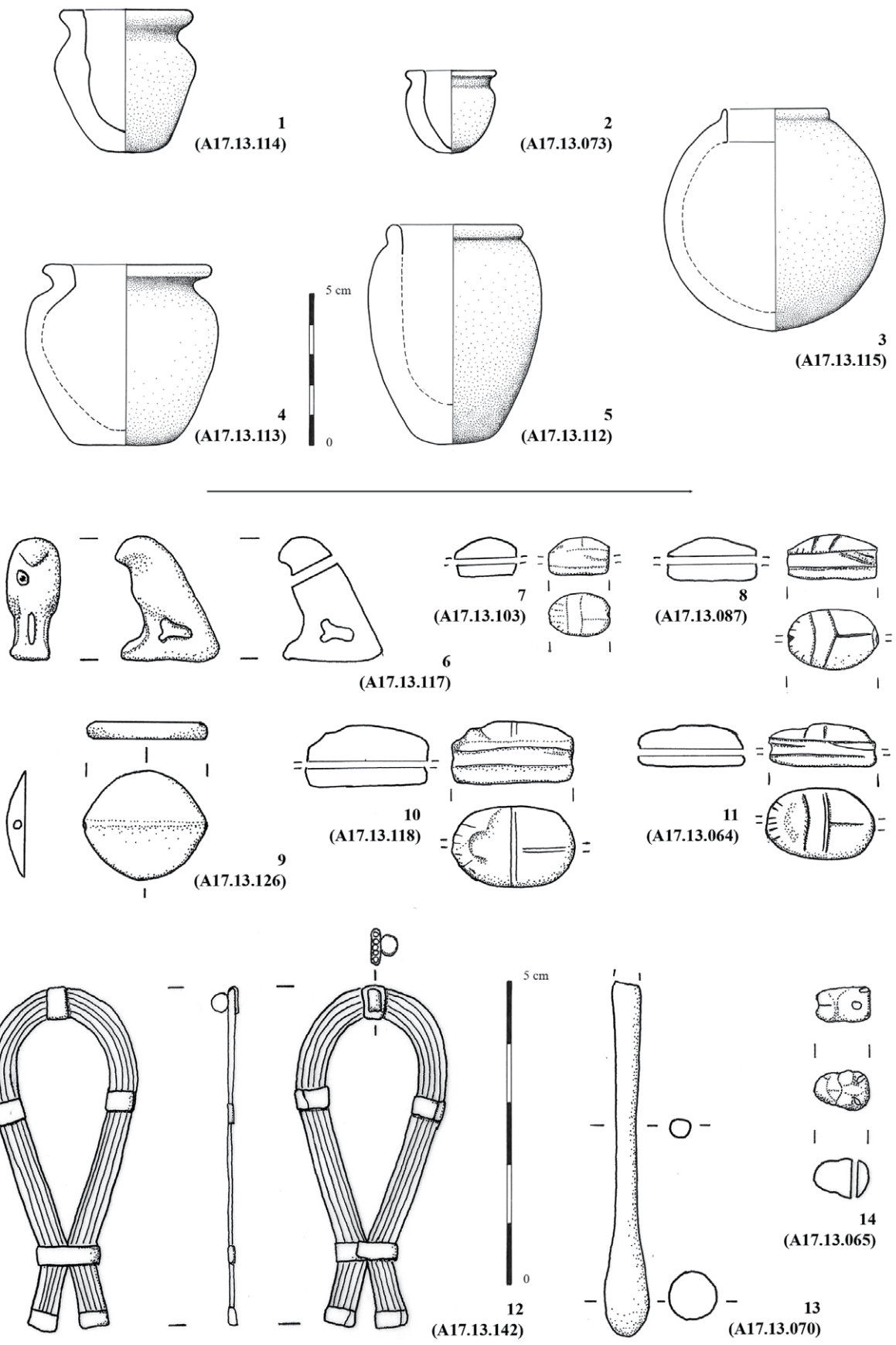


Fig. 5 – Grave goods found in chamber E: calcite vessels and amulets (drawings: M. Ravaglia; L. Zito)

trum and silver *s3* amulet.[33] Other examples have been dated to the late Eleventh Dynasty-Middle Kingdom.[34]

In the centre of the chamber there were two women buried very close to each other. The younger one, T59, was provided, as noted above, with the richest funerary equipment in the entire tomb.

Four small calcite vessels, probably cosmetic or ointment containers, were found (Pl. IV). One was under a shoulder, another at the pelvis and two at the head of the woman – most likely all four were originally positioned near the head of the deceased. One has an ovoid body with short vertical rim[35] (Fig. 5.5) and two have biconical bodies, rather flattened, with short everted lips[36] (Fig. 5.1, 4). These shapes find parallels in First Intermediate Period-early Middle Kingdom contexts.[37] The small globular vessel with a short vertical rim can be better compared with the faience vessels from the foundation deposit in the temple of Montuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari[38] (Fig. 5.3). A broken obsidian cosmetic applicator found at the foot of T58 may have been originally associated with one of these containers[39] (Fig. 5.13).

At the breast of the woman, there was a copper or copper alloy mirror, with an almost-circular disc and short slightly tapering tang (Fig. 6.1, Pl. II). The shape of the disc and of the tang recall late Old Kingdom-early Middle Kingdom features.[40]

The mirror was wrapped in a textile, the traces of which, partly mineralised, were visible on both faces. The practice of wrapping the mirror before putting it in the tomb has been best explained by the pragmatic need to protect the fragile surface, without excluding the possibility of the magical action of controlling its reflecting power.[41] In fact, the mirror, frequently but not exclusively found in female burials, is not only a toilet tool, but, according to the shape and its reflecting surface, also has a regenerative power connected with the god Ra. Furthermore, mirrors are associated with the goddess Hathor, especially during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and with the priestesses of her cult.[42]

The mirror was provided with an ivory handle, into which the tang was probably once inserted,[43] but actually found a little away from the disc (Fig. 6.1; Pl. III). It is carved in the form of a lotus, with carefully incised details. The lotiform shape for mirror handles –which also might refer to the goddess Hathor–[44] is known from the early to late Middle Kingdom.[45] A good parallel is the wooden handle found without a disc in the Badari tomb 5218.[46] This is the burial of a woman with a very simple funerary assemblage, well-dated to the time of Amenemhat II-Sesostris II.[47] Another mirror with a lotiform ivory handle was found on the breast of a woman buried in the tomb 453b at Naga ed-Deir. The woman was richly furnished with jewellery of gemstones and faience.[48]

Next to the handle an ivory hairpin with a decorated end was found (Fig. 6.2). The association of the mirror with the hairpin in the funerary assemblage of this woman reminds us of some famous hairdressing scenes, such as the one from the coffin of the princess Khauit, found at Deir el-Bahari (from the time of Montuhotep II). The lady, sitting and having her hair styled with a hairpin, drinks from a small dish, while looking at herself in a mirror.[49]

As personal ornaments, the woman wore one or more

[33] Winlock, *BMMA* 21, 1-32, esp. 7-8, fig. 2; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 162, 230; Andrews, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 93-4; <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/545150>, accessed 25.05.2015. See also Morris, *JARCE* 47, 71-103: esp. 79-83: the author supposes that the tattooed woman was one of the priestesses of Hathor attached to the mortuary temple of the king. A linen fragment from the tomb had a reference to the year 40 of Montuhotep II, *cf.* Allen, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 14-29, esp. 18-9.

[34] Quibell, *El-Kab*, pl. VI.5 (EA 245); Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 230; Andrews, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum,* 93-4.

[35] Slater, *The Archaeology of Dendereh*, fig. 36, SV2a; fig. 37, SV4e, Old Kingdom.

[36] Aston, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, nos. 139-40; Slater, *The Archaeology of Dendereh*, 61-2, fig. 36, SV2a, SV2e, Late Old Kingdom-Middle Kingdom; Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 198, Qau-Matmar, ST-J3-4, phase IIIB, late Eleventh-early Twelfth Dynasty.

[37] Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 97, el-Tarif; 434, Abb. 176.

[38] Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, tav. 78, SO 21. Other parallels: Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, Abb. 42, Ninth-Eleventh Dynasty; Slater, *The Archaeology of Dendereh*, SVa, 239-40, fig. 37, Middle Kingdom.

[39] Bourriau (ed.), *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 26; 144: cat. no. 149.

[40] Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 52-5, see for example fig. 29.18 (early Middle Kingdom).

[41] Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 63; Price, Gleba, *Archaeological Textiles Review* 54, 2-13.

[42] Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 96-9; Morris, *JARCE* 47, 97-8.

[43] The tang lacked traces of textiles. This may lead us to suppose that it was inserted into the handle at the time that the disc was wrapped.

[44] Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 95.

[45] *Op. cit.*, 27, 38, 62, figs. 26, 36, 53 and 55.

[46] *Op. cit.*, 21, fig. 36; Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, vol. III, 2, pl. 3, 10A.

[47] Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. I, 299, I.F.20.c, no. 15: for the carinated cup from this tomb.

[48] Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 38, 62, figs. 53-4, late Middle Kingdom; D'Auria, Lacovara, Roehrig (eds.), *Mummies & Magic*, 117-8, cat. no. 44, fig. 76, Eleventh Dynasty; Kroenke, *The Provincial Cemeteries of Naga ed-Deir*, 64, note 525, Twelfth Dynasty.

[49] Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple*, pl. 20.

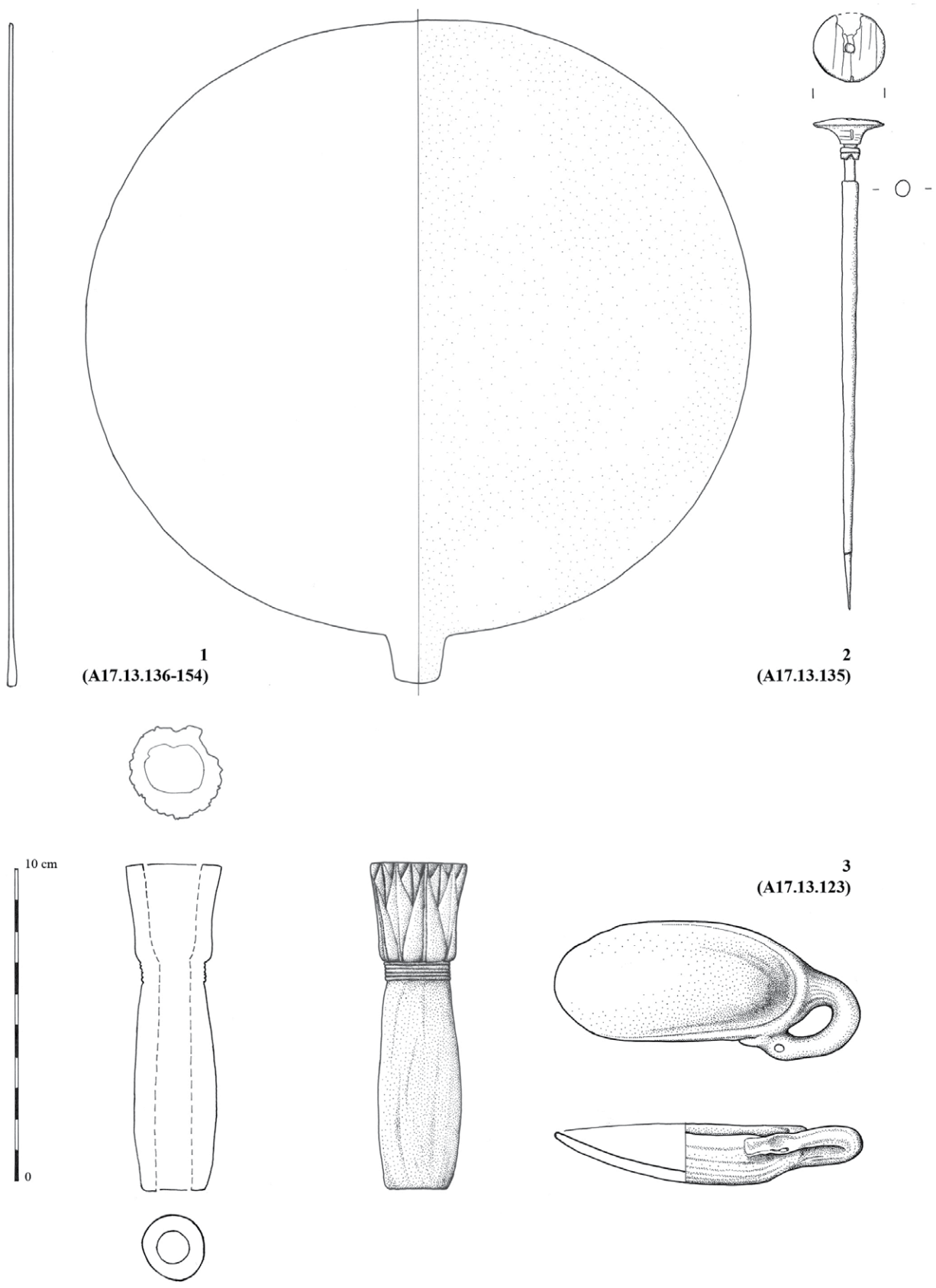


Fig. 6 – Grave goods found in chamber E: mirror with handle, ivory hairpin and spoon with duck head (drawings: L. Zito; M. Ravaglia)

necklaces: many carnelian[50] barrel beads of graduated shape, carnelian ring beads, and globular,[51] cylindrical and ring beads in faience were found, mainly in the area of her head and breast. Since the strings had decayed, some of them had shifted towards the east, like other burial goods of hers. A green jasper flat bead[52] (Fig. 5.9), a biconical crumbed bead[53] –found at the neck with two other small beads in fancy forms[54] (Fig. 3, A17.13.125)– a hawk in whitish-blue faience[55] (Fig. 5.6) and a carnelian scarab[56] (Fig. 5.10) –these two found near the legs, likely out of original context– rounded out the assemblage. This diverse collection recalls some of the necklace strings found in the burials in the area of el-Tarif.[57]

Three more small scarabs in hard stones, longitudinally pierced and without inscriptions, were also found in the chamber. They were all associated with female burials and were probably worn as parts of necklaces or bracelets (Fig. 5.7, 5.8, 5.11). All of them present a schematic style, with a rounded profile, one or two lines dividing clypeus, prothorax and elytra, legs indicated by one horizontal line, sometimes completed by additional details. Rude scarabs in semi-precious stones are known from the First Intermediate Period, and examples that are more carefully shaped, still often with no inscriptions, are frequent during the Middle Kingdom.[58]

The older female T58 was not as richly provided for as her younger neighbour. She had only –at her head, neck and breast– a number of biconical, globular and ring beads in whitish-blue faience, which, together with a small round faience pendant[59] (Fig. 3, A17.13.120) and a small carnelian scarab that had come to rest near the right arm (Fig. 5.7), were probably all part of a necklace.[60]

A few globular beads in mud and a biconical faience bead can be associated with certainty with T57, implying the provision of just a simple necklace to adorn the body.

The funerary equipment of the young female T56 was more complex. At her feet a small group of shells were recovered (Fig. 3, A17.13.067) along with a small calcite vessel, which had traces of a black substance on the inside[61] (Fig. 5.2). Since the shells may have been used as cosmetic applicators,[62] we are likely dealing with a small kit of personal care objects.

The woman probably wore a necklace with a carnelian amulet in the shape of a hippopotamus head, found at her neck[63] (Fig. 5.14). A green jasper scarab[64] was found near her wrist (Fig. 5.11) and another one in carnelian was recovered during sieving of the excavated materials[65] (Fig. 5.8). A large number of globular beads in mud, faience and carnelian, a biconical carnelian bead (a *seweret* bead?)[66] and three cowries,[67] all found scattered on the body and in its immediate vicinity, composed the necklaces of her simple jewellery (Fig. 3, A17.13.066).

The last and probably most recent burial placed in the chamber was that of the male T55, buried near the entrance. A biconical faience bead found at the chest and a few globular brownish mud beads found at the pelvis, all probably part of a very simple necklace, were his only adornment.

Conclusions

The well-preserved archaeological context of this tomb offered us the opportunity to examine the burials of cham-

[50] Carnelian and faience are widespread materials in late First Intermediate Period-early Middle Kingdom jewellery: Dubiel, *Amulette, Siegel und Perlen*, 183 ff.

[51] Globular beads in faience and semi-precious stones were very popular in the Middle Kingdom: Bourriau (ed.), *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 150.

[52] Anthes, *MDAIK* 12, tomb 35, burial B, pl. 7; Seiler, in Schiestl, Seiler (eds.), *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. II, phase II.1 (Amenemhat I-Sesostris I), fig. 13.

[53] Crumbed-beads are already known in the Old Kingdom, decrease in frequency during the Ninth-Eleventh Dynasty, but are widespread during the Twelfth Dynasty: Brunton, *Qau and Badari,* vol. II, 20, pl. 104, class 94. At el-Tarif: Petrie, *Qurneh*, 3-4, tombs A4, A14, A18, pls. 8, 12; Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 78, 96, Abb. 168, stufe III, late Eleventh Dynasty-early Twelfth Dynasty. At the Ramesseum: Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, 3.

[54] A small rosette with six petals and another small faience bead c*f.* Petrie, *Qurneh*, p. 3, pl. 12, tomb A4 (sixth from right), tomb A14 (third from left), tomb A5 (first from left).

[55] Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, vol. II, 12, tav. 97, type P.

[56] Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 154, Gurob, pl. XII.2, stufe III, late Eleventh-early Twelfth Dynasty. The position of the scarab might also lead us to suppose that it was part of a bracelet. I prefer to interpret it as part of a necklace since almost all the beads were found in the area of the head and breast.

[57] Petrie, *Qurneh*, pl. 12, A4, A14, A15. These strings do not include scarabs.

[58] Bourriau (ed.), *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 152, cat. nos. 167; 170; Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals*, 34, Table 9; 35, Table 10.

[59] Edel, in Kemp, Merrillees (eds.), *Minoan Pottery*, T88/IV, Abb. 55.g.

[60] Without excluding the possibility that the scarab might have also been part of an armlet, *cf.* n. 56.

[61] Aston, *Stone Vessels*, no. 156, Middle Kingdom.

[62] Dubiel, *Amulette, Siegel und Perlen*, 146.

[63] Bresciani, *EVO* 4, 17, tomb 81; Bourriau (ed.), *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 150, cat. no. 176c; Petrie, *Amulets*, 47, pl. XL.237d-p; Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 53; Andrews, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 65, cat. no. 422 and 429.

[64] Dubiel, *Amulette, Siegel und Perlen*, 93, early Middle Kingdom.

[65] Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, Gurob, pl. XII.4, stufe III, late Eleventh-early Twelfth Dynasty.

[66] Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 99: the *seweret* bead was a popular amulet in the Middle Kingdom. Worn at the throat, it ensured the preservation of the dead.

[67] Dubiel, *Amulette, Siegel und Perlen*, 148: they might have had both an aesthetic and an apotropaic function.

ber E in association with their funerary assemblages.

The information obtained from this overall analysis supports a dating of the primary use of the chamber to the early Middle Kingdom, and, in particular, to the early Twelfth Dynasty.

No inscriptions were recovered to help us to determine the names and relationships of the people buried here or their social status.

The presence of adult men and women, along with young women and children, suggests that we are dealing with a family tomb, probably used for more than one generation. Because, most likely, they were not all buried at the same time, the ages of the individuals at death are unfortunately insufficient to establish the likely nature of their relationships.[68]

Among the grave goods there is a preponderance of objects related to personal care, adornment and protection, in comparison to pottery providing food to sustain the dead in the afterlife. This picture reflects the fact that almost all the objects are associated with women. Women generally have richer funerary assemblages, which include mirrors, jewellery and cosmetic or toilet tools. These objects, not specially made for the burial but taken from daily life, are not intended to denote a high status but, rather, to confirm the social identity of the dead as a woman.[69] In particular, T59 was buried with an assemblage that fits this picture. Her varied assemblage, which consists of a mirror with its ivory handle, an ivory pin, amulets, beads and cosmetic tools, stands out from all the others in its female 'richness'.[70] Another exceptional find in the tomb is the *s3* amulet: might it alone indicate the status of the young female T66?

As noted above, with no inscriptions it is very hard to say to which social class these people belonged. The information available from the other Middle Kingdom tombs of the Ramesseum cemetery is also limited. For the early Middle Kingdom we know only the name of Sehetepibra, owner of a corridor tomb with decorated entrance.[71] Other data are available for a later period. From a multiple burial in a shaft tomb dated to the late Middle Kingdom we have an amulet of a man called Ahmes, bearing a military title.[72] In the fill of another shaft tomb of the same date three small votive statues were discovered, which had originally been placed in the tomb's chapel on the surface. One of them belonged to the 'Lady of the house' Senaa-ib.[73]

We know that during the early Twelfth Dynasty (Amenemhat I-Sesostris I) the tombs of high-ranking officials were built on the cliffs around the unfinished funerary monument of Amenemhat I, which had been partially built in the valley south of Deir el-Bahari before the royal court moved to the new capital.[74] Other elite tombs were excavated at Deir el-Bahari itself[75] or on the Gurna hill.[76]

So, who was buried in tomb A17 in the early Twelfth Dynasty?[77] Excluding the possibility of their belonging to the administrative elite, we may suppose that they were 'subalterne Funktionäre',[78] or army officers, like Ahmes –mentioned above– from the Ramesseum. Bringing further light to this issue, physical anthropological analysis shows that the bones of individuals buried in chamber E bear the marks of a life of hard physical labour and, in one case (T61), of a wound at the shoulder.[79] As suggested by Grajetzki for the occupant of the coeval tomb 35 behind the Ramesseum –better provided in terms of funerary assemblage, but in a smaller and less complex shaft tomb– they could also have been simple craftsmen or farmers.[80]

Even if we do not have indications of an elite burial, we are dealing with people sufficiently well-to-do to build a tomb with a quite complex structure and to secure for themselves some burial goods and funerary cult activity.

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[68] Although DNA analysis could help us to address this question.
[69] Seidlmayer, in Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary culture*, 231-42; Grajetzki, *Burial Customs*, 39.
[70] Bourriau, in Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture*, 4: the mirror is considered an expensive item, occurring in well-furnished burials.
[71] Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, 4.
[72] Loyrette, *Memnonia* 4-5, 117-8; among the other grave goods there are another scarab in calcite, some plates, bowls and jars.
[73] Nelson, Kalos, *Memnonia* 11, 131-51, esp. 143-5.
[74] Arnold, *JMMA* 26.
[75] Allen, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*.
[76] Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*.
[77] The Middle Kingdom cemetery in the Ramesseum area could have been related to the unfinished monument of Amenemhat I, due to its his position, *cf.* Polz *et al.*, *MDAIK* 68, 115-34, esp. 120, n. 28.
[78] Seidlmayer, in Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture*, 210.
[79] Bellandi, in Ikram, Kaiser, Walker (eds.), *Egyptian Bioarchaeology*, 25-6.
[80] Grajetzki, *Burial Customs*, 60.

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Umm-Mawagir in Kharga Oasis: an Industrial Landscape of the Late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period

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Abstract
The site of Umm Mawagir in Kharga Oasis reveals extensive remains of a late Middle Kingdom through early Second Intermediate Period settlement. The closest parallel to the site appears to be the settlement of similar date at Ain Asil in Dakhla Oasis. All areas thus far examined at the site reveal mud-brick constructions, many of them apparently laid out with an orthogonal plan. Accumulations of ash that and the large quantities of bread molds at the site suggest the possibility of an industrial function for at least some portions of Umm Mawagir. Analysis of the ceramic remains indicate an essentially indigenous oasian population with some connections to Upper Egypt and direct interactions with Nubian populations. Similar remains at a smaller site roughly east of Hibis (North Qaret Mo'unis) represent a satellite site along a major north-south route passing just to the east of Umm Mawagir and apparently representing the major track of the ancient Darb el-Arbain.

The Girga Road and Kharga Oasis

The most visible ancient remains in Kharga Oasis are the well-preserved Persian through Roman Period temples that form ritual rest stops over a long north-south line from Hibis in the north to Dush in the far south, and the Roman settlements and fortifications stretching from ʿAin Amur and ʿAin Umm Dabadib in the north to el-Qasr in the far south. Predynastic and pre-Persian pharaonic material in Kharga was sparse,[1] and all but unknown north of Dush prior to the work of the Theban Desert Road Survey[2] and SCA excavations at el-Zahur and ʿAin el-Askar, and later the Kharga Oasis Prehistoric Project[3] and the North Kharga Oasis Survey.[4] Beginning first with the Girga Road connecting the Thebaid with Kharga, and then expanding to sites associated with the termini of the Theban desert roads within the oasis itself, the Theban Desert Road Survey has recorded a wealth of Predynastic and Dynastic material, including Old Kingdom campsites, Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period, and New Kingdom outposts on the high plateau, and Middle Kingdom tombs and a late Middle Kingdom through Second Intermediate Period economic center in the environs of Gebel Ghueita (Fig. 1). Although a decade ago the existence of a population center within Kharga Oasis during the mid-second millennium BC was suspected, yet archaeologically unknown, the initial work of the Theban Desert Road Survey at the site of Umm Mawagir in 2008-2012 indicates the need for a revision of the geo-political map of late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period Egypt. Hundreds of square kilometers of economically –and perhaps militarily– significant territory must now be added to pharaonic Egypt during the time of the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, Dakhla Oasis is no longer separated from the Upper Egyptian Nile Valley by a geopolitical lacuna, and Kharga Oasis may now take its place alongside its better-known neighbor to the west as a hub of activity and oasian and Nilotic interactions during the first two millennia of the Egyptian state.

The shortest route between the Upper Egyptian Nile Valley and Kharga Oasis is the Girga Road, connecting north Kharga with the Thebaïd.[5] Ceramic evidence from various points along the road, and at some of the Khargan termini thereof –including Gebel Yabsa and Qarn el-Ghinneh[6]– indicates that activity on the route began already during the Predynastic Period. An Early Dynastic serekh in north Kharga (probably of Qa-a)[7] is suggestive of royal interest in Kharga Oasis, perhaps part of an overall 'desert policy' during the reign of Qa-a.[8]

[1] Wuttmann *et al.*, *BIFAO* 98, 427, 430; Wuttmann *et al.*, *Journal of Achaemenid Studies and Researches* 1, 3.
[2] D. Darnell, in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia*, 165-6, 168-9, 172-3.
[3] McDonald, "Kharga Oasis, Egypt"; Kleindeinst *et al.*, "Surveys by Kharga Oasis Prehistory Project (KOPP)".
[4] Rossi, Ikram, in Förster, Riemer (eds.), *Desert Road*, 265-82.
[5] J.C. Darnell *et al.*, *Theban Desert Road Survey,* vol. I, 43-6.
[6] D. Darnell, in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia*, 165-6, 168.
[7] Hendrickx *et al.*, in Riemer (eds.), *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara,* 230.
[8] J.C. Darnell, *Archéo-Nil* 19, 102-3; Darnell, "The Wadi of the Horus Qa-a"; Darnell, in Friedman, Fiske (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 3*, 1181; *cf.* also Huyge, *OLP* 15, 5-9.

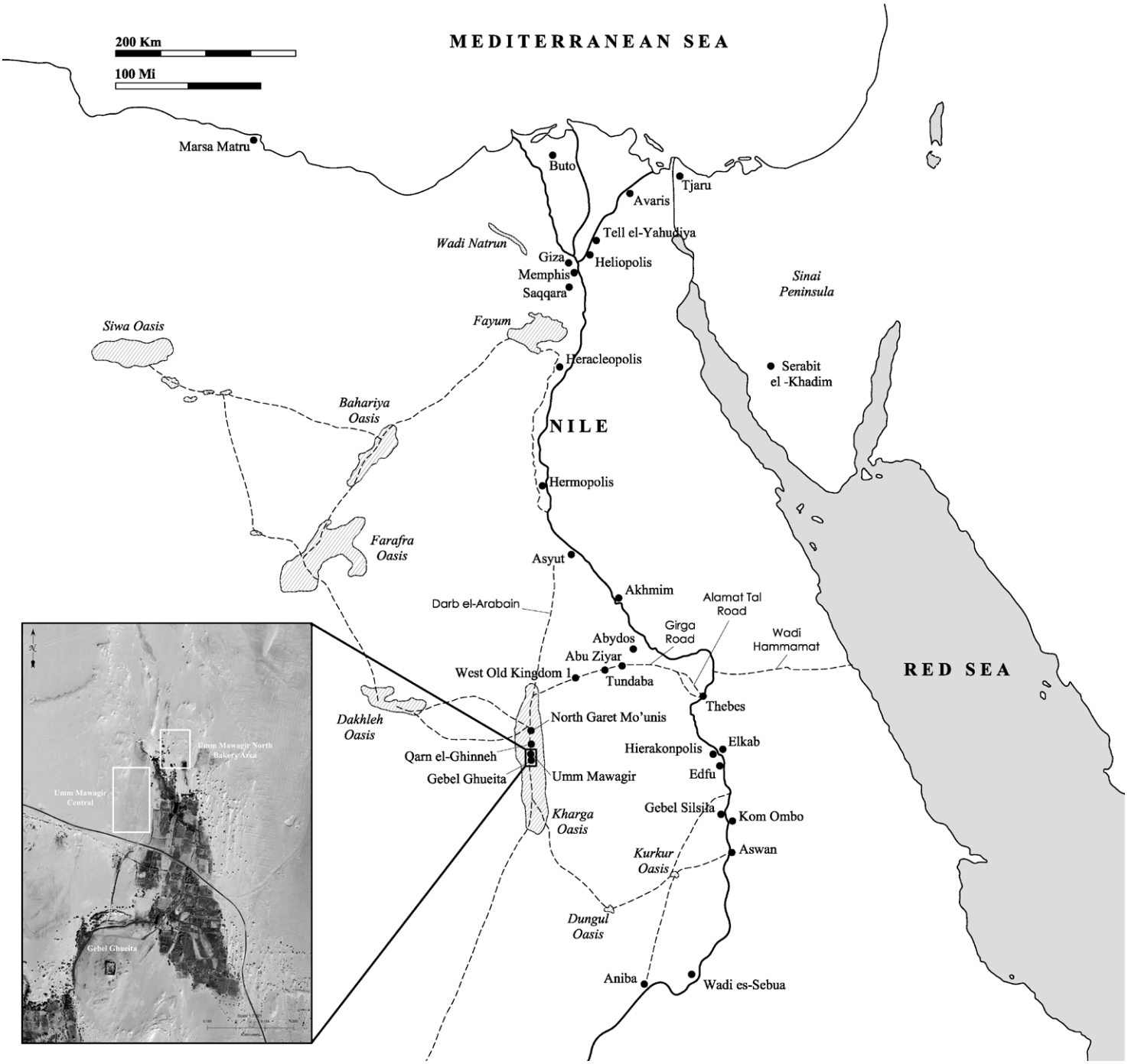


Fig. 1 – Map showing the main toponyms mentioned in the article

An apparent gap in the archaeological record until the Fourth Dynasty in Dakhla Oasis has now been shown to be non-existent, with Early Dynastic through Fourth Dynasty evidence in abundance from Mut el-Kharab.[9] Two campsites along the Girga Road, and another at Gebel Qarn el-Ghinneh in central Kharga Oasis, provide evidence for pharaonic activity on roads connecting the Upper Egyptian Nile Valley with Kharga Oasis –and thereby Dakhla Oasis as well– during the high Old Kingdom.[10]

Old Kingdom Campsites on the Girga Road and in Central Kharga Oasis

Clearance of the site West Old Kingdom 1 (W-OK-1), on the Girga Road approximately two-thirds of the way across the high plateau from the Thebaïd to Kharga Oasis (Fig. 2), has revealed abundant Fourth Dynasty material. Two Carbon 14 dates from the abundant charcoal deposits at the campsite support a Fourth Dynasty date (IFAO Sample 235, calibrated C-14 2574-2473 BC; IFAO Sample 236 calibrated C-14 2572-2470 BC) for the activity. Perhaps more importantly, the Meidum bowls present at the site –by far the most common ceramic forms

[9] Hope *et al*., *BACE* 17, 38; Hope *et al.*, *BACE* 20, 63.
[10] J.C. Darnell, in Wilkinson (ed.), *Egyptian World*, 33-4.

Fig. 2 – View of an Old Kingdom campsite (W-OK-1) on the Girga Road, near the Kharga escarpment

at the site– reveal the use of both Nile Valley and oasis fabrics (Fig. 3), physical evidence for the movement of people in both directions along the route, and implying the presence of an Old Kingdom outpost near the terminus of the route in Kharga Oasis.

The Old Kingdom material on the lunar-like crags of Qarn el-Ghinneh (4.5 km north of Gebel Ghueita) stretches across the southeastern slope of the gebel. One area of concentration is in a rocky bay near the base of the hill, an area sheltered from the north wind, ideal as a winter camp. Sherds at the site are consistent with the ceramic corpus of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, having parallels with the material from the West Old Kingdom 1 campsite on the main Girga Road. Although the Meidum bowl rims at the Qarn el-Ghinneh site exhibit both very high and very low forms, as is the case for the Sixth Dynasty governor's palace at Balat in Dakhla,[11] the lower forms already appear alongside higher rims during the Fifth Dynasty.[12] A gap in the rocks forming part of the Old Kingdom shelter at Qarn el-Ghinneh was blocked by a small, curving wall of local shale-based bricks, suggesting the possible presence of more substantial constructions of Old Kingdom date nearby.

The evidence from the West Old Kingdom 1 site and the Qarn el-Ghinneh Old Kingdom assemblage indicates interactions between Kharga Oasis and the Nile Valley via the Girga Road during the Old Kingdom. Nevertheless, the Old Kingdom campsites along the Girga Road, combined with the sparse archaeological material of that date in Kharga and the large-scale sites within Dakhla Oasis, suggest that the latter was the focus of Old Kingdom activities in the Western Desert, with limited expeditions sent further afield southwest of Dakhla.[13]

The approach of the Egyptian administration to the use of the Girga Road, and toward Kharga Oasis as well,

[11] Soukiassian, Wuttmann, Pantalacci, *Le palais des gouverneurs*, 462, 480.

[12] Compare <http://www.yale.edu/egyptology/ummmawagir_girga.html>, fig. 2, accessed 6.4.2013.

[13] Kuhlmann, in Lenssen-Erz *et al.* (eds.), *Tides of the Desert*, 125-70; Kuhlmann, *MDAIK* 61, 243-89; Riemer *et al*., *MDAIK* 61, 291-350; Förster, *BMSAES* 7, 1-36; Förster, in Förster, Riemer (eds.), *Desert Road*, 297-338; Hendrickx, Förster, Eyckerman, in Förster, Riemer (eds.), *Desert Road,* 339-80.

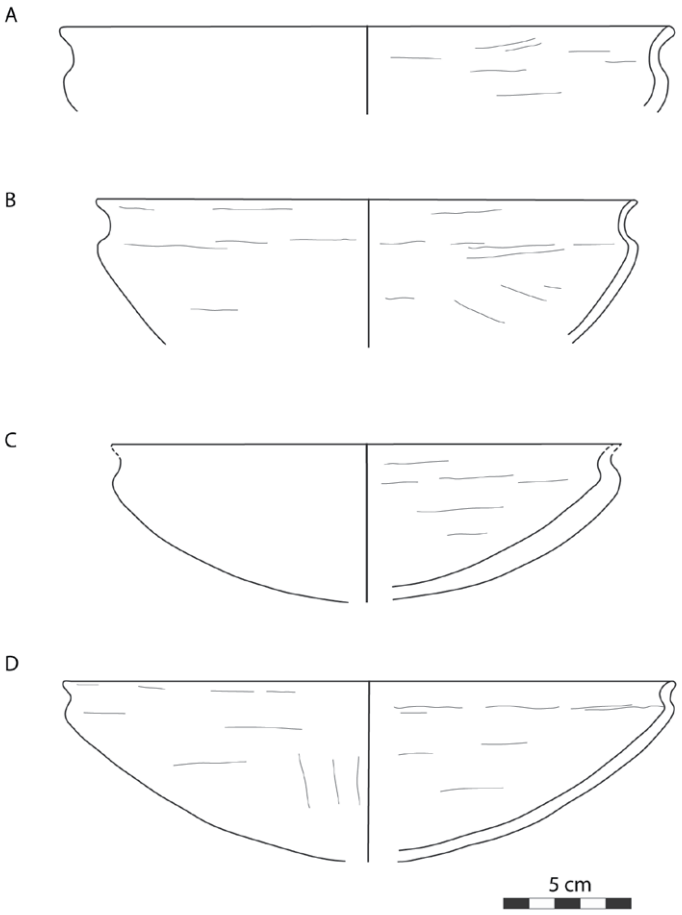


Fig. 3 – Meidum bowls from W-OK-1; A-B: bowls of Nile A1 fabric; C-D: bowls of oasis fabric

appears to have changed at the dawn of the Middle Kingdom.[14] During the First Intermediate Period and much more visibly during the Middle Kingdom, traffic within the Western Desert concentrated along a few roads, each supplied with a series of outposts. Following the upheavals of the First Intermediate Period and the reunification of Egypt, Monthuhotep II established a much more widespread desert policy. In the Eleventh Dynasty Deir el-Ballas inscription, a Theban ruler, almost certainly Monthuhotep II, describes –for the first time in the administrative history of Egypt– the economic development of the Western Desert oases and Lower Nubia into tax-paying regions linked with the pharaonic state.[15] In a remarkable concurrence of disparate sources, archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the Girga Road and Kurkur Oasis reveal the implementation of the economic integration advocated in the Ballas inscription, and by the early Middle Kingdom officially-sponsored outposts appear at key points in the network of Western Desert routes;[16] a newly published text from Dakhla suggests that at least one official based at Mut carried out Monthuhotep II's policies in Dakhla Oasis.[17] The new and far-sighted[18] desert policy of Monthuhotep II may explain the difference in the types and locations of Middle Kingdom sites and routes in the Western Desert, compared both to what came before and to what came after. The site of Abu Ziyar reveals this conscious effort to expend funds and considerable human resources from the Nilotic tax base to build up routes to the southern oases, at least one goal of this expansion being the development of Kharga –and particularly northern and central Kharga– beyond what appears to have been its former, Old Kingdom condition.

Abu Ziyar

The site of Abu Ziyar is located along the Girga Road, about one third of the distance out from the Nile Valley.[19] A shallow depression, which supports a few bushes and small tress, suggest that the site of Abu Ziyar was strategically located near a periodic water source. Sherds from large Marl C storage jars delineate the extent of the site, which extends 45 m by 55 m; most of the activity is focused on a dry-stone structure, an apparently administrative outpost dating to the early Middle Kingdom (Figs. 4a-4b, 5). The ceramic remains support this conclusion; Nile Valley vessels are the most common at the site, particularly the large Marl-C zirs apparently produced in the area of Lisht[20] and dispatched from the Nile Valley. Indeed, the official supplying of such materiel from the Residence appear to have been the *raison d'être* of the site (Fig. 6A). The ceramic forms as a whole point to the reign of Senwosret I as the time of the initial use of the site (Fig. 6B-C); the vessel indices of the several Nile silt cups at the site are consistent with this date as well. Clearance of the site over five seasons has

[14] J.C. Darnell, in Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 789-99.
[15] Darnell, *RdE* 59, 81-109.
[16] J.C. Darnell, D. Darnell, "The Archaeology of Kurkur Oasis, Nuq' Maneih, and the Sinn el-Kiddab"; Darnell, "Abu Ziyar and Tundaba"; Darnell, Darnell, in Förster, Riemer (eds.), *Desert Road,* 221-63; Darnell, Darnell, in Raue, Seidlmayer, Speiser (eds.), *The First Cataract,* 35-52.
[17] Hope, Kaper, in Woods, McFarlane, Binder (eds.), *Studies in honour of Naguib Kanawati*, 219-46.
[18] Evidence for Montuhotep II's desert policies extend as far as Gebel Ouenat – see Förster, in Förster, Riemer (eds.), *Desert Road,* 314-21.
[19] The following is a summary of the excavation results presented in J.C. Darnell, "Abu Ziyar and Tundaba"; J.C. Darnell, D. Darnell, in Förster, Riemer (eds.), *Desert Road*, 221-63; for the Middle Kingdom approach to the deserts, see also J.C. Darnell, in Wilkinson (ed.), *Egyptian World*, 36-40.
[20] Bader, *Tell el-Dab'a XIII*, 30-6.

Fig. 4a – The early Middle Kingdom outpost at Abu Ziyar (photograph by kite); the area depicted measures approximately 30.5 m by 21.25 m, and the long sides of the building are oriented just west of north

Fig. 4b – View (looking northeast) of the dry-stone structure at Abu Ziyar, with Square D4 in the foreground

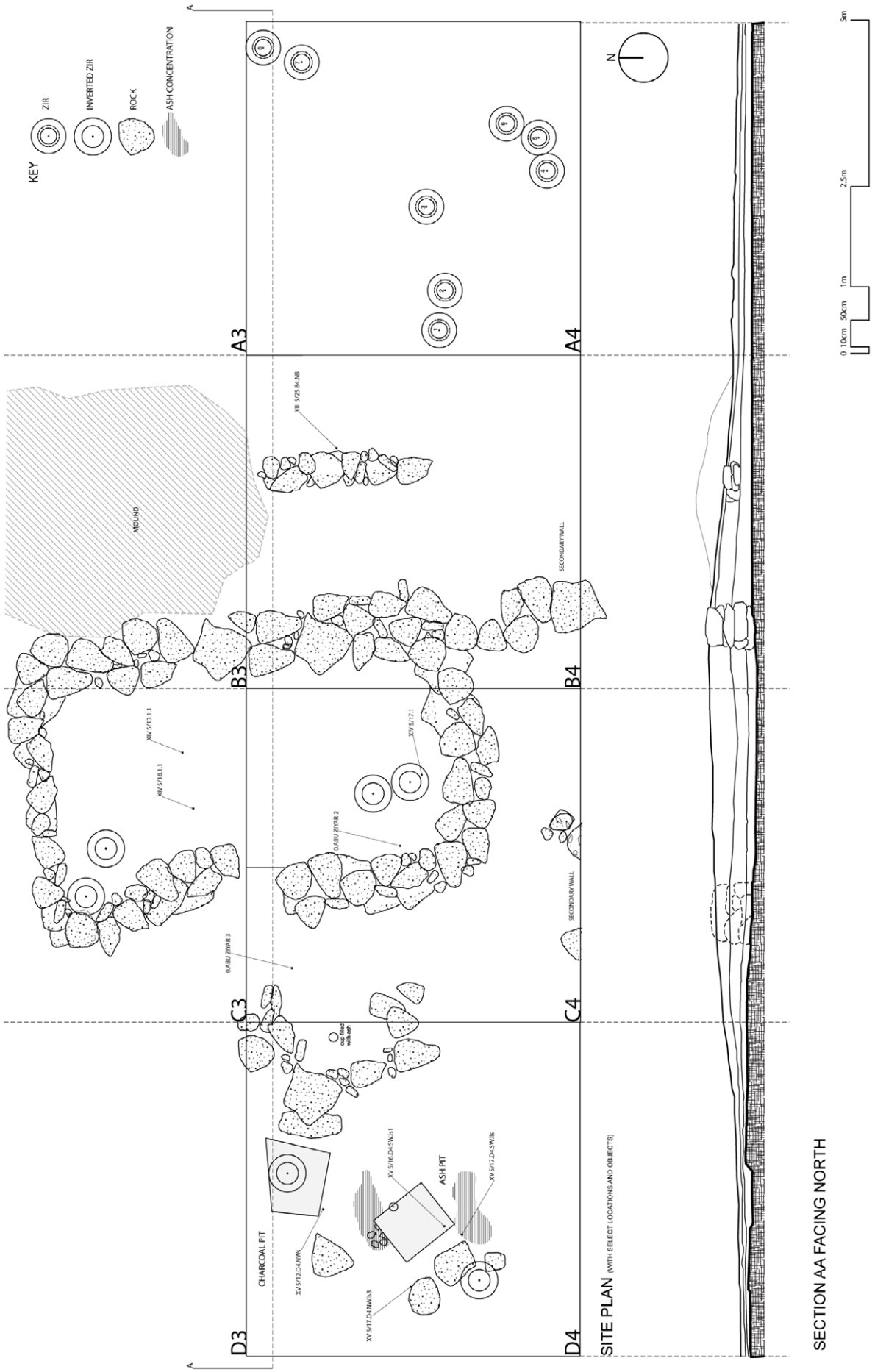


Fig. 5 – Plan and section of the excavated portion of Abu Ziyar, showing the rectangular dry-stone structure (Squares B3/C3/B4/C4) and the extensive cooking and baking activities in Square D4

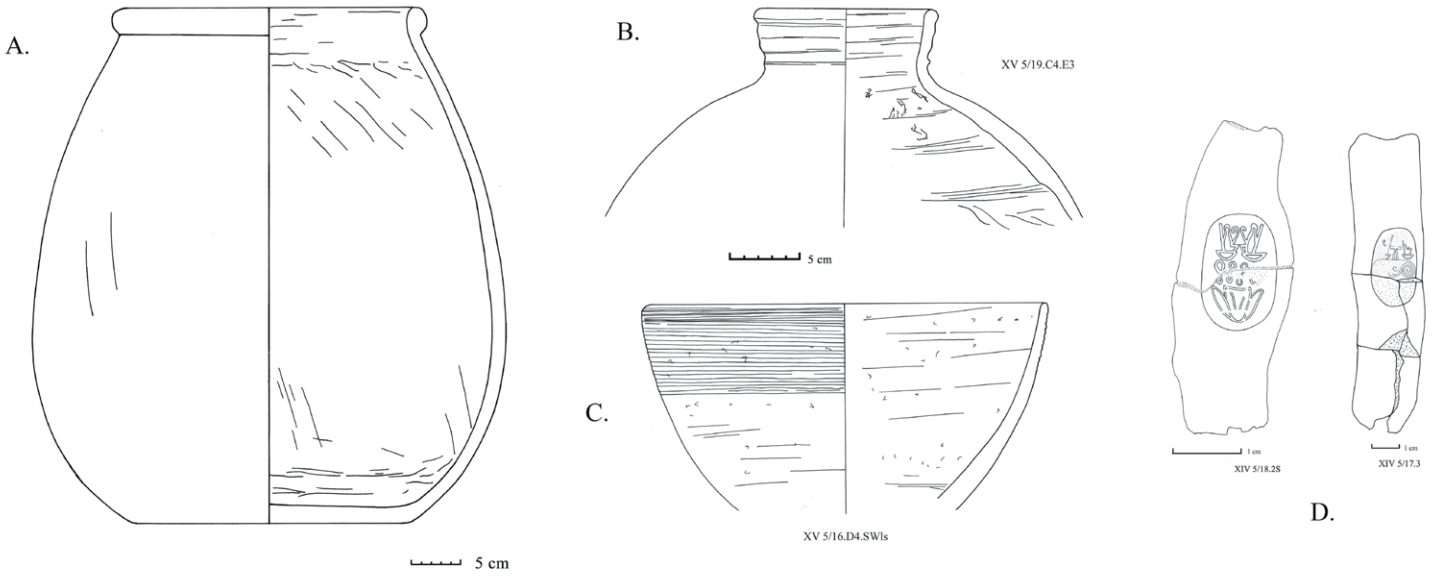


Fig. 6 – Ceramic and sigillographic remains from Abu Ziyar. A: Standard Marl C zir; B: Marl C jar with corrugated rim; C: bowl with rilling beneath rim (Nile B2); D: two document sealings

confirmed our view of Abu Ziyar as a major provisioning depot, with considerable food preparation occurring within the main dry stone structure at the site, and in the areas to the front (west) thereof. Sigilliographic material from Abu Ziyar, with early Middle Kingdom parallels,[21] indicates that (official?) letters were received, and presumably read, on site, and that at least some provisions were received directly from the treasury (Fig. 6D).

Abu Ziyar most closely resembles sites associated with quarries, and the Middle Kingdom Nubian fortress-provisioning areas.[22] Abu Ziyar is a site of official patronage, as the Marl-C jars reveal; the consistent 'Residence' pottery kit, and the hieratic 'calling card' of a probable work foreman at Abu Ziyar, point to the use of materiel and manpower dispatched by the nascent Middle Kingdom royal administration to develop the Girga Road, and presumably sites at the termini thereof in Kharga Oasis. Unlike other military or economic installations on pharaonic routes between the Nile and Kharga Oasis, Abu Ziyar represents an application of royal expeditionary practices to the use of desert routes between the Nile and Kharga Oasis during the early Middle Kingdom – a continuation of Monthuhotep II's policy toward the development of the oasis regions. This early Middle Kingdom attention to traffic on the main Girga Road in turn relates to the abundant archaeological evidence for a significant Middle Kingdom presence that the Theban Desert Road Survey has discovered in the environs of Gebel Ghueita.

The Late Middle Kingdom and Early Second Intermediate Period in Kharga Oasis

Since D. Darnell first recognized the presence of considerable pharaonic ceramic remains on the slopes of Gebel Ghueita in 2000,[23] surveys of the Theban Desert Road Survey have revealed that abundant evidence of Middle Kingdom through Second Intermediate Period activity is present in the area extending from the eastern slopes of Qarn el-Ghinneh southward to the south slope of Gebel Ghueita, a distance of over 3.5 kilometers. Within this area are three main concentrations of material, with continuous, smaller scatters in between: (1) the east slope of Qarn el-Ghinneh near a large Roman settlement; (2) the site we have named Umm Mawagir, located approximately 1 km north of Gebel Ghueita; (3) the eastern and southern slopes of Gebel Ghueita.

Umm Mawagir

Umm Mawagir is spread out along the southern half of the eastern shelf of a ridge running between Qarn el-Ghinneh to the north and Ghueita to the south, overlooking the northern portion of the Zayan depression that extends eastward to the escarpment that marks the boundary of the oasis. The site –identified by the Theban Desert Road Survey in 2005– preserves the first large-scale, non-funerary, pre-Persian Period structures of Dynastic date thus far known within Kharga Oasis (Figs. 7a-b). From the lowest to the uppermost levels, the majority of ceramic remains at the site derive from

[21] Bagh, *MDAIK* 58, 29-61; Bagh, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 13-25; Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder,* 389-92.

[22] Shaw, *ASAE* 74, 63-7; Shaw, Bloxam, *S&N* 3, 13-20.

[23] J.C. Darnell, in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia,* 172-73.

double and single-bodied bread molds, hence the name we gave to the site: Umm Mawagir, 'Mother of Bread Molds'. Umm Mawagir was the site of large-scale baking activity during the late Middle Kingdom/early Second Intermediate Period, and is situated in essentially the northern half of what appears to be an almost continuous north to south strip of pharaonic activity and mud-brick constructions stretching from the Umm Mawagir site to the southern slopes of Gebel Ghueita, the latter perhaps the administrative center of Kharga Oasis by the end of the Middle Kingdom. Thus far, the excavations of the Theban Desert Road Survey have focused on the

Fig. 7a (above) – View, looking southeast, over the North Area of Umm Mawagir

Fig. 7b (below) – View, looking north, over the Central Area of Umm Mawagir

North Area (2008-2009 field season) and the larger Central Area (2010-2011 and 2011-2012 field seasons). The Umm Mawagir site appears to have remained essentially undisturbed since its abandonment, which the ceramic evidence suggests was probably completed by the late Seventeenth Dynasty. One of the most remarkable features in all portions of the site is the extraordinary accumulation of thick deposits of ash, charcoal, and sherds over the course of almost certainly less than two hundred years. The ceramic corpus at the site reveals the constant presence of basic forms from the lowest stratum to the surface material (see further below).

Architectural Remains and Debris Piles at North Umm Mawagir

The present surface of the north area of Umm Mawagir (excavated during the 2008-2009 field season) is a thin (2-4 cm) layer of wind-blown sand covering the top level of ancient remains. Outcrops of shale define the north and east borders of the activity surrounding what appears to be the northernmost structure at the site (Structure A, Fig. 8). The principal activity at the site –both predating and contemporaneous with Structure A– was bread baking. The earliest material at the site, predating the construction of Structure A, consists of one to four distinct layers of primarily ash and ceramic material. Although in Square J35 this layer (Level 1002) underlying the northern portion of the east wall of Structure A is only 16 cm in depth (Fig. 9), the same activity level in Square J31 is 65 cm in depth, and consists of several distinct sub-levels – Levels 1005 to 1008 (Fig. 10). Although much of the original baking at the site may have occurred in open hearths, a small section of mud-brick wall underlying Wall E in Square J34, a post-hole in Square K34 below Wall F, and another adjacent to Wall E in J34, reveal the presence of a (semi-permanent?) structure in the area prior to the construction of Structure A.

Structure A, North Umm Mawagir

Investigations at North Umm Mawagir have focused on the southeast corner of Structure A, the east and south walls thereof, and a room (Room I, roughly 4 m x 5 m)

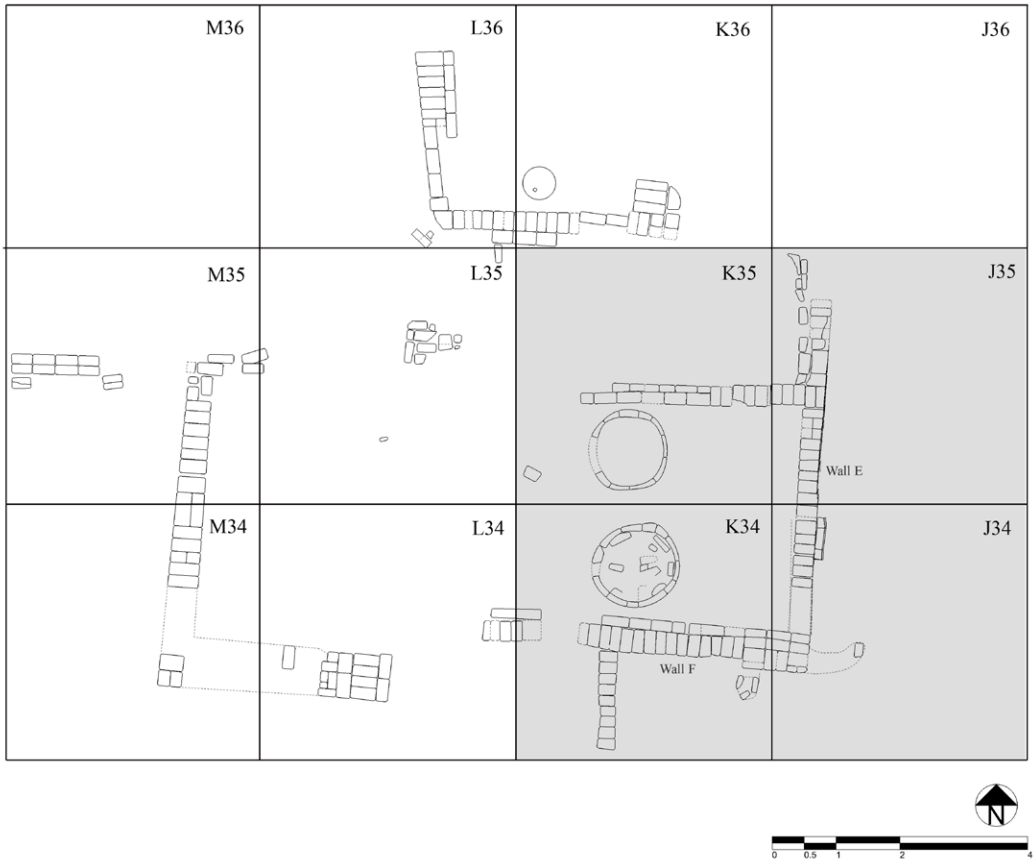


Fig. 8 – Plan of Structure A and associated mud-brick walls; shaded area indicates squares investigated during the 2008-2009 field season

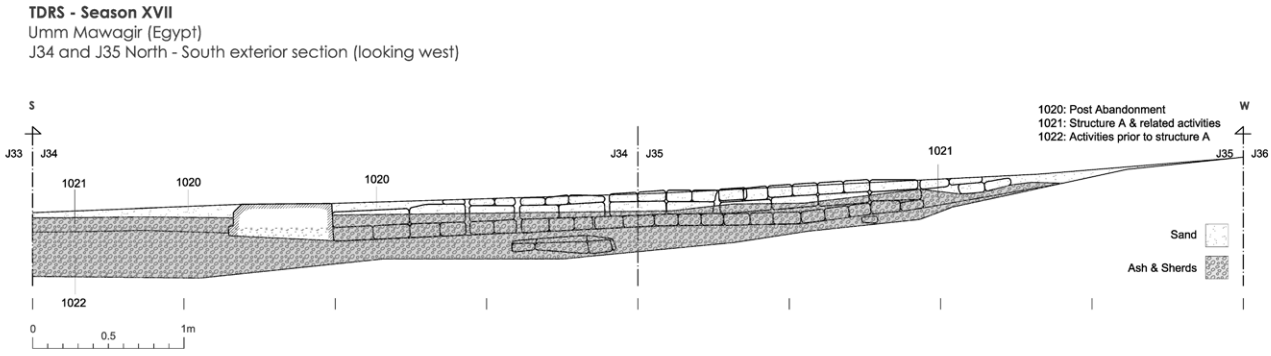


Fig. 9 – North-south section through Squares J34-J35, showing the three deposition levels on the exterior of the eastern mud-brick wall of Structure A

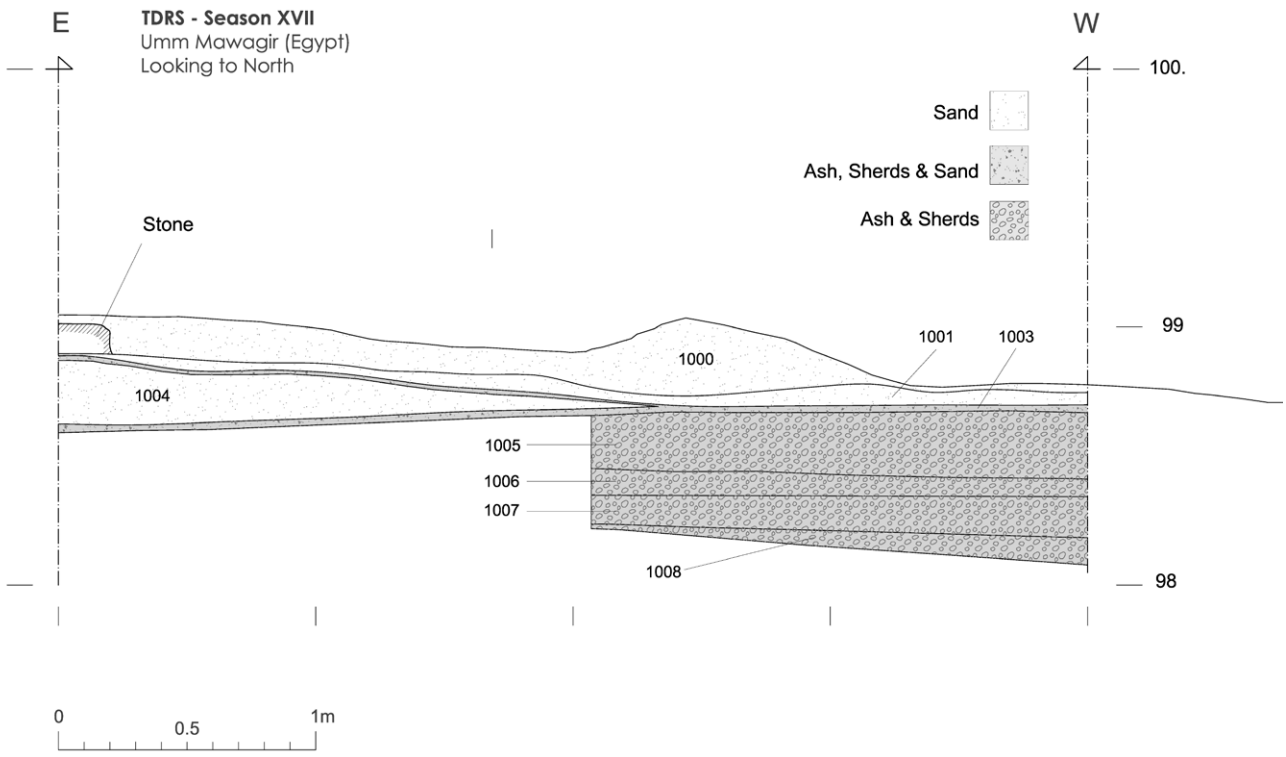


Fig. 10 – North-south section through the radim pile in Square J31, looking west

that contained two circular features (Features 2 and 3) (Fig. 11). Structure A was built directly atop the original spread of compacted debris[24] (Fig. 12). Each wall is preserved to the height of three courses of bricks, laid as alternating courses of headers and stretchers.[25] The south wall of Structure A (Wall F) is thicker than the other walls; a projecting course of foundation bricks to the south was probably intended to counteract the overall north-south slope of the ash and sherd layer underlying the eastern wall (and probably the entire structure). During the period of use of Structure A, similar layers of primarily ash and ceramic material continued to develop around and within the building. The construction of Structure A atop an ashy layer, and the tolerance of ash build-up within and without the structure during its period of use, may reflect an understanding of the ability of ash to act as

[24] At Tell Heboua and Balat/Ain Asil, brick walls were similarly constructed atop levels of ash, sherds, and sand: Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell Heboua*, 40-41, fig. 4; Baud, *BIFAO* 97, 20.

[25] The alternating courses of bricks and change in brick orientation within a single course of a particular stretch of wall find parallels in the fortress at Tell Heboua – Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell Heboua*, 141, fig. 16 (for the history of this structure and the dating of these walls to the Second Intermediate Period, see p. 62 and p. 144, fig. 19).

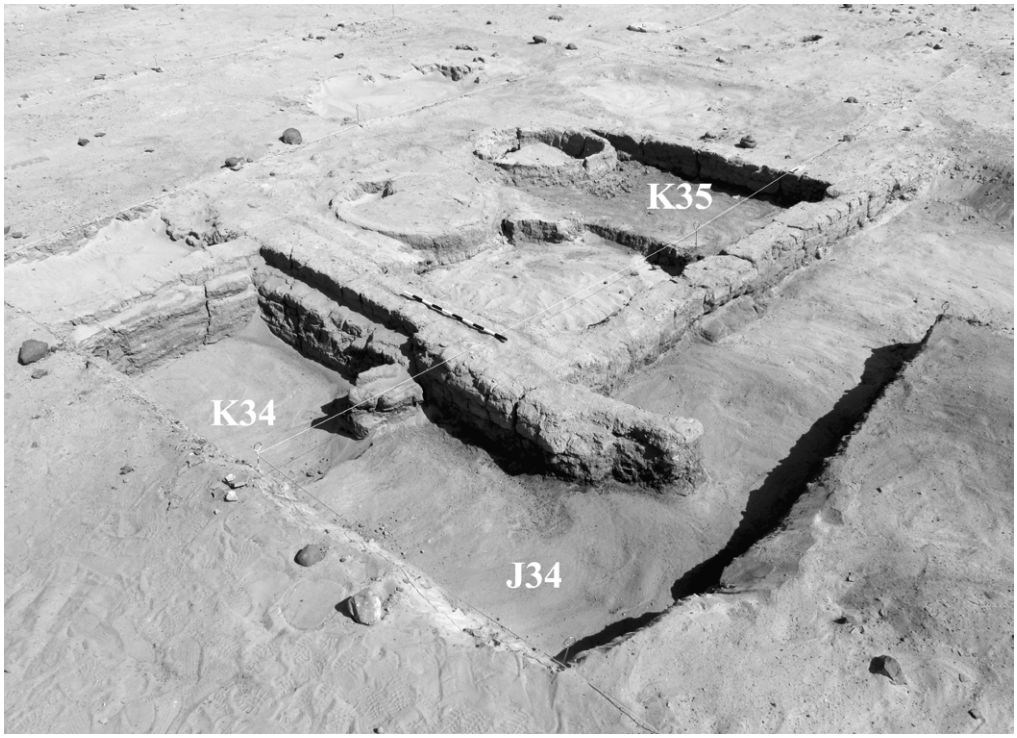


Fig. 11 – View, looking north-west, of Structure A and Room I, showing the main walls of the structure and the round bases of the kilns

Fig. 12 – View (looking west) of the northern oven base (Feature 3); the arrows show the top of the ash and debris that had accumulated prior to the construction of Room I and the two oven bases

an insecticide.[26] Although large quantities of material appear to have been removed from within and near the building, resulting in the large mounds of debris clustering south of the structure (Fig. 13), the intensity of activity within the structure resulted in the deposition of approximately 8 to 12 cm of hard-packed ash and sherds within Room I.

The activity in Room I centered on two round features, which the fire-hardened surfaces and quantities of ash surrounding them mark as ovens. The bases of the ovens sit atop Level 1022, the same layer of ash and sherds underlying the main walls of Structure A (Fig. 12). A circular wall of mud-brick, filled with brick rubble and packed earth, formed the bases of the ovens, of which the upper portions are missing. Comparable features appear in the early Middle Kingdom contexts at Abu Ghâlib,[27] Lisht,[28] Mirgissa,[29]

[26] Samuel, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 561; Miller, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports IV*, 14-5.

[27] Larsen, *MDAIK* 10, 11-3, pl. 9.
[28] Mace, *BMMA* 17, 14, fig. 15.
[29] Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites,* 16.

Fig. 13 – Mounds of debris south of the bakery building (Structure A) in the North Area of Umm Mawagir

and Nag Baba,[30] as well as in the Second Intermediate Period fortress at Tell Heboua.[31]

A layer of hardened ash built up inside the ovens, with large amounts of ash accumulating outside. The absence of any internal platform within the ovens indicates that they may have been similar to the modern *tannur* (*tandoor*). Such ovens would by definition produce large amounts of ash. The *tannur* oven is essentially cylindrical, perhaps tapering slightly to the open top, closed by use of a flat, circular lid. A fire built in the interior bottom is allowed to burn down to ash, high heat developing within through the presence of a convection hole low on the oven. When the fire is burned to ash, the baker throws moist dough onto the interior sides of the oven, closing the top; when the bread is done, it falls from the oven walls into the warm ash in the bottom of the oven. The double and single-bodied bread molds could also have been placed in the bottoms of these ovens, and in the open burning areas as well. Within the ovens, a baker could theoretically cook the apparently special breads of the bread molds, along with the 'pita'-style bread that could be baked simultaneously on the interior walls of the oven.[32]

[30] Säve-Söderbergh (ed.), *Middle Nubian Sites*, vol. I, 265-7; vol. II, pls. 167-70.

[31] Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell Heboua*, 66-7, pl. 5.

[32] The ovens in the back room of the Meketre bakery (Winlock, *Models of Daily*, pls. 64-5, no. 10) appear to be of the *tannur* form; a baker appears in the act of either insert a circular loaf into a *tannur*-oven, or removing such from the same, in a scene in the tomb of Nebamun (TT 17 – Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, 24 [with n. 3] and pl. 22); compare also Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes,* pl. 58.

[33] Marchand, Soukiassian, *Balat VIII*, 5-9.

Ancient Debris Piles: A View from Square J31, North Umm Mawagir

Near the eastern tip of a curving line of debris stretching from Squares I30 to M32, along an essentially northwest to southeast line, Square J31 revealed a dense pack of baking debris (Fig. 13). The location of the detritus to the south/south-east of the northern portion of the site is logical, that area being both downhill and generally downwind of Structure A. The debris in J31 (Fig. 10) consists of a dense pack of sherds in ash with some sand, lying atop a thin layer of sand and small, apparently water-borne pebbles (Levels 1003/1004), spread atop a deep accumulation of sherds and ash representing the initial activity across the entire site (Levels 1005-1008; Fig. 10), being similar in composition to the layer of ash and sherds underlying Structure A, and more hard packed than the upper debris pile. The loosely packed, upper debris spray appears therefore to belong to debris cleared out during the use of Structure A; the sand and small stones atop the lower levels represent the period of construction and early use of Structure A, before intensive debris dumping resumed in J31. As will be discussed in the ceramics section, bread molds far exceeded other sherds in number, jars and cups were present in small numbers, and zirs were conspicuous by their rarity.

Umm Mawagir Central Area: Platform and Courtyards

The central portion of the Umm Mawagir site, slightly southwest of the northern area, reveals extensive architectural remains, including walls preserved nearly to a meter in height, a large mud brick platform, and several north-south oriented courtyards (Fig. 14). Thus far the layout of the architecture at Umm Mawagir seems to evoke that of the contemporaneous settlement at Ain Asil in Dakhla Oasis.[33] Although most of the central area of Umm Mawagir remains unexcavated, many of the cleared structures appear to be open or partially open courtyards; as of yet, no repetitive elements of multiple

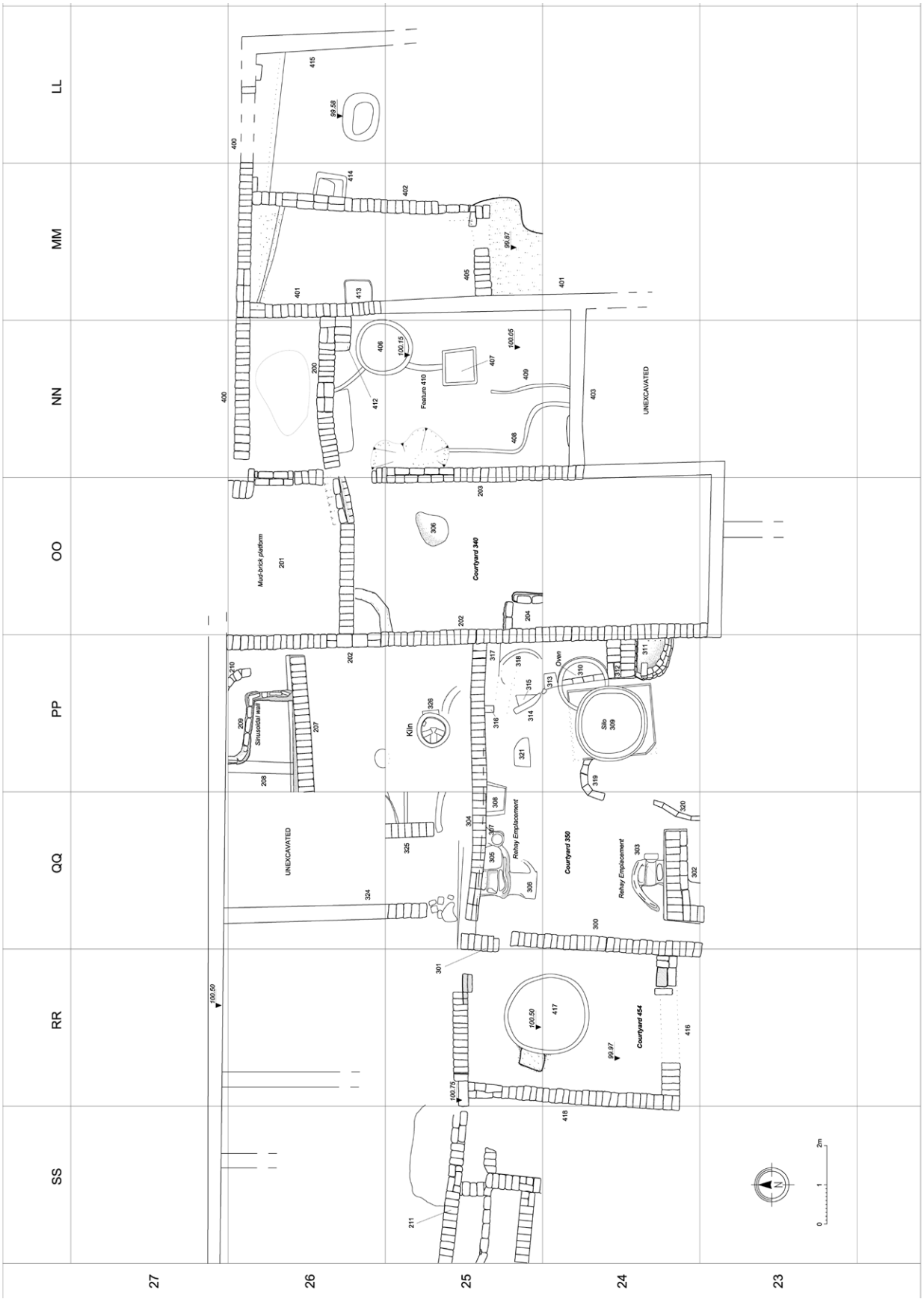


Fig. 14 – Plan of the excavated squares of the Central Area

domestic structures of a standard tripartite house are clearly in evidence.[34] All of the excavated buildings and main walls at Umm Mawagir are oriented almost exactly to the cardinal points, suggesting an overall orthogonal plan for the site. The ceramic material in the central area is consistent with that from the bakery area to the northeast, providing as well an abundance of pot-marks and an array of bowls of a Nubian ceramic tradition, the latter occurring in both Nile Valley and oasis fabrics.

The deposition of levels in the central area follows the same overall three phases as the north area: layers of thick, ashy debris (Phase 1), underlying the construction of architectural features with the deposition of further debris (Phase 2), followed by abandonment and mud-brick collapse (Phase 3). The Phase 1 ashy accumulation did not extend uniformly across the Central Area, however, as the earliest constructions in Courtyard 350 rest atop a smoothed and packed shale surface; likewise, the courtyard in Squares NN 24-26 did not have an initial layer of ash. Nevertheless, in both courtyards, the rather minimal initial constructions saw the formation of an at least thin ashy layer before the construction of the later and more extensive installations within both of those courtyards. For example, an east-west section through the north baulk of QQ25 reveals several levels of activity and building phases (Fig. 15): partway through the accumulation of a layer with sparse sherds (the dotted line in the middle of Level 4048), Wall 325 was constructed, a north-south wall belonging to an as yet unexcavated feature. After the deposition of Level 4047 –the initial phase of activity within the structure including Wall 325– an additional wall (Wall 324) was built; additional levels of activity then took place within the modified structure, corresponding to the Phase 2 activity across the site. Collapsed mud-brick walls and sand accumulation in Courtyard 350 (Fig. 15, Level 4040) corresponds to Phase 3, the abandonment of the site.

Most of the activity in the courtyards of the Central Area involved bread production, including grain storage, flour preparation, and bread baking; one area (PP 25) also provided evidence of the preparation and firing of ceramic vessels (Feature 326). Overlooking the courtyards in the area bounded east and west by LL 26 and RR 24 is a mud brick platform, which may extend from Square MM27 to RR 27. Although casemate walls could be constructed in the same manner as freestanding walls, the presence of a blocked doorway (northern portion of the east side of PP 26) and variation between the construction techniques of the outer walls of the platform imply the conversion of an earlier structure or portion thereof into the retaining walls of a solid mud-brick platform.[35]

To the south of the platform (Feature 201) is a small courtyard with a quarter-circle emplacement lined with mud-brick in the northwest corner (Fig. 14). The main artifacts around this emplacement placed in a line along the south wall of the platform were conical jar stoppers made from coarse local clay. East of this emplacement is the courtyard entrance and a small tree pit. At the southeast end of the cleared portion of the courtyard, we uncovered the northern part of a small, low platform (Feature 204). The apparently rectangular north-south oriented courtyard area with what may have been a small dais in the middle of one of its long sides resembles the so-called ʻoffice roomʼ in the house of the commander of the Middle Kingdom fort at Buhen.[36]

On the western side of the platform, an east-west wall (Wall 207) of one stretcher thickness roughly divides square PP26 in half. Compacted layers of ash and ceramic remains appear to indicate a rapid deposition of debris both north and south of the east-west wall (Fig. 16). Before the initial layers of deposition and the construction of the east-west wall, the builders of Umm Mawagir constructed a low, narrow, sinusoidal wall (Fig. 17). The portion of the sinusoidal wall visible in PP26 appears to be oriented southeast to northwest, as opposed to the essentially south-north orientation of the main structures from the floruit of the Umm Mawagir site. Several close parallels to the underlying sinusoidal wall at Umm Mawagir appear at other Middle Kingdom through Second Intermediate Period sites: the Middle Kingdom fortified settlement at Qasr es-Sagha;[37] the ʻSouth Wall Streetʼ in the inner town of Buhen fortress;[38] in the courtyard of tomb S9 at South Abydos;[39] and beneath a wall in the fortress at Tell Heboua.[40] The wall in PP26 sits atop a foundation course of one to two bricks in thickness, and crosses the sinusoidal wall, the top of which is essentially level with the top of the foundation course. Atop the surface at the southern end of PP26 is a portion of a stone column base, which may suggest the presence of at least one sizable structure in the central area of the site during Phase 1, which is otherwise rep-

[34] For an overview of the two basic forms of Middle Kingdom domestic architecture, see von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII,* 189-205.

[35] The platform may be a modest version of the large platforms, with staircases, that may have been used to review administrative proceedings – see Moeller, in Ikram, Dodson (eds.), *Beyond the Horizon,* 265.

[36] Emery, Smith, Millard, *The Fortress of Buhen*, 51-2, pl. 16.

[37] Sliwa, in Jánosi (ed.), *Structure and Significance*, 479, pl. 1, fig. 2; Sliwa, *StudAeg* 14, 523-6; Arnold, *Encyclopedia of Architecture*, 63.

[38] Emery, Smith, Millard, *The Fortress of Buhen,* 67, pl. 27.

[39] McCormack, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 76-7.

[40] Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell Heboua*, 39, 145.

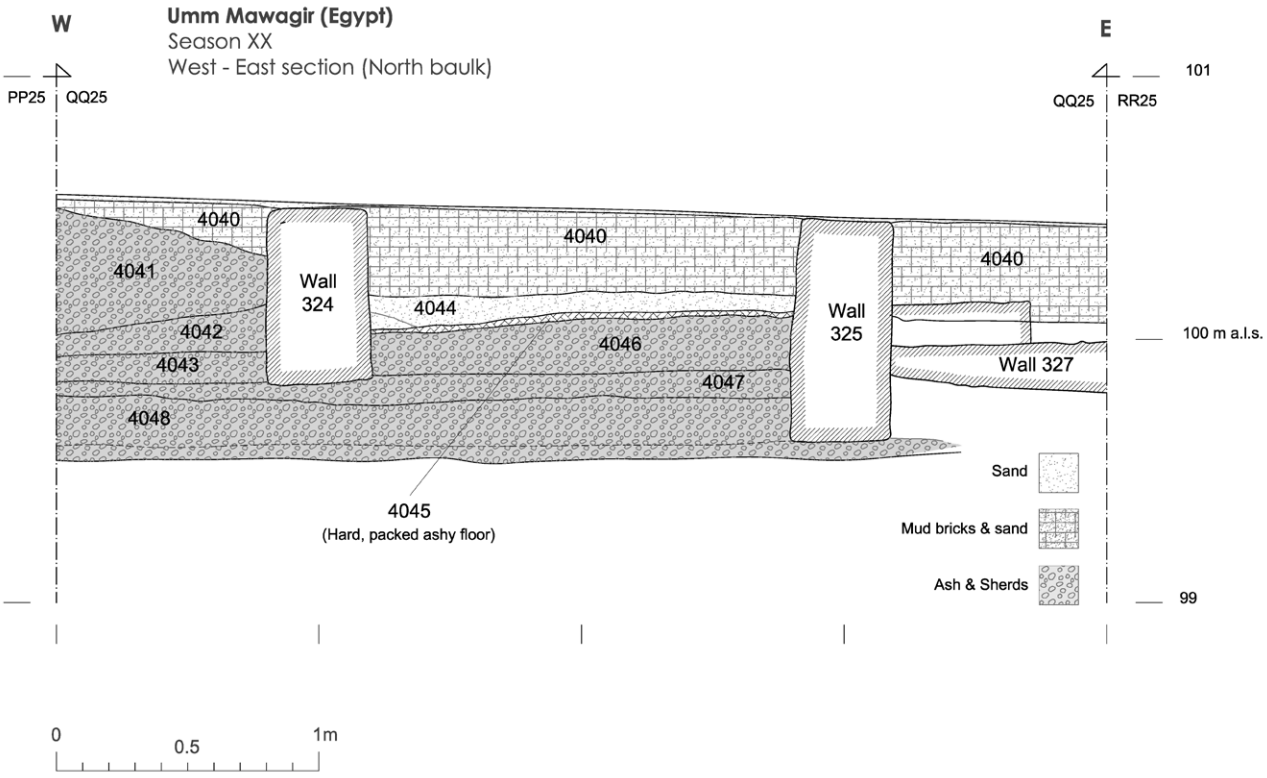


Fig. 15 – East-west section through the north baulk of QQ25

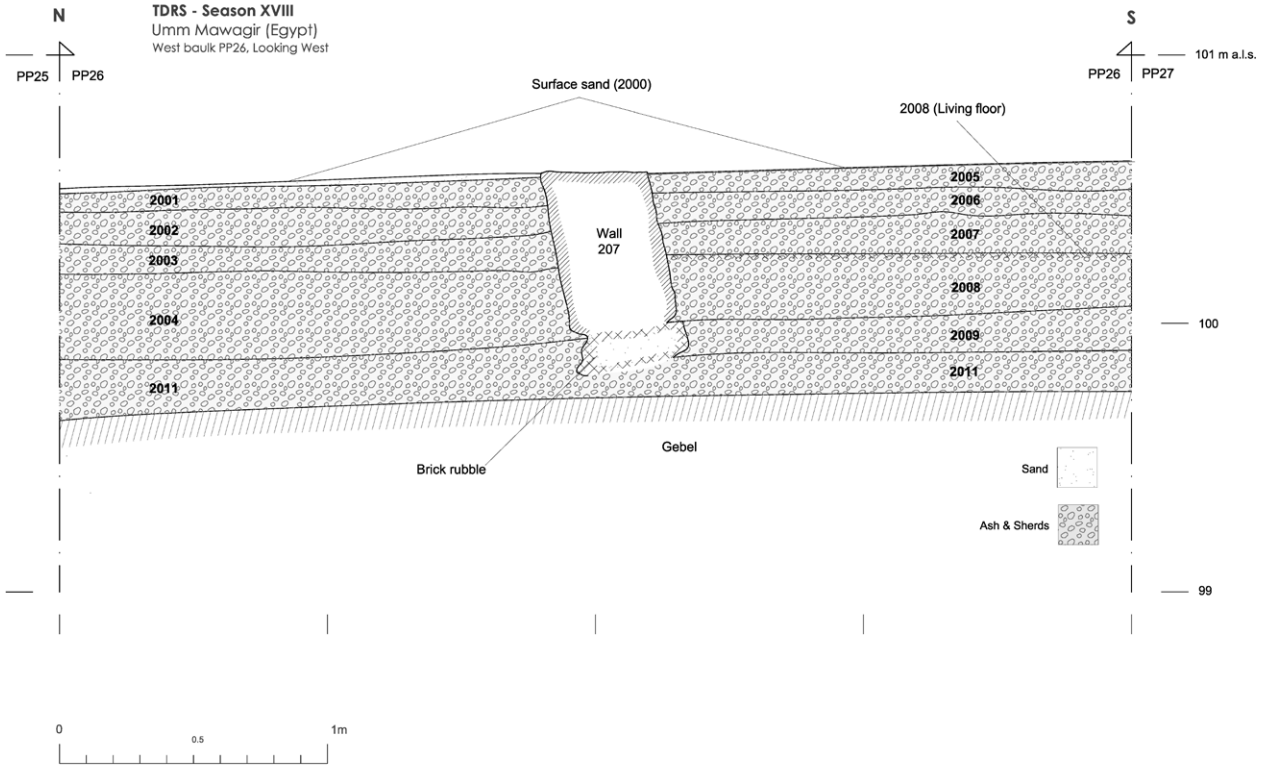


Fig. 16 – North-south section along west baulk of PP25, looking west

resented primarily by modest brick features, postholes, and considerable accumulations of ash and ceramic material.

Courtyard 454, approximately 4m x 5m (eight by ten cubits), is dominated by a single large, round feature (Feature 417) (Fig. 18). Around Feature 417, the courtyard was filled with a thick level of windblown sand above which was mud-brick debris as well as large slabs of mud-brick, the latter apparently remnants of the upper portions of Feature 417. Along the walls of the courtyard at the level of the floor we recovered several complete vessel profiles, including double-bodied bread molds, cups, and

Fig. 17 – View (looking east) of Square PP26, showing sinusoidal wall

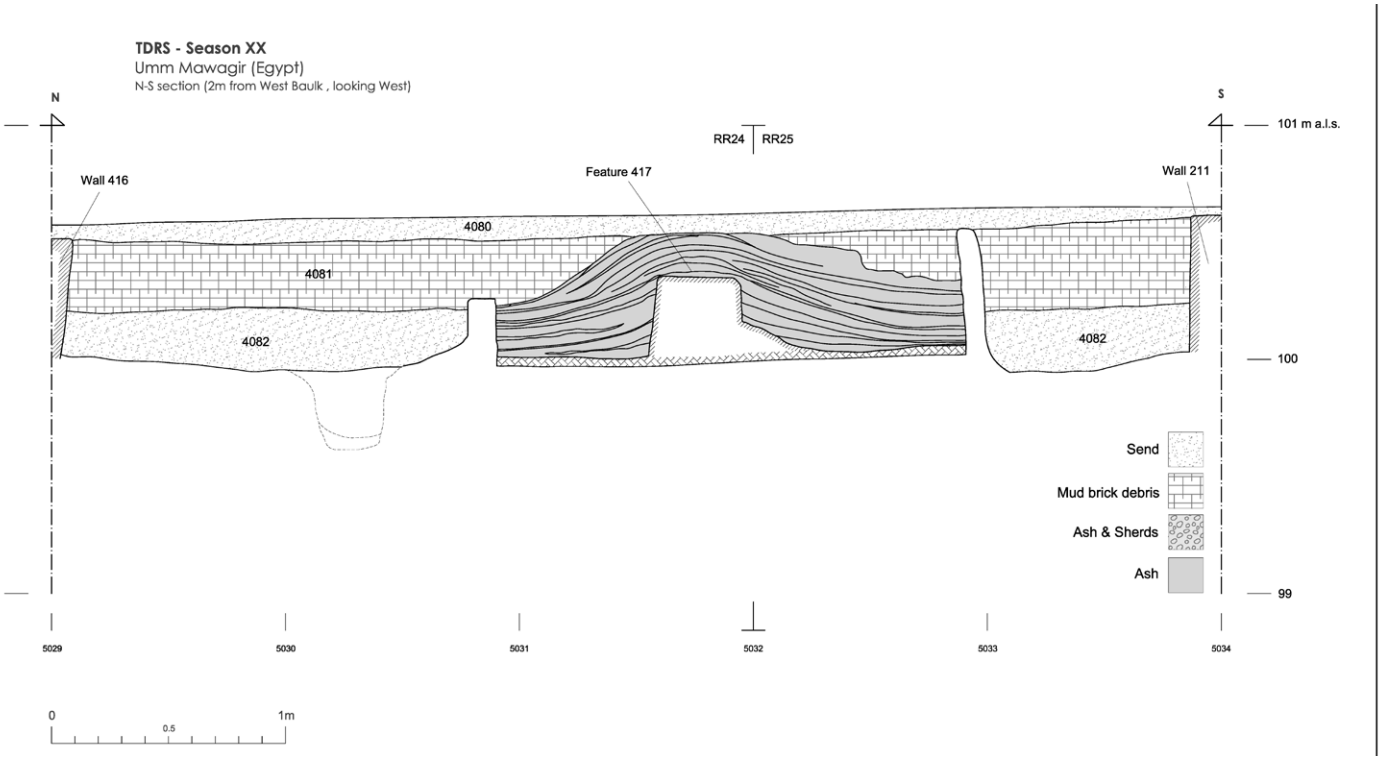


Fig. 18 – North-south section, 2 m from west baulk (looking west) of RR24 and RR25, showing profile of Feature 417

spouted bowls. A small beaker (Fig. 43b) in Nile B2, found in the sand fill below the mud-brick debris is significant for the dating of the final phases of activity at Umm Mawagir to the late Seventeenth Dynasty. The size and thin walls of Feature 417 resemble a large silo, but clearance of the feature indicates that at least its final phase of use was as a large burning area. A plinth in the center of Feature 417 may have been used to prop vessels or other cooking implements over the fire.

Grinding the Grain

A layer of shale approximately 40 cm thick (Level 3036) that appears to be of the same composition as the original ground represents the layer of earliest activity within the excavated Squares QQ 24-25 and PP 24-25 (Figs. 19-20). Although the ashy matrix present in both the North Area and the northern portion of the Central Area was absent here, a moderate number of sherds and stone *rahay* (grinding stone) fragments were found embedded as deep as 40 cm within the shale level; the ceramic remains within Level 3036 do not differ from the standard corpus of material in the majority of the lower levels at Umm Mawagir, dating to the late Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasties, and thus not substantially earlier in date than the main settlement. Tilling of moist ground, and subsequent packing down of the surface to create the floor of the courtyard, could explain the presence of late Middle Kingdom archaeological material within the hard packed level.

At some point during the Thirteenth Dynasty, mud-brick walls (Wall 300 and 322) and at least two ovens were built atop this smoothed shale surface (Level 3036) (Fig. 14). The bases of the two ovens (Features 310 and 318) match in their size and design the ovens excavated in Structure A in the northern area of Umm Mawagir. The contemporaneous Feature 321 is a low brick platform with secondary firing, surrounded by a dense white ash. Level 3035 –the usual accumulation of ash with some ceramic remains that underlies most of the major constructions at Umm Mawagir– represents the initial phase of activity within the courtyard, during which the ovens were dismantled, and silo 309 and its stairway were constructed.[41] After a short interval of continuous activity (the upper portions of Level 3035), Wall 302 was constructed, and a prepared floor was laid (Level 3033); silo 309 remained in use. Atop Level 3033, three complex *rahay* emplacements and additional walls (Walls 304 and 323) were constructed, the latter completing the boundaries of the courtyard in its final form; the apparently open burning area in Features 314 and 315 was also in use.

The most unusual remains atop Level 3033 are three mud-brick and mud plaster emplacements for grain-grinding stones (*rahay*s). The two large emplacements (Features 303 and 305) are constructed against east-west walls and consist of a low platform with a central depression on which the *rahay* would be placed (Figs. 21a-21b). The grinding stones had been removed, indicative of a purposeful abandonment of the courtyard, but the slight depressions for the stones were clearly preserved. To the right of each *rahay* slot is a curved shelf and low mud wall that curves towards the main wall of the courtyard. The semi-circular mud wall and the shelves to either side of the central depression would have caught the products of the grain grinding, allowing easy retrieval of the material and limiting losses due to wind. The curving outer wall of each emplacement continues toward the adjoining wall of the courtyard, constructed of tall bricks laid vertically, with a narrow vertical opening remaining for the removal of the ground flour. South of Feature 305 is a smaller and more eroded *rahay* emplacement (Feature 306).

These *rahay* emplacements provide archaeological parallels to scenes and models of the grain grinding process.[42] Black painted Middle Kingdom models of grain grinding emplacements from the tomb of Meketre[43] indicate construction from alluvial material, and similar emplacements for grinding in the kneeling position, some also with receptacles at the lower end, are attested in statuettes.[44] The brick and plaster flour receptacles at Umm Mawagir are taller than the vestigial representations of such in many models and statuettes, with the closest parallels for the appearance of the Umm Mawagir emplacements in the latter category, with tall flour receptacles at the far end from the worker, being the models MMA 11.150.12.[45] The tall flour holding areas would represent a higher holding capacity than the smaller troughs on movable *rahay* holders attested in Middle Kingdom scenes[46] and models,[47] and are a permanent alternative to the large pots that might have been similarly employed on an *ad hoc* basis.[48] A standing *rahay* emplacement at Deir el-Medina[49] is almost identical in construction to the kneeling emplacements at Umm Mawagir, with the exception of the flour receptacle, the sides of which are lower than its earlier, oasis forerunners.

[41] Compare the silos in Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. 22.

[42] On such emplacements in general see Samuel, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 561-3.

[43] Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, 28, with pls. 22-3, 65 [fig. 2].

[44] From many possible examples the New Kingdom statuettes see Bovot, *Les serviteurs funéraires*, 217-9 [no. 87]; and Hornemann, *Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, vol. I, pls. 543, 546 *cf.* from many possible examples the New Kingdom statuettes Bovot, *Les serviteurs funéraires*, 217-219 [no. 87]; and Hornemann, *Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, vol. II, pls. 543, 546

[45] Breasted, *Servant Statues*, 41; see also <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/555953?rpp=20&pg=1&ft=11.150.12&pos=1> accessed 7.14.2015.

[46] Wildung, *L'Âge d'or de l'Égypte*, 118, fig. 102.

[47] Winlock, *Models of Daily Life,* pls. 44, 77, fig. S.

[48] Breasted, *Servant Statues*, pl. 17.

[49] Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir el Médineh*, 97.

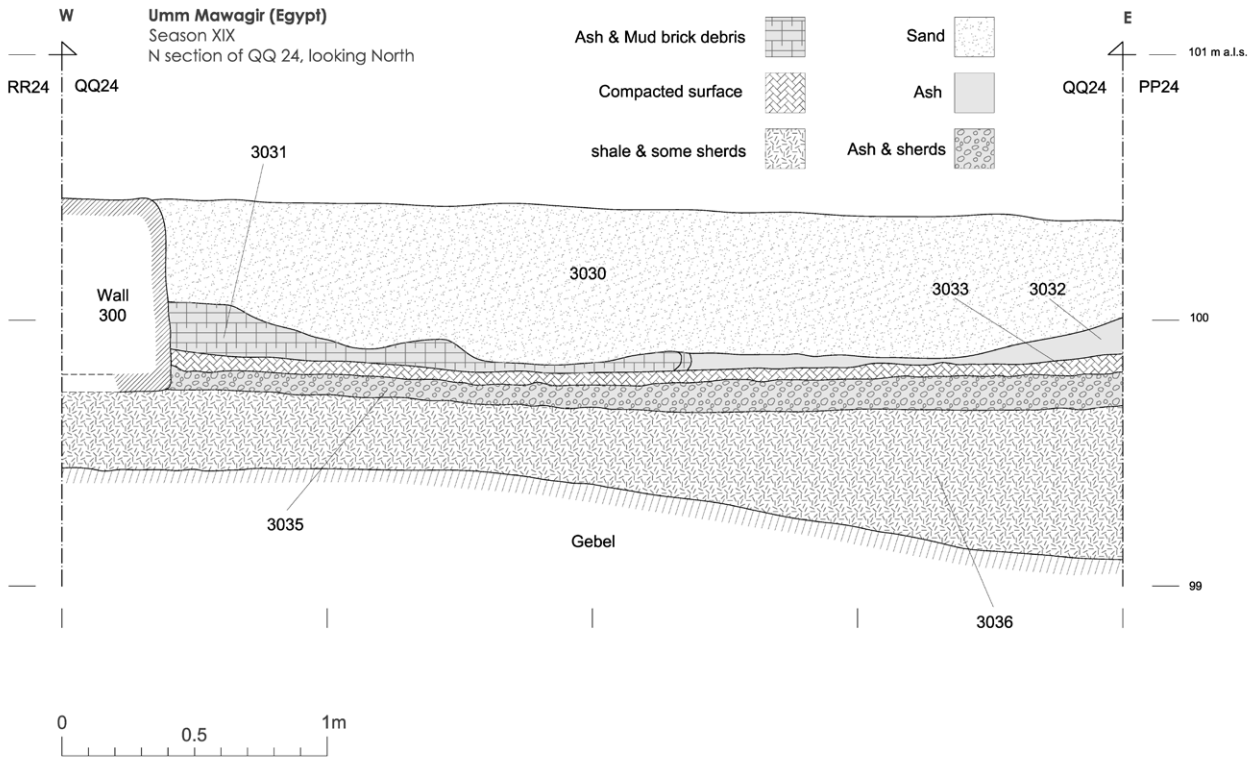


Fig. 19 – East-west section through north baulk of QQ24, looking north

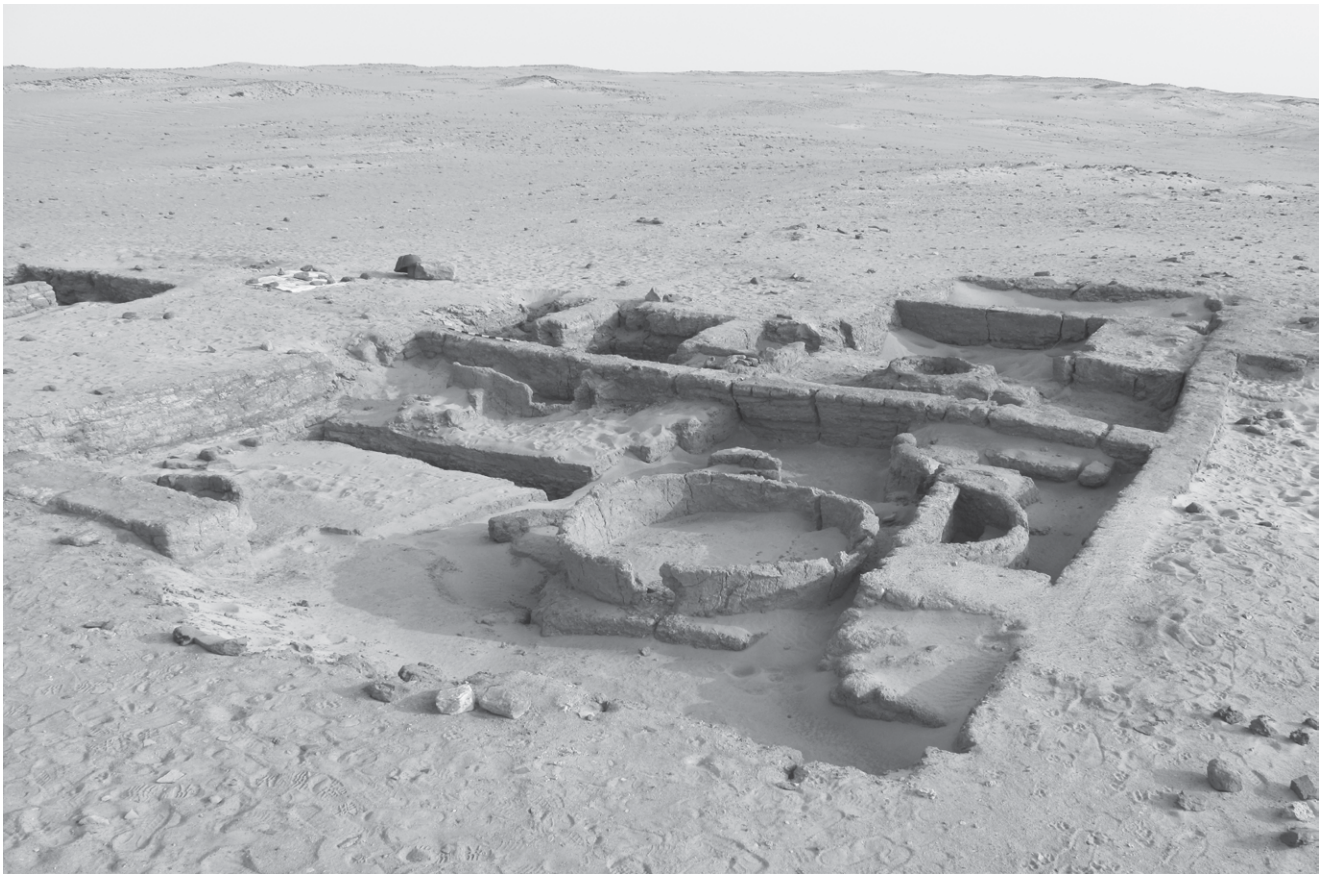


Fig. 20 – View of courtyard (350) with grain grinding emplacements

Fig. 21a – Rehay emplacement (303)

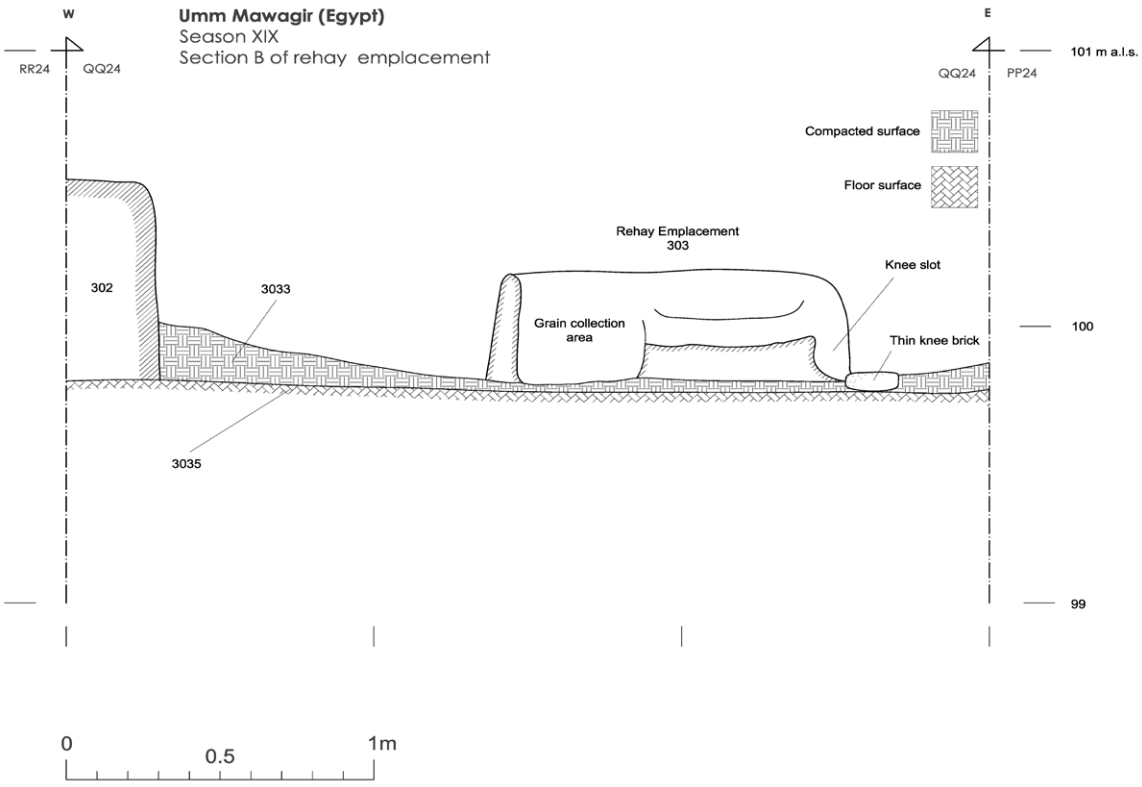


Fig. 21b – Section through rehay emplacement (303), west baulk of QQ24

Baking Bread and Firing Bread Molds

Wherever walls at Umm Mawagir rest atop a rock or shale surface, in the absence of the accumulation of prior ashy debris in the area, a layer of ash was allowed to form, if indeed it was not purposefully spread, around the bases of the walls. The walls of the courtyard in Squares NN25/26 –Courtyard 450– appear to have been laid out at the same time as several of the major walls in the Central Area, including Walls 400, 401, 402, and 405. The original feature of the courtyard was a burning emplacement in the southwest corner created by digging into the gebel surface approximately 10 cm, with the small Wall 408 constructed around the depression. Burning within the feature resulted in a rapid build-up of ash throughout the courtyard, filling the depression and creating a thin layer of ash beneath all of the later features in the courtyard. The second phase of activity within the courtyard included the construction of a mud brick 'box' (Feature 407) and a stone-based silo (Feature 406). As the north-south section through Squares NN26 and 25 reveals, the accumulation of ash through the continued use of Feature 408 persisted through the later phases of use of the courtyard.

Feature 406 is a silo 1.2 m in diameter with a base formed of roughly finished pieces of local limestone fitted together to provide a smooth surface. The small size and stone lining of the silo suggest a use for the storage of flour or dough; in the small area of debris bounded by Feature 406 and Walls 411 and 400, a fragment of a thick (ca. 9 cm) and flat ceramic object may belong to the lid of the silo.

The thin walled 'box' in Square NN26 (Feature 407) also has a stone-lined base. A section through Feature 407 shows a layer of hardened ash atop the stone, with some windblown sand, above which is a thick (ca. 12 to 14 cm) deposit of clay, formed in a series of distinct folds (Fig. 22). To the west of Feature 407 was a deposit of at least twenty-five low fired, mostly double-bodied bread molds. Within this deposit were also two unfired double-bodied bread molds (Fig. 23), strongly suggesting that the manufacture and firing of bread molds took place within Courtyard 450. The clay preparation for the bread molds might have taken place in Feature 407, and the burning area demarcated by Wall 408 would be a logical place to fire the molds as well as to bake bread; ceramic remains from the burning area are sparse, but several broken double-bodied bread molds and a large single bread mold *in situ* within the ash support the interpretation of the long chute bounded by Wall 408 as an open-area cooking and baking installation. The long chute and the rounded corner of Wall 408 find exact parallels in a courtyard of the Second Intermediate Period settlement at Ain Asil.[50]

[50] Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 56.

The Bread of Umm Mawagir

Bread made in the ovens at Umm Mawagir probably consisted of small loaves baked in molds placed atop ash in open burning areas and perhaps in the bottoms of the ovens, and flat bread baked directly on the inner surfaces of the superstructures of the probable *tannur*-style ovens. The local fabric of the bread molds suggests that the bread ovens and open baking areas might have done double duty as both cooking areas and kilns.[51] The general and often astonishingly thick spread of material across the site in the levels of earliest activity in the North Area suggests frequent use of open burning/cooking pits across a wide area. Such activity continued even after the construction of the mud-brick building and its ovens, particularly apparent as a series of open burning pits along the eastern side of Structure A. In Square J35 of the North Area a large, roughly circular burning pit has had several smaller pits dug into its south and southeastern edges, revealing overlapping activities of differing scale at the site. The subsidiary walls that sit atop the ash and sherds that accumulated after the construction of Structure A further attest to continued activity outside of Structure A. These different types of baking, occurring simultaneously at Umm Mawagir, correspond to the Egyptian terms *psj*, "to bake (in a vessel)", and *sqfn*, "to bake (in ash)".[52]

In the Central Area, the series of courtyards represent different stages of the bread-production process during the later phases of the use of the site, and offer a nearly unparalleled glimpse into food production in a late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period oasis context. The analysis of botanical remains from the initial three seasons of work at Umm Mawagir indicates that barley represents 95% of the cereals at the site.[53] After the barley from the fields had been harvested and threshed, it was stored within silos, such as Feature 309 in Courtyard 350. From these silos, the hulled barley was removed and processed at the grinding emplacements. Experimental flour preparation carried out at the site in 2011, on a reproduction of one of the grinding emplacements, demonstrate that dry hulled barley could be easily ground into high quality flour with a single period of grinding in one of these emplacements.[54] The flour could be collected and separated from chaff with simple sieving, and coarse or medium ground flour was superior, as the fine flour was more difficult to separate from fine grains of sand. Wetting and/or charring was

[51] *Cf.* Nicholson, in Arnold, Bourriau (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, 112-3.

[52] Verhoeven, *Grillen, Kochen, Backen*, 157-68.

[53] The following section is based on the preliminary results of Cappers *et al.*, in Accetta *et al*. (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2013*, 49-63.

[54] *Art. cit.,* 59-60.

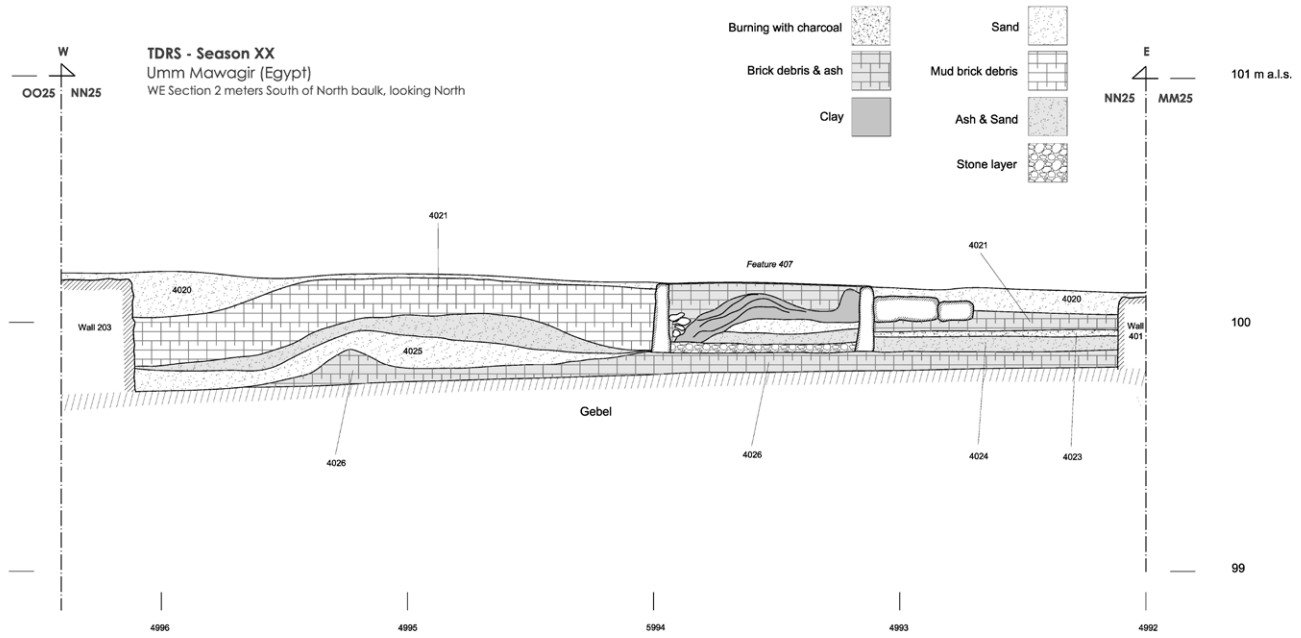


Fig. 22 – East-west section through NN25, 2 meters from north baulk, looking north

found to be unnecessary in the experimental reconstructions.[55]

Ground flour could have been stored in additional, smaller silos, such as the stone-lined silo (Feature 406) in Courtyard 450. Concurrent with the processing of the grain was the production of the bread molds. Manufactured from a coarse clay with abundant straw inclusions, the two bread mold types from the site–single-bodied and double-bodied molds–could be easily produced in large quantities by hand, with some finishing taking place on a slow wheel or turntable. The quantities of locally produced ceramics at Umm Mawagir suggest the presence of one or more probably several potter's workshops at the site, but *ad hoc* production of bread molds appears to have occurred as well. Two wheel-heads from potter's wheels were present in Building A at the North Area, and the clay-filled box (Feature 407) in Courtyard 450 appears to have served for the mixing of clay for the production of bread molds, as indicated by the unfired, double-bodied bread molds found adjacent to Feature 407.

Fig. 23 – Unfired double-body bread mold in association with Feature 407

The mixing of the dough for the bread may have taken place in large *zirs* (storage jars) or other portable ceramic forms, or even in wooden containers. The long chute demarcated by Wall 408 in Courtyard 350 was likely used both for the firing of bread molds (like the unfired examples found in Courtyard 350) and the baking of bread, and perhaps other cooking activities as well.

[55] Cappers *et al.*, in Accetta *et al*. (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2013*, 61-2. For use of prepared barley meal, possibly as an element in a type of gruel, on caravan routes of the oasis, see the remarks of Förster, *Der Abu Ballas-Weg,* 478-9.

Umm Mawagir Ceramics

The unusually dense deposits of ceramic remains at Umm Mawagir attest to the scale of pharaonic activity at the site. The consistency of ceramic forms and fabrics between the surface remains and the lowest levels of the site indicate that the activity in the area was consistent through the time of use of the site, and was limited to the Thirteenth through Seventeenth Dynasties. Overall the ceramic corpus finds some of its closest parallels in Second Intermediate Period sites from Dakhla Oasis, including the cemeteries of 32/390-K1-2 and 31/435-D5-2,[56] and Qila' al-Dabba,[57] and particularly the urban site of Balat/Ain Asil;[58] the ceramic corpus at Umm Mawagir complements the identification of a regional 'oasis' style during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Periods.[59] Ceramic remains of similar date also appear within a series of necropolis areas to the north (Ain el-Askar) and south of Umm Mawagir (Kom Hefaw 1, 2, and 3).

Khargan Fabrics

Over ninety-nine percent of the ceramic material in the portions of the Umm Mawagir site thus far investigated appears to be of Khargan manufacture. Unlike Nile Valley potters who utilized both alluvial silts and desert marls, the Khargan potters had access to a variety of shale-based clays that provide the paste for most oasis fabrics.[60] Despite the differences in raw material, the Umm Mawagir potters –like their Dakhla Oasis counterparts– attempted to imitate the distinctions between silts and marls through the addition of various tempers.[61] For that reason, the fabric classification system for Umm Mawagir divides into Oasis Silt Imitations (Group I), Oasis Marl Imitations (Group II), and Nubian fabrics (Group III); for Egyptian vessels imported from the Nile Valley, the Umm Mawagir classification system employs the Vienna System of fabric classification.[62]

Within Groups I and II, seven different clay types appear – some of these can be used as either silt or marl imitations, while others are confined to one group. The first four categories (O.10/11, O.21/22/23, O.31/32/33, and O.41) are variants of the oasis clays identified by D. Darnell in her analysis of the fabrics of oasis kegs and flasks from the Theban desert roads.[63] Three additional categories encompass pharaonic oasis imitations of specific Nile Valley marl clays: O.50 (equivalent to Marl E, for which see below); O.60 and O.61 (used primarily for New Kingdom amphorae);[64] and O.71 and O.72 (imitations of Marl A3 and Marl A4 respectively). In addition to the abundant shale characteristic of most Khargan fabrics, common inclusions are limestone, quartz, and particles of what appear to be red and yellow ochre.[65] While the imitation marls typically lack temper or contain added sand, the addition of significant amounts of straw typifies oasis silt imitations; the coarseness of the temper is designated *a*, *b*, or *c*, with *a* mimicking Nile B1, *b* imitating Nile B2, and *c* representing the Khargan approximation of Nile C.[66]

The first fabric group (O.10/11) is a red-firing fabric, appearing almost exclusively as a silt imitation: the exterior and interior of fired vessels are most often red (10R/5/6), reddish brown (5YR/5/4), pinkish grey (7.5YR/6/2), or reddish yellow (2.5YR/4/6), while the fracture most commonly reveals two bands of light/weak red (10R/6/8 to 10R/7/6 or 10R/5/4) with a core of reddish grey (2.5YR/6/1) or grey (7.5YR/5/1). Non-zoned fractures in this fabric are typically a uniform reddish brown (5YR/4/2) or dark reddish grey (5YR/4/2). Numerous inclusions occur: abundant inclusions are sand and fine to coarse white particles (rarely up to 4 mm); medium yellowish particles and quartz are common, while black particles, coarse red particles, and yellow

[56] Hope, *JSSEA* 13, 142-4.
[57] Aufrère, Ballet, *BIFAO* 90, 1-28.
[58] Baud, *BIFAO* 97, 35-42; Marchand, in Bowen, Hope (eds.), *The Oasis Papers 3*, 113-22; Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*.
[59] Marchand, in Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery*, vol. II, 407.
[60] Hermina, in Said (ed.), *The Geology of Egypt*, 275-7, 279-82; Eccleston, in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia*, 106-9.
[61] This division between marl and silt imitations has long been observed in the study of Dakhleh oasis fabrics – see Hope, in Churcher, Mills (eds.), *Survey of the Dakhleh Oasis*, 226 (addressing Second Intermediate Period vessels in particular); Ballet, Picon, in Soukiassian, Wuttmann, Pantalacci (eds.), *Les ateliers de potiers d''Ayn-Asil*, 75-84. Imitation silt and marl clays were first proposed as fabric categories of Khargan pottery in D. Darnell, in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia,* 169-70.
[62] Nordström, Bourriau, in Arnold, Bourriau (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, 143-90; Seiler, in Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery*, vol. II, 429-34.
[63] D. Darnell, *CCE* 6, 227-34.
[64] These two fabrics correspond to those described in D. Darnell, in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia*, 169-70.
[65] Red particles in Dakhla Oasis fabrics have been identified as clay particles (*cf.* Eccleston, in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia,* 64; *ibid.* 106) and hematite/limonite (Soukiassian *et al*., *Les ateliers de potiers d''Ayn-Asil*, 92).
[66] Similar parallels between Nile Valley and oasis fabrics were made in Hope, in Churcher, Mills (eds.), *Survey of the Dakhleh Oasis*, 224; the divisions for the Khargan fabrics also correlate to the classification in Ballet, Picon, in Soukiassian, Wuttmann, Pantalacci, *Les ateliers de potiers d''Ayn-Asil*. The following descriptions are based on examination with a x10 hand lens and a USB Dinolite microscope.

particles are recurrent yet rare. Fabric O.11 has the same basic features as O.10, but the sand, white particles, and quartz are finer; O.11 is more compact and has greater transverse strength than O.10. Vessels in O.11 often have a grey or red slip.

The next two fabric groups (O.20/21/22 and O.30/31/32/33) appear to represent a continuum of closely related fabrics. In some cups and bowls, the thin-walled sections of the vessel may have a fracture with a homogenous orange/pink color, while sections of thicker walled vessels display a zoned fracture with grey core. In such cases, a sherd with more frequent and varied inclusions (e.g. black particles) is assigned to O.20/21/22, while less varied inclusions with a greater amount of shale platelets are indicative of O.30.

Fabric O.20 is equivalent to O.2 in the classification of oasis kegs and flasks by D. Darnell.[67] Quartz, sand, and fine black particles are common inclusions, while white particles and red particles occur rarely, but consistently. The exterior and interior of vessels in O.20 often fire light red/strong orange (2.5YR/6/8); the fracture is generally homogenous and of the same color as the vessel surface, although in thicker-walled vessels a central dark reddish grey (2.5YR/4/1) core can be present.

Fabric O.21 is more common than O.20 in the corpus of oasis pottery of the pharaonic period. Inclusions in O.21 are: abundant large yellowish shale platelets; common sand, quartz, yellow particles, fine white particles, and black particles; rare coarse red particles. The exterior and interior surfaces are most often red (10R/5/8) or light red (2.5YR/6/6) and can have a red slip (2.5YR/6/8 to 5/6). Fresh breaks of sherds in this fabric most often appear as a swirl of intermixed but not fully blended colors with a pinkish tone (7.5R/7/6; 10R/6/6; 5YR/8/4 to 7/4) predominating and possess grey cores. O.22 is a finer and more open variant of O.21, with more voids, but fewer shale platelets; this fabric is commonly employed to mimic Nile B1 in small open forms. Fine sand, white and black particles are common, while grey particles, coarse quartz, and red and yellow particles are rare. Surface colors of O.22 are similar to O.21, but the fracture often has two very pale brown (10YR/8/4) or weak red (2.5YR/4/2) bands flanking a central light pink core (5R/8/3).

The O.30/31/32/33 group of fabrics is characterized by the predominance of large shale platelets. The types of inclusions in each fabric often differ subtly, and these different divisions may be considered as a continuum with the fabrics O.20/21/22. The first fabric, O.30 is not currently attested in the pharaonic corpus, but is reserved for possible future discoveries of vessels in the corresponding keg/flask fabric O.3.[68] Fabric O.31 is used in both small open forms and large, closed vessels, but consistently has the same inclusions and occurs most frequently with a slip on the exterior and interior of both vessel types. O.31 is a fine fabric with high transverse strength; inclusions are: abundant fine white particles, common sand, quartz, and black particles. The exterior and interior of the vessels in this fabric fire light brown (7.5YR/6/4) or reddish yellow (5YR/6/6), and often appears with a self-slip that is red/light red (2.5YR/5/4 to 6/8). In thin-walled vessels, this fabric can show sharp zoning in the fracture, with two bands of pale red (7.5R/7/4 to 5R/7/2) flanking a grey core (10YR/7/1 to 7.5YR/6/1).

Fabric O.32 is a coarse version of O.31 used predominately for zirs and other large vessels. Inclusions are similar to O.31, but larger, and red and yellow particles often appear as well; almost all vessels in this fabric contain abundant coarse straw (I.O32.c). The exterior surface of vessels in this fabric most often fires red/light red (2.5YR/5/6 to 10R 6/6-8) or light reddish brown (2.5YR/7/4); the fracture most often has two sharply defined red zones, the same color as the interior or exterior surface, with a central grey core (GLEY1/6/N to 5YR/6/1). An additional variation on O.30 is O.33, which is a fine fabric with abundant shale platelets, common fine sand and quartz, but lacking other noticeable inclusions; vessels in O.33 often appear with an interior and exterior cream slip.

A fourth fabric class, O.40/41, is rare in the pharaonic corpus. Fabric O.40 is a placeholder for the possible future identification of earlier versions of the keg/flask fabric O.4. Fabric O.41 is a dense, homogenous fabric with great transverse strength; small shale platelets are present throughout the clay, quartz and fine sand are common, while white particles and yellow particles are rare to common. The exterior and interior of vessels in O.41 fire red/weak red (2.5YR/5/6 to 10R/4/4), while the fracture is zoned with reddish brown bands (2.5YR/5/4) flanking a grey core (GLEY/1/6/N).

The next three groups of fabrics appear overwhelmingly as imitations of marl clays. II.O.50 is the coarsest of the fabrics in the current classification system and its use is confined to the single and double-bodied bread molds. Large, unmixed shale particles, coarse sand, and red particles (in rare cases as large as 8mm; red color is 7.5R/4/8) are abundant in this fabric, with rare yellow particles.[69] Abundant coarse straw is always present as a tempering element. Fabric O.50 appears to have been

[67] D. Darnell, *CCE* 6, 227-34.

[68] *Art.cit.*, 227-34.

[69] This corresponds to the fabric P4 of the bread molds from ʿAin Asîl – see Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 153, although they do not make the connection of the recipe for that fabric with Marl E.

fired at low temperatures and has a very low transverse strength. This fabric possesses a wide range of colors, the most common being exteriors of light brownish grey/pale brown (10YR/6/2-3) to grey (7.5YR/6/1), with interior surfaces firing reddish grey (2.5YR/6/1) to grey (GLEY1/5/N); fractures are pale red/reddish brown (5YR/5/2 to 2.5YR/5/4) with splotches of red (10R/5/6). Due to its specific use in one ceramic form, this fabric appears only as a marl imitation (II.O50). The coarseness of the fabric, its predominant use in bread molds, and the addition of straw temper all closely relate O.50 to Marl E, which is "commonly used for thick-walled vessels, often hand-made 'bread trays'" and is restricted to the Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom.[70]

Fabrics O.60/61 are thus far not attested at Umm Mawagir, as they are used almost exclusively in the production of Eighteenth Dynasty amphorae. The O.70 group of oasis fabrics is used almost exclusively as a marl imitation, predominately for larger jars, but in rare cases for small closed forms and spouted bowls. The difference between O.71 and O.72 mimic the distinction between their presumed marl prototypes, Marl A3 and A4 respectively. While O.71 is a compact fabric, O.72 is surprisingly light with very low transverse strength with abundant sand temper. Shale platelets are abundant, and other inclusions in this group of fabrics are abundant black particles, common coarse quartz (>2 mm), coarse white particles (>3 mm), and common fine sand. Both fabrics typically fire a homogenous pale yellow/very pale brown (5Y/8/3 to 10YR/7/4), with some sherds of O.71 showing a pinker tone (2.5YR/8/3). Another marl imitation, fabric II.O73 is another light fabric with low transverse strength that has abundant white particles and rare quartz, but no other obvious inclusions. This fabric is rare but attested in both small open forms and larger jars. O.73 typically fires grey (5Y/7/2) to pale red (10R/6/3) and the fracture can be zoned with the interior/exterior color flanking a brown core (7.5YR/4/2).

Fabric I.O80 designates Nubian vessels manufactured within Kharga Oasis. The exterior fires a grey (7.5YR/6/1) with pale red areas (5YR/5/2); the interior is either the same color or blackened. Shale platelets appear prominently in this fabric, the other main inclusion being opaque red particles, abundant as fine (<1 mm) particles with rare coarse particles (3-7 mm). Dakhla fabric P7a[71] may be the equivalent to fabric I.O80 at Umm Mawagir and related sites. Nubian style vessels at Umm Mawagir can appear in other Khargan fabrics, such as I.O21.b; the two wheel-made sherds with Nubian decoration thus far identified are in fabrics I.O21.c (Fig. 46A) and I.O31.b (Fig. 46B).

In imported Nile Valley ceramics, both Nile silt and marl clays appear in the Umm Mawagir corpus, including Nile B1 (Fig. 43A), Nile B2 (Fig. 43B, C), Marl A3 (Fig. 43E), and Marl A4 (Fig. 43D). For Nilotic Nubian pottery, two different fabrics are present: [72] III.N1, a coarse fabric with common to abundant straw temper and rare examples with fine white particles; and III.N2, a fine fabric with dung and/or sand temper. Both fabrics can be used for black-topped vessels and bowls with incised decoration, although the finer fabric III.N2 seems to be more common in the former type.

Potters' Wheel-Heads

In the North Area were fragments of two wheel-heads (Fig. 24), fired ceramic disks of potter's wheels. Although stone sockets for potter's wheels are well attested in Egypt, the associated disks are rare in the published archaeological record of pharaonic sites.[73] Two fragmentary ceramic disks were found embedded in the surface of the North Area, Square K35, inside Structure A, just north of the north wall of Room I. Each disk has a thickened, down-curving, and rounded outer edge, which would have weighted the outside edge of the wheel-head, increasing its momentum. The larger of the two disks has a diameter of 67.2 cm and a thickness of 4 cm, increasing to 5.4 cm along the circumference.[74] The thickened band around the circumference of the wheel-head appears in two-dimensional representations of potter's wheels from the Middle Kingdom, such as the potter in the tomb of Djehutyhotep at Deir el-Bersha.[75]

[70] Arnold, Bourriau (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, 182; Bourriau, *The Survey of Memphis IV*, 26; Budka, *Ä&L* 16, 83-120, 85.

[71] Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 154

[72] Manassa, in Förstner Müller, Rose (eds.), *Nubian Pottery*, 139-40.

[73] Powell, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports VI*, 309-18; Arnold, Bourriau (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Pottery,* 44 describe an "unpublished wheel-head found during the Czechoslovak excavations at Abusir … This wheel-head is of fired clay and has a broad rim which may have helped it to spin"; for this wheel-head, see Verner, *CCE* 3, 55-9 and Verner, Posener-Kriéger, Jánosi, *Abusir III*, 26, figs. 27a-b; Doherty, *Potter's Wheel in Ancient Egypt*, 16-8. A recently identified wheel-head from Askut is discussed in Smith, *JARCE* 50, 103-21. For a Roman wheel-head from Kellis, see Hope, in Hope, Bowen (eds.), *Dakhleh Oasis Project*, 176.

[74] For the advantages of such a large wheel-head in pottery production, particularly for wide vessels, see van der Leeuw, *Technology of Ancient Pottery*, vol. I, 289-95; vol. II, 21-8.

[75] Newberry, *El Bersheh*, pl. 25; see also Arnold, Bourriau (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Pottery,* 57. Interestingly, the ceramic disks from Umm Mawagir resemble in form the disks in Powell's experimental reconstructions of ancient Egyptian potter's wheels (Powell, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports VI*,

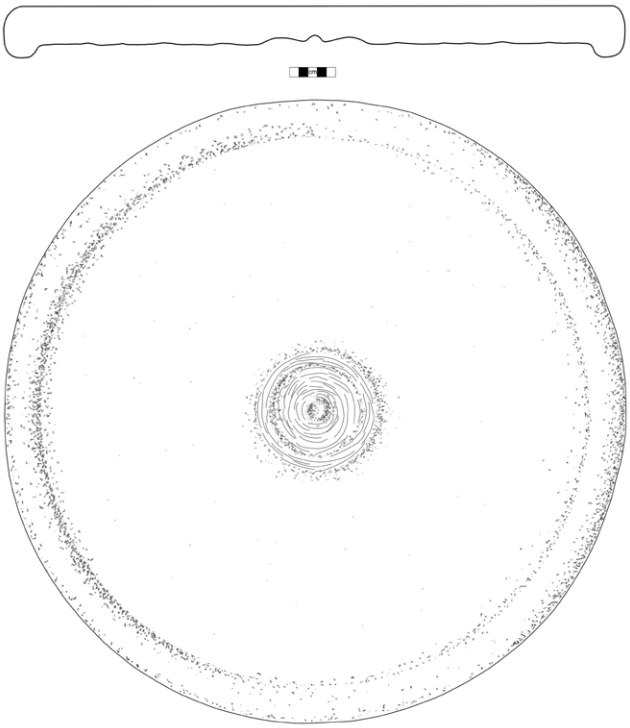


Fig. 24 – Disk from large potter's wheel from Umm Mawagir (UM.1349)

The Umm Mawagir wheel-heads do not have the bowl-shaped lower elements present on the Abusir and Askut wheel-heads, the latter suitable for 'mushroom-shaped' pivot stones; the Umm Mawagir pivot stones –as yet undiscovered– would thus have been of the flat-topped variety.[76] Experimental reconstructions of Egyptian potters' wheel-heads have shown that the ceramic disk could be immovably attached to the pivot stone by means of a relatively modest amount of clay.[77] The larger potters' wheel-head from Umm Mawagir preserves traces of having rotated freely atop the pivot stone at least once or on rare occasions, evidence for the occasional breaking of the bonding clay. The boundary between the bottom of the wheel head and the pivot, as present in the Umm Mawagir wheel heads, finds a close parallel in the representation of the wheel head and pivot in a scene in the tomb of Qenamun at Thebes,[78] the line of the bottom of the wheel head separating the white colored pottery element from the red colored stone pivot below, without any extension of the ceramic wheel head beneath the line representing the bottom of the outer edge of the wheel head.[79]

327-34; the dimensions of the larger disk at Umm Mawagir are similar to the test wheel-head with the best results in Powell's experiments – *art. cit.*, 330).

[76] Doherty, *Potter's Wheel in Ancient Egypt*, 18.

[77] Powell, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports VI*, 309-18**.**

[78] Reign of Amenhotep II – Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun*, pl. 59 (upper register).

[79] Arnold, Bourriau (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, 75-8.

Ceramic Vessel Forms

The following catalog, a preliminary presentation of the ceramic corpus at Umm Mawagir, is divided according to vessel shape and/or function (e.g. bread molds, open forms, closed forms, and non-containers); surface treatments, including self-slipping and burnishing, can occur in most fabric groups, but appear to be most prominent with fabric I.O31, and several vessels made of this fabric –including small open forms as well as larger jars– show a consistent surface treatment with a burnished slip. Unless otherwise noted, the surface of the sherds/vessels described below is uncoated. Imported ceramics, which make up a very small portion of the corpus, including those from the Egyptian Nile Valley and Nubia, are discussed at the end of the catalog.

Bread Molds

In all squares thus far examined at Umm Mawagir, bread molds dominate other ceramic forms. These molds belong to one of two types of flat-bottomed forms: the more prevalent double-bodied bread molds (Fig. 25A); and larger, round bread molds (Fig. 25B). The double-bodied bread mold appears to be peculiar to the oases and also appears in large quantities in the Second Intermediate Period settlement of Balat/Ain Asil.[80] All of the bread molds are made of a rough, straw tempered oasis marl II.O50 that mimics the Upper Egyptian Marl E (see above); the bread molds were fired on site, as indicated by the discovery of several unfired bread molds in the Central Area (Square NN25). Often, the interior surface of the bread mold has a slip that may have created more of a 'non-stick' surface for the bread. Both pre- and post-firing potmarks are common on bread molds at Umm Mawagir, and a small corpus of pre-firing stamp-seals were excavated in Square NN25, near Feature 407 (Fig. 26). In addition to full-size bread molds, three fragments of miniature bread molds were present in the North Area. Originally measuring about 5 x 2 cm, these small forms occur in both single and double forms, mimicking the two types of full-sized bread molds at the site.[81]

[80] Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 163-6; Marchand, in Bowen, Hope (eds.), *Oasis Papers 3*, 116, fig. 5a, 119-20; Baud, *BIFAO* 97, 24, 27; a double bread mold was also discovered at Gebel Agg near Toshka, in association with Pan Grave and other Nubian material – see Simpson, *Heka-nefer,* pl. 22, no. 29. For multi-chambered bread molds of the Second Intermediate Period, see also Seiler, *Tradition und Wandel*, 68-9.

[81] Compare also Ain Asil – Marchand, in Bowen, Hope (eds.), *Oasis Papers 3*, 116c, 120; Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 166-7.

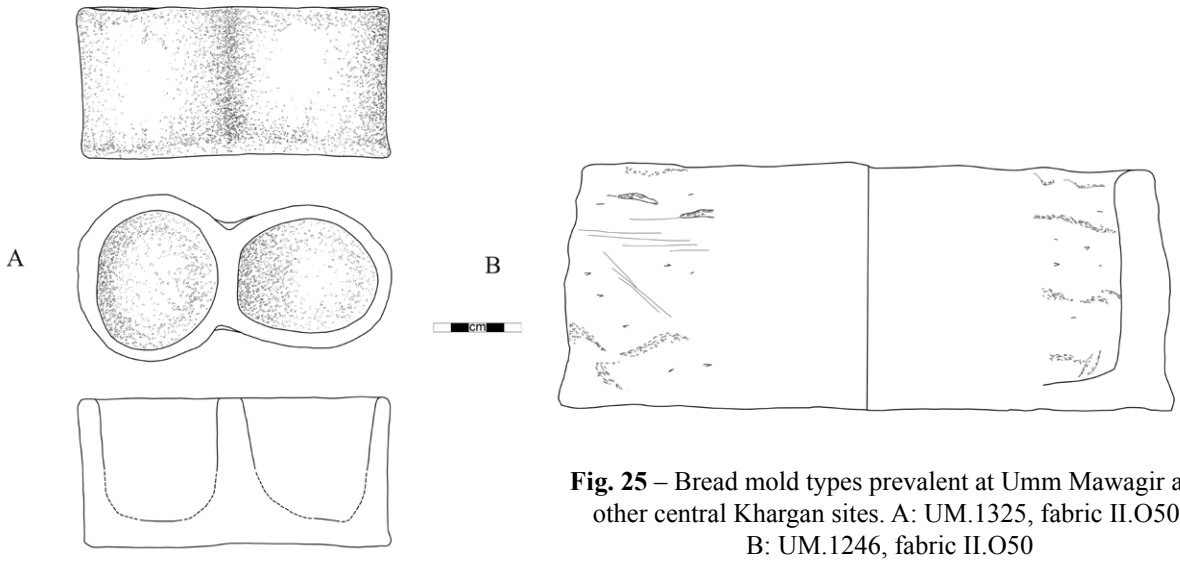


Fig. 25 – Bread mold types prevalent at Umm Mawagir and other central Khargan sites. A: UM.1325, fabric II.O50; B: UM.1246, fabric II.O50

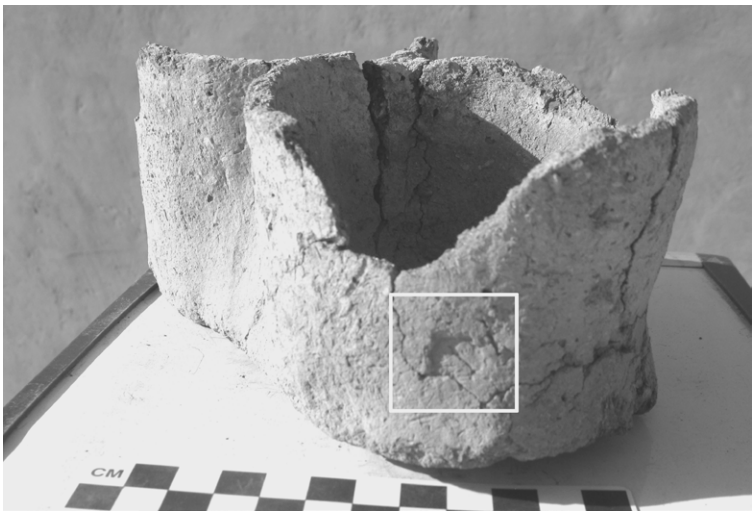


Fig. 26 - Double-bodied bread mold with stamp-seal impression (pre-firing) (UM.4132, fabric II.O50)

Open Forms

The open forms present at Umm Mawagir consist primarily of hemispherical cups and the ubiquitous spouted bowls, so common at oasis sites.[82] Quantification within the rubbish dump in Square J31 (North Area) resulted in 9.5% of sherds by weight belonging to open forms, a significant proportion of the ceramic remains considering the small size and weight of such vessels.

The hemispherical cups at Umm Mawagir exhibit a range of forms and fabrics.[83] The cups from the earliest stages of activity (Phase 1) at the site include slightly inverted or everted rims (Fig. 27). From the upper sand fill of Square NN27, are two cups that show these different features and occur in two different fabrics, I.O10.a and I.O31.b (Fig. 27A, 27B). A similar cup from the second lowest level of Square J31 (Fig. 10, 1007) in the North Area has secondary blackening on the exterior and may have been used as a lamp (Fig. 27C); at the same level was a taller cup with slightly everted rim (Fig. 27D), a shape that also occurs in surface contexts and aeolian sand levels at Umm Mawagir, suggesting that there is not a strongly marked development of chronological significance in cup shapes, but rather a variation of forms existing simultaneously.

Hemispherical cups are common throughout the second phase of activity at Umm Mawagir, contemporaneous with most of the visible structures. Useful for shape comparisons are six complete cup profiles from Square PP26, at a level above the sinusoidal wall (Feature 207) that runs under Wall 209; this level is also contemporaneous with the use of the mud-brick platform (Feature 201). These six cups have vessel indices ranging from 108 to 185 (average: 144.5) and a number of different shapes and fabrics (Fig. 28); most are uncoated, but Figure 28a has an interior red slip and Figure 28c has an exterior and interior burnished slip typical of fabric I.O31. Representative of the final phase of activity at Umm Mawagir is a group of complete cup profiles from the sand fill of Squares RR24/25 beneath the mud-brick debris (Fig. 29), for which the

[82] Hope, in Churcher, Mills (eds.), *Survey of the Dakhleh Oasis*, 224. A separate tradition of spouted bowls, much less common in the ceramic corpus, appears in the Nile Valley, see Müller, *Tell el-Dab'a XVII*, 114-5. Ceramic spouted bowls still form a common element of tableware in Siwa Oasis – see Bliss, *Artisanat et artisanat d'art*, 202-4.

[83] At Ain Asil, only a single fabric, P2, is recorded for hemispherical cups – Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 180-2; Marchand, in Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery*, vol. II, 413.

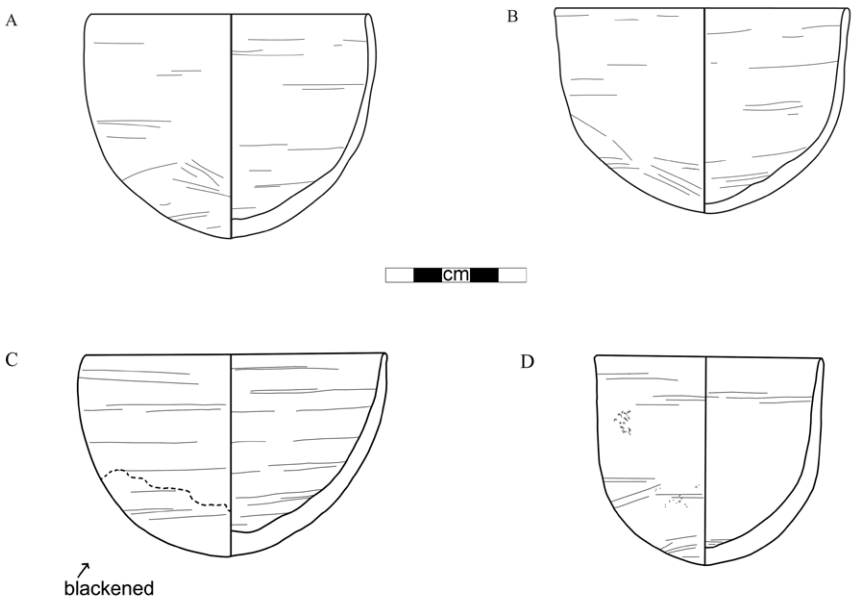


Fig. 27 – Hemispherical cups from Umm Mawagir. A: UM.4120, fabric I.O10.a, index 129; B: UM.4121, fabric I.O31.b, index 144; C: UM.1350, fabric I.O21.a, index 150; D: UM.1297, fabric I.O41.a, index 108

vessel indices ranged from 120 to 216 with an average of 163.3. UM.4650 is particularly notable for its fabric, I.O73.b, a rare use of one of the typical 'marl imitations' for a small open form and with straw temper. From this same context –the sand fill of RR24/25– was a Nile B2 beaker (Fig. 43B; UM.4651).

The hemispherical cups from Umm Mawagir display the same range of shapes present at Ain Asil,[84] and the steep sides and slightly restricted shape of some cups from Umm Mawagir (*cf.* Figs. 27D, 28F) find particularly strong parallels in Thirteenth Dynasty contexts in Dakhleh and the Nile Valley.[85] The average vessel index of the hemispherical cups at the entire site of Umm Mawagir is 134, consistent with a Thirteenth Dynasty date for the floruit of the site,[86] although the use of vessel indices for the latter part of the Thirteenth Dynasty is limited[87] and a comparison of Nile Valley and oasis indices remains problematic.[88] At the Qila' al-Dabba cemetery in Dakhleh Oasis, Thirteenth Dynasty cups have indices between 150 and 137,[89] and cups from the second part of Phase 2 at Ain Asil (Group 10c) have indices between 133 and 128.[90]

Spouted bowls from Umm Mawagir, like their Dakhla counterparts, display a variety of forms and fabrics; at Ain Asil, all spouted bowls and ewers (Groups 19, 20) occur in fabric P2, with a few examples in P1.[91] Three types of spouted bowls occur commonly at Umm Mawagir. The first type has a restricted shape and typically deeper profile (Figs. 30-31), corresponding to Groups 19b and 20 at Ain Asil.[92] The rim shape is typically rounded, but bases are heterogeneous, with round, flat, and concave all attested in the corpus of fully preserved profiles from Umm Mawagir; fabrics are also wide-ranging, with all four of the major categories of silt imitations attested. The second type of spouted bowl has a more hemispheric profile, but can display a variety of bases, including round, pointed, or slightly concave/flat (Fig. 32). The most common fabrics used for this type of spouted bowl are I.O21/22 and I.O10/11, with varying amounts of straw temper; from Square RR24/25, within a sand fill that also contained a cache of complete cup profiles, was a nearly complete spouted bowl in fabric I.O71.b, a use of a typical 'marl imitation' for a small open form (UM.4700). The third type of spouted bowl has a squat profile, with carination at the level of the spout (Fig. 33); this high carination continues a Twelfth Dynasty tradition.[93] Carinated spouted bowls are rare at Umm Mawagir; the only definite example has secondary burning on both the interior and the exterior, making it impossible to compare it to the surface treatment typical of carinated spouted bowls at Ain Asil.[94] Carinated spouted bowls appear in Second Intermediate

[84] Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie,* 180-1.
[85] Hope, *JSSEA* 13, fig. 2, e-j; Hope, in Churcher, Mills (eds.), *Survey of the Dakhleh Oasis*, 226; Kopetzky, *Tell El-Dab'a XX*, 61-3; Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. I, 108-9 (hemispherical cups, Group 6).
[86] Arnold, in Arnold (ed.), *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, 140-1; Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. I, 84.
[87] Seiler, *Tradition und Wandel*, 132-5; note also the complexities in Bader, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, 251-8.
[88] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. I, 84-6.
[89] Hope, *JSSEA* 13, 143.
[90] Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie,* 182.
[91] Marchand, in Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery*, vol. II, 414; Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie,* 190-3.
[92] Marchand, Soukiassian, *op. cit*, 191-2.
[93] Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, pl. 28; a carinated spouted bowl from Tell el-Dab'a has a lower carination and an outward-flaring direct rim – see Aston, *Tell El-Dab'a XII*, vol. I, 56; vol. II, pl. 1.
[94] Group 21; Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 193.

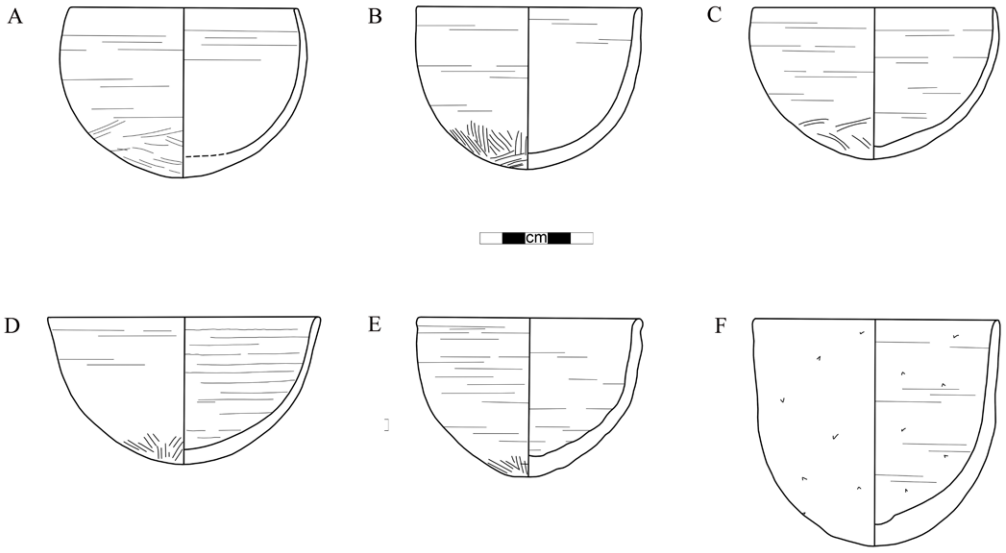


Fig. 28 – Hemispherical cups from Square PP26
A: UM.2220, fabric I.O22.b, index 133;
B: UM.2225, fabric I.O22.a, index 139;
C: UM.2234, fabric I.O31.b, index 161;
D: UM.2235, fabric I.O31.b, index 185;
E: UM.2226, fabric I.O32.a, index 141;
F: UM.2218, fabric I.O11.c, index 108

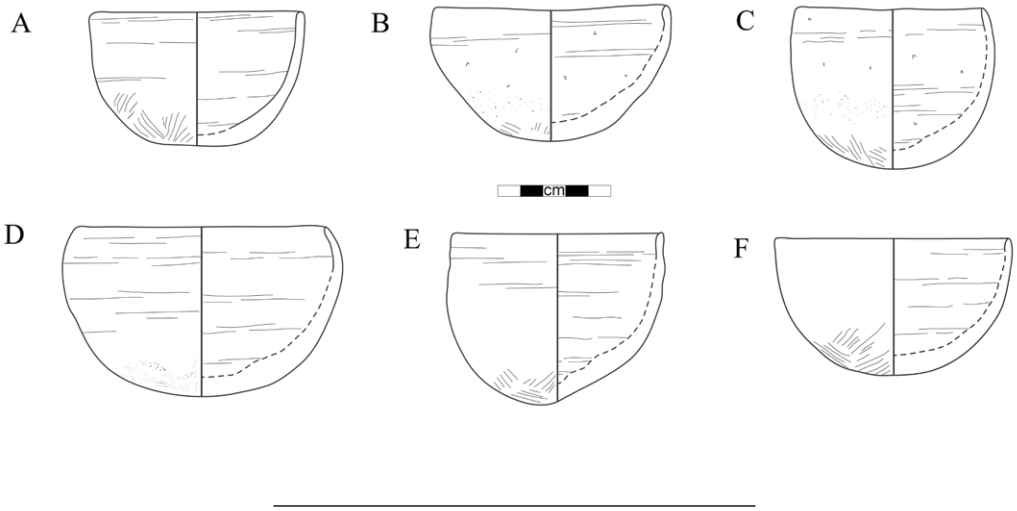


Fig. 29 – Hemispherical cups from Square RR24/25.
A: UM.4703, fabric I.O21.b, index 144;
B: UM.4650, fabric I.O73.b, index 216;
C: UM.4652, fabric I.O11.a exterior and interior white slip, index 120;
D: UM.4653, fabric I.O10.b (too asymmetrical for vessel index);
E: UM.4654, fabric I.O20.b, too asymmetrical for index;
F: UM.4655, fabric I.O21.b, index 173

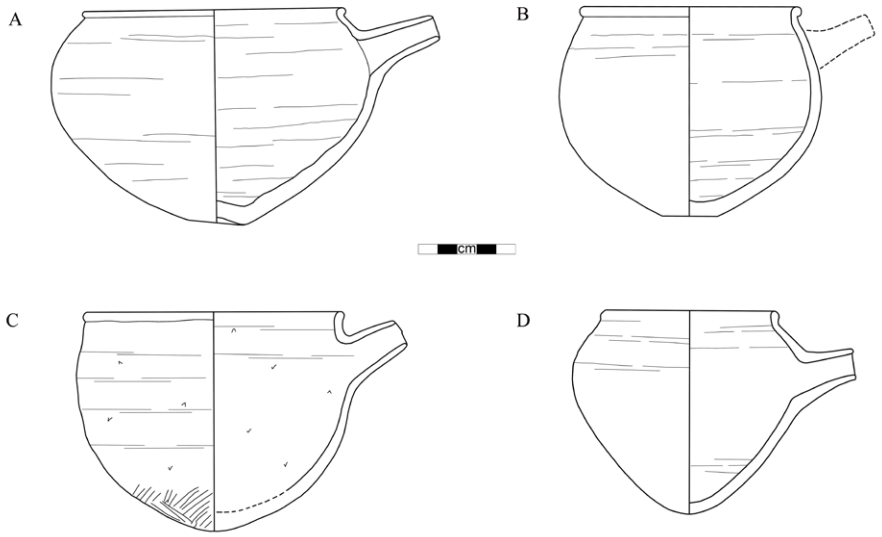


Fig. 30 – Spouted bowls from Umm Mawagir, Type 1. A: UM.1168, fabric I.O31.a, interior and exterior slip; B: UM.1196, fabric I.O10.a; C: UM.2159, fabric I.O21.b, exterior slip; D: UM.3150, fabric I.O41.b, exterior slip

Fig. 31 – An example of the Type 1 spouted bowl at Umm Mawagir (UM.2159)

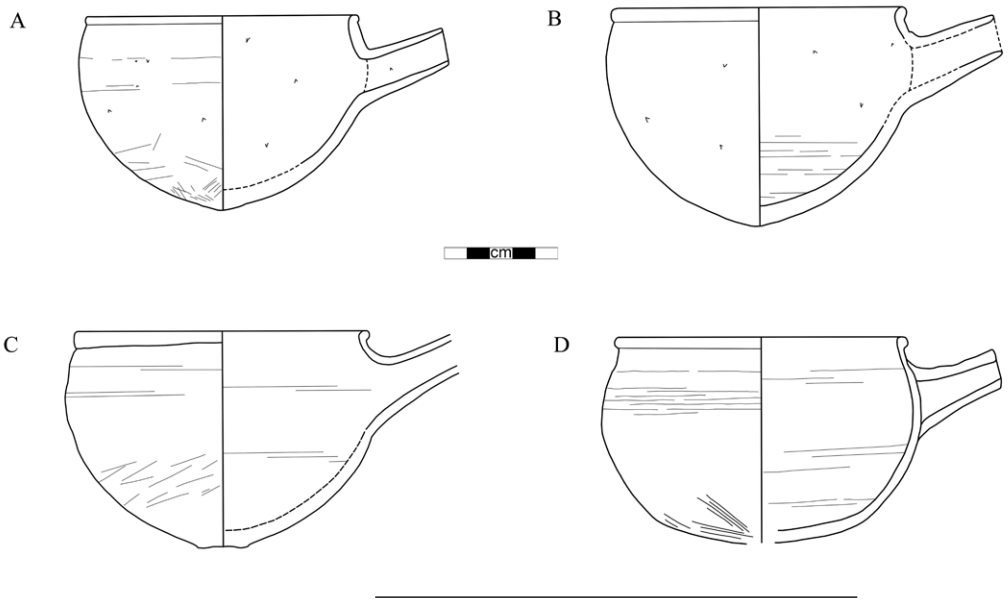


Fig. 32 – Spouted bowls from Umm Mawagir, Type 2. A: UM.2222, fabric I.O21.b, interior and exterior slip; B: UM.2224, fabric I.O21.c, exterior slip; C: UM.1336, fabric I.O22.b; D: UM.3142, fabric I.O12.b

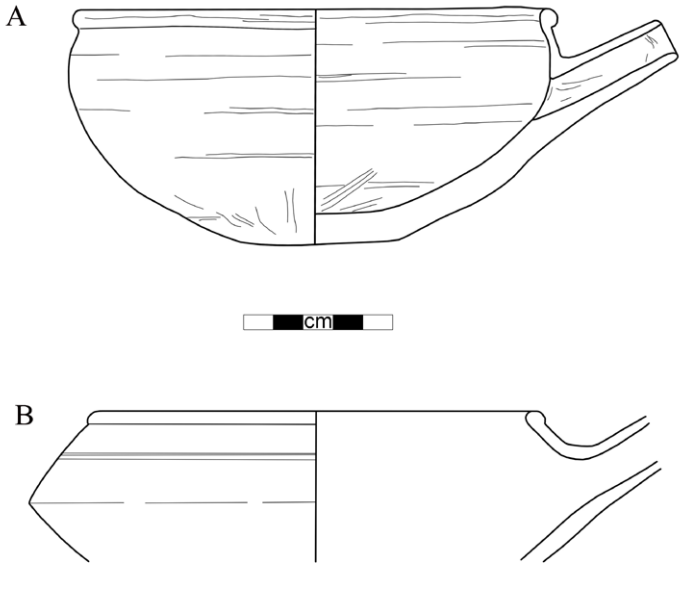


Fig. 33 – Spouted bowls from Umm Mawagir, Type 3. A: UM.1320, fabric I.O10.b; B: UM.1312, fabric I.O11.a

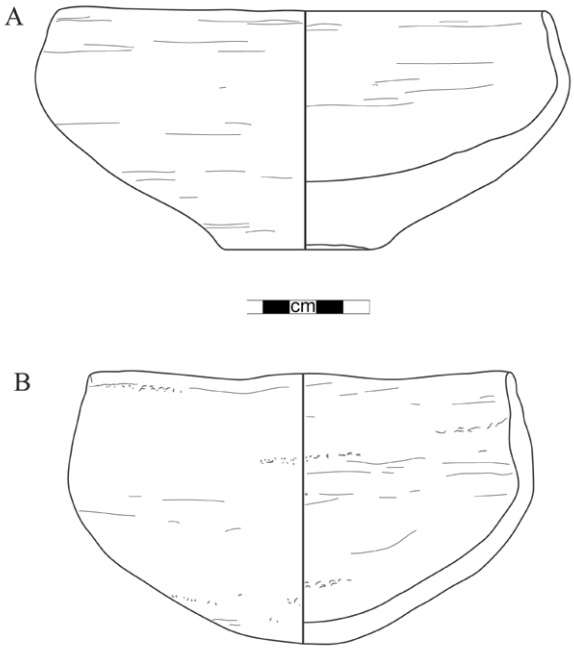


Fig. 34 – Bowls from Umm Mawagir. A: UM.4153, mixture of I.O20.c and I.O31.c; B: UM.4154, fabric I.O10.b

Period contexts –both funerary and urban– in Dakhla.[95]

Non-spouted bowls are uncommon in the Umm Mawagir corpus. Among the few examples are two bowl profiles from the Central Area (Square NN25). The first is a restricted bowl with carinated contour, direct rim and slightly concave base (Figs. 34-34A; UM.4153) in an unusual fabric that appears to be a mixture of I.O20.c and I.O31.c, providing further evidence for the continuum represented by these two different fabric types; the interior and exterior are both polished. The second bowl also has a restricted mouth with carinated contour and direct rim, but with a rounded base (Fig. 34B; UM.4154; fabric I.O10.b); the bowl has extensive secondary burning, and was probably a cooking vessel.

[95] Hope, *JSSEA* 10, pl. 20, fig. k, l; Hope, *JSSEA* 13, fig. 2, b-c; Hope, in Churcher, Mills (eds.), *Survey of the Dakhleh Oasis*, 226-7; Marchand, in Bowen, Hope (eds.), *Oasis Papers 3,* 114, fig. 3a; Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 193; for Nile Valley examples, see Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III,* 261, no. 64; Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. II, 342-5.

Closed Forms

The standard jar form at Umm Mawagir has a round-shaped modeled rim and relatively short neck of Middle Kingdom tradition (Figs. 35-36).[96] The body is globular or slightly oval, and the bottom often has a slight point, with exterior scraping along the lower third of the vessel (Figs. 35A, 35E, 36).[97] The length of the neck, ovoid shape, and finishing of the base of the most common jars all resemble a type of jar attested in the Thebaid during the Thirteenth Dynasty.[98] The white splatter painted decoration on a number of jars (Fig. 37) finds parallels in Second Intermediate Period tombs from Sedment and Thebes.[99] One of the most common rim types at Umm Mawagir is a strongly incurving or 'kettle mouth' rim (Fig. 38); complete vessel profiles indicate that these rims are associated with small, globular vessels. Incurving rims at Umm Mawagir belong either to vessels with slight 'kettle-mouths' (Fig. 38A, B), common in Nile Valley[100] and oasis[101] contexts of the late Middle Kingdom through Second Intermediate Period, or to thinner-walled vessels with severely in-turning rims (Fig. 38C, D), representing oasis variants of the 'kettle-mouthed' form.[102] Also frequently attested are squat jars with candle-stick or disc-shaped rims (Fig. 39).

The zir-forms at Umm Mawagir and other oasis sites appear to derive ultimately from the common zir shape of the early Twelfth Dynasty,[103] but display features that represent an independent trajectory from that of the Thirteenth through Seventeenth Dynasty zirs in the Nile Valley. More cylindrical, straight-walled shapes (Fig. 40B, C, D) can occur alongside a particularly large zir form with a restricted rim (Fig. 40E). These zirs have wheel-finished rims, often with an indentation below the rim, joined to a hand-made body with a flat or slightly concave base. A number of forms at Umm Mawagir belong to a type of smaller, entirely hand-made vessels (Fig. 40F) that can be called collectively "pots pour preparations alimentaires"[104] or "buckets".[105] These vessels are made from a coarse, straw-tempered fabric (I.O31/32.c) that is identical to the fabric of the large zir-forms.

Non-containers

Pot stands are common in the Umm Mawagir corpus (Fig. 41). In addition to the standard form and a type with a heavily thickened base,[106] a few examples show an odd asymmetry that may represent an intentional form.[107] Lids with schematic but unmistakable bird's-head appliqué decoration are common (Fig. 42A, B, C), and are identical to the ceramic birds' heads from Ain Asil.[108] Several fragmentary hand-shaped objects may be holders for cups used to burn incense or scoops (Fig. 42D); these objects, though more solidly made, with roughly hand-shaped receptacles, may relate to the ladle-like vessels from Ain Asil.[109]

Umm Mawagir: Imported Ceramics

Nilotic Egyptian Ceramics

Nile B1 cup sherds are present in small quantities through all levels in the North Area, and in the Central Area, in one of the lowest levels from Square NN27, was a complete profile of a Nile B1 hemispherical cup (Fig. 43A; vessel index 138). From the final phase of activity at the Central Area, in the sand fill of the courtyard with Silo 417 (Squares RR24/25) is a Nile B2 beaker (Fig. 43B; UM.4651). A nearly identical vessel

[96] Compare Marchand, in Bowen, Hope (eds.), *Oasis Papers 3,* 114, fig. 2g, 119; Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie,* 209-12.

[97] A similar combination of characteristics appears in Second Intermediate Period tombs at Dakhleh site 32/390-K1-2 (Hope, *JSSEA* 10, 293-8) and 31/435-D5-2 (Hope, *JSSEA* 13, 143).

[98] Seiler, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period,* 42-3.

[99] Petrie, Brunton, *Sedment I*, pl. 45; Seiler, *Tradition und Wandel*, 80-1, 86-7; note that white painted decoration is apparently absent at Ain Asil.

[100] For the increasingly pronounced kettle-mouths during the Thirteenth through Seventeenth Dynasties, see Seiler, *Tradition und Wandel*, 128-30. Although the examples from Umm Mawagir probably belong to the later development of kettle mouth jars, strongly in-turning rims with thicker walls appear already in the early Twelfth Dynasty (Bader, *Tell el-Dab'a XIII*, 101 (fig. f, h), 103); Arnold, in Arnold (ed.), *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, 134, fig. 74, no. 59. For Thirteenth through Fifteenth/Seventeenth Dynasty forms, see Aston, *Tell El-Dab'a XII*, vol. I, 69; vol. II, pl. 14, no. 73 (Group 24), and pl. 157, no. 612; Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III,* 243, no. 45 and p. 244; von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 330-1, fig. 146 b, d; Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell el-Heboua*, 183, fig. 9.

[101] Marchand, in Bowen, Hope (eds.), *Oasis Papers 3,* 114, fig. 2h; Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie,* 203-4.

[102] Hope, *JSSEA* 10, pl. 20, fig. e.

[103] Bader, *Tell el-Dab'a XIII*, 158-60.

[104] Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 169.

[105] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. I, 716-21.

[106] Compare Marchand, in Bowen, Hope (eds.), *Oasis Papers 3,* 116, fig. 4a; Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 225.

[107] Compare Müller, *Tell el-Dab'a XVII*, vol. I, 144-5 and fig. 102.

[108] Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 256-7.

[109] *Op. cit.*, 194.

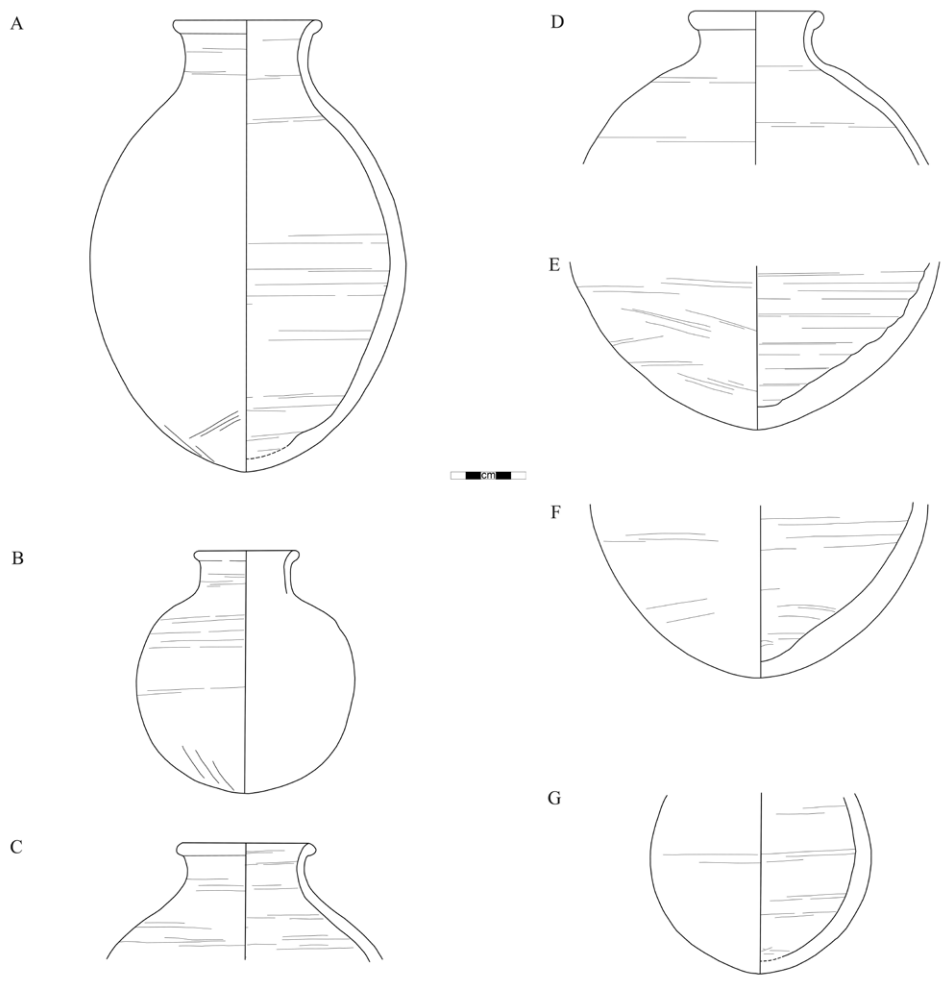


Fig. 35 – Jars from Umm Mawagir.
A: UM.3149, fabric I.O31.c;
B: UM.3151, fabric I.O21.b/c;
C: UM.1349, fabric I.O10.a;
D: UM.1332, fabric I.O32.b;
E: UM.1247, fabric I.O31.b; F: UM.1158, fabric II.O72;
G: UM.3128, fabric I.O33.c

Fig. 36 – Standard jar shape from Umm Mawaigr (UM.3149, fabric I.O31.c)

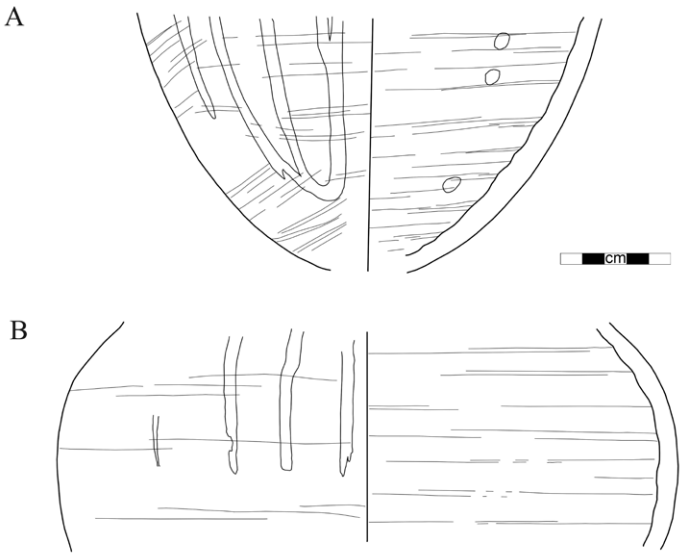


Fig. 37 – White-painted jars from Umm Mawagir. A: UM.1212, fabric I.O31.b; B: UM.1164, fabric I.O31.b

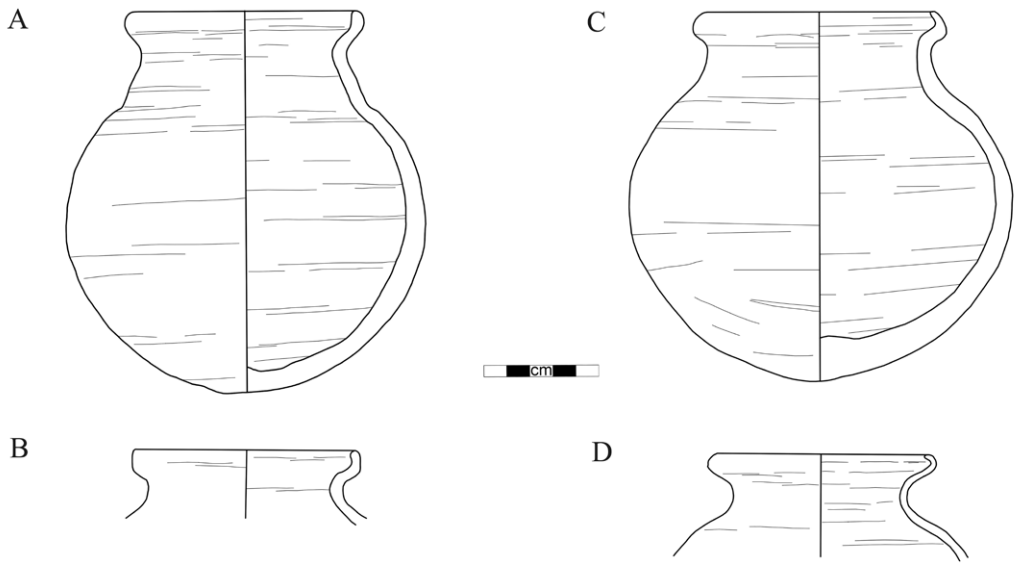


Fig. 38 – Jars with incurving ("kettle-mouth") rims from Umm Mawagir.
A: UM.3134, fabric I.O71.a;
B: UM.1218, fabric I.O22.b;
C: UM.2230, I.O21.c;
D: UM.1127, fabric I.O21.b

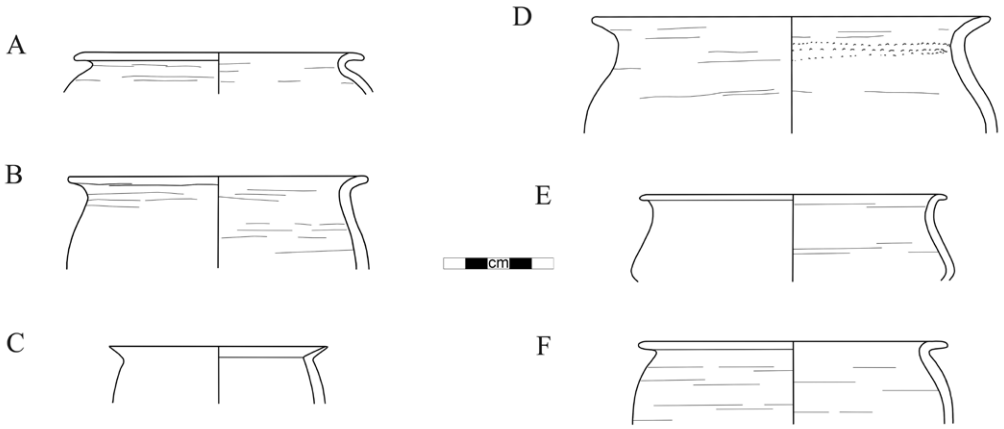


Fig. 39 – Squat jars from Umm Mawagir.
A: UM.1281, fabric I.O33.b;
B: UM.1350, fabric II.O10;
C: UM.1178, fabric I.O10.b;
D: UM.1226, fabric I.O11.a, exterior slip;
E: UM.1300, fabric I.O21.a;
F: UM.1299, fabric I.O31.a

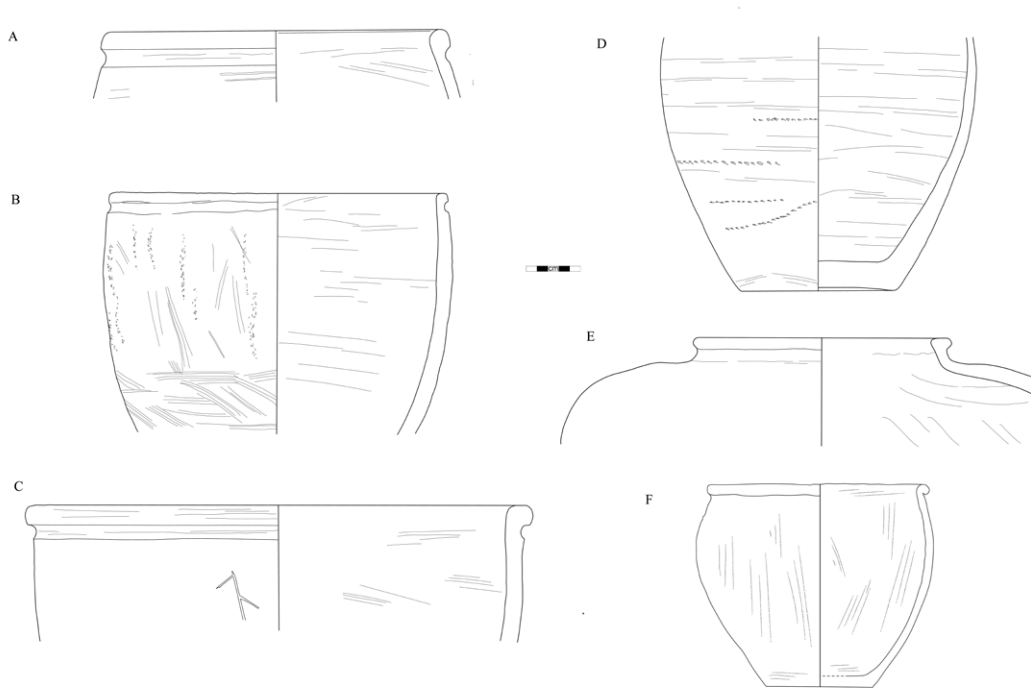


Fig. 40 – Zirs and buckets from Umm Mawagir.
A: UM. 1253, fabric I.O31.c;
B: UM.1115, fabric I.O31.c;
C: UM.1270, fabric I.O31.c;
D: UM.1172, fabric I.O33.b;
E: UM.3154, fabric I.O31.b;
F: UM.4139, fabric I.O31.c

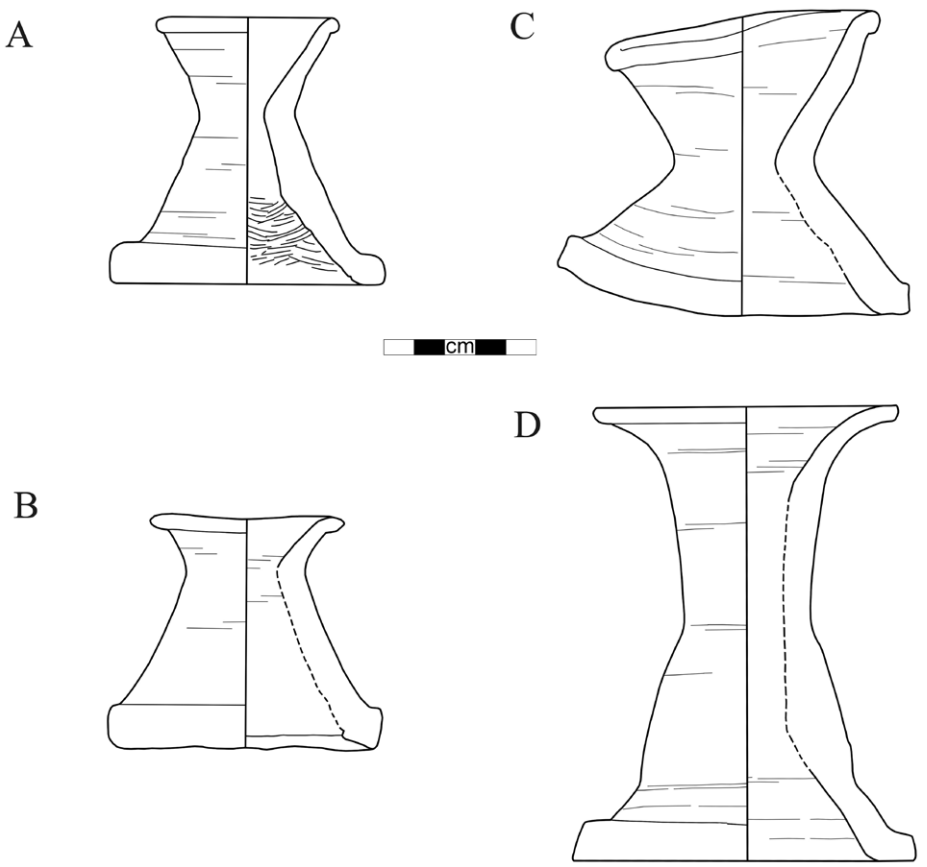


Fig. 41 – Pot-stands from Umm Mawagir.
A: UM.2229, fabric I.O10.b;
B: UM.2227, fabric I.O10.a;
C: UM.2228, fabric I.O10.b;
D: UM.3163, fabric I.O73.c

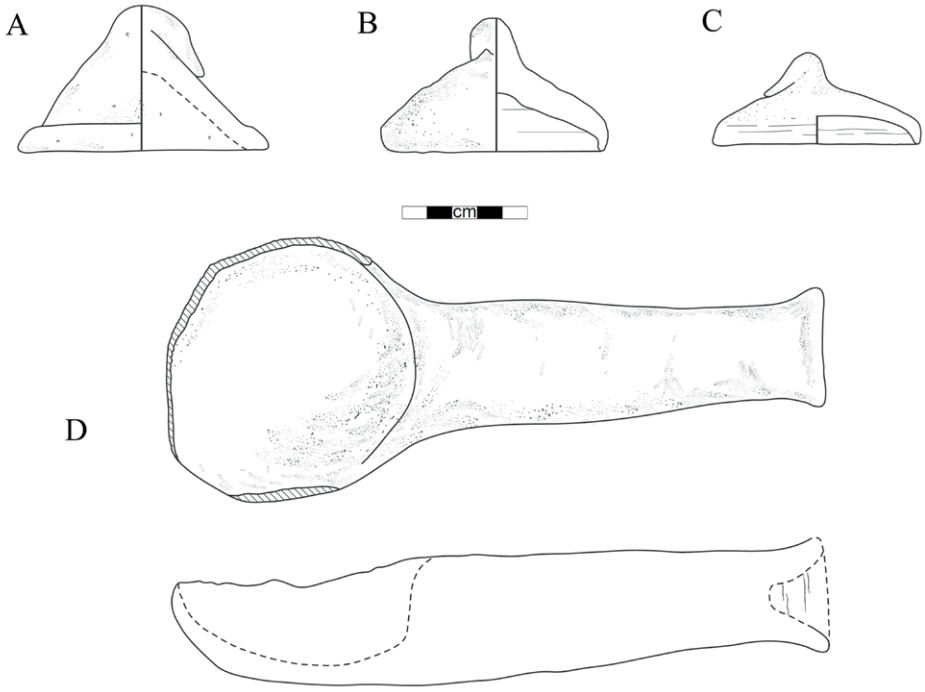
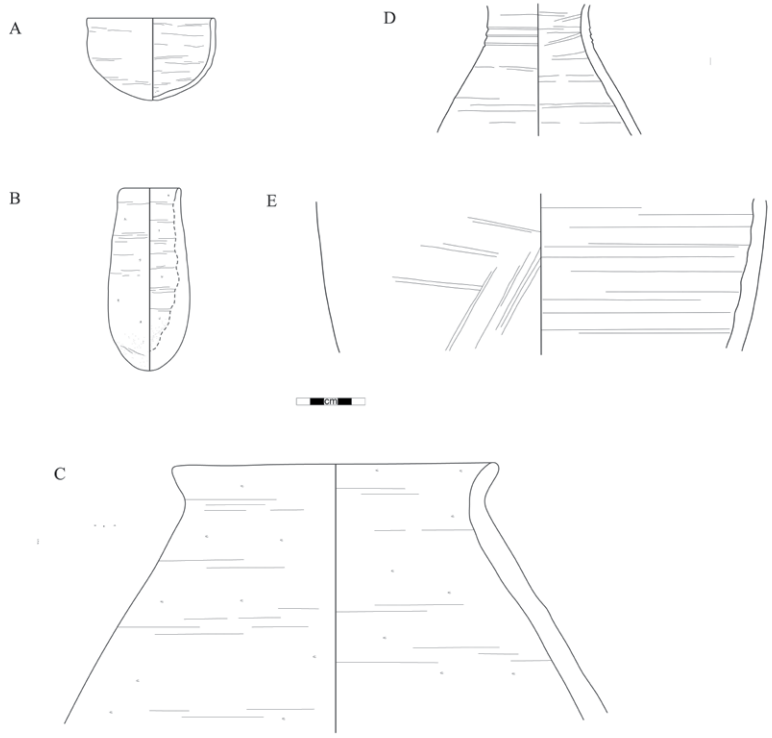


Fig. 42 – Bird-headed lids and "censer arm" from Umm Mawagir.
A: UM.4146, fabric I.O50.b;
B: UM.4704, fabric I.O11.b;
C: UM.4505, fabric I.O10.b;
D: UM.4506, fabric I.O11.a

was excavated at Ain Asil,[110] and Second Intermediate Period parallels are abundant in the Nile Valley, including Elephantine,[111] Edfu,[112] Abydos,[113] Memphis,[114] and Tell el-Dab'a.[115] From Phase 1 at Umm Mawagir comes a rim to body sherd of a large jar (Fig. 43C; UM.2135) that may have had a biconical profile.[116] Additional diagnostic sherds from Nile Valley imports include a Marl A4 neck-to-shoulder of a jar with three incised lines at the base of the neck (Fig. 43D) and part of the body of a Marl A3 jar (Fig. 43E). The jar with incised lines finds Seventeenth Dynasty parallels from Deir el-Bersha[117] and Thebes.[118]

Fragments of Tell el-Yehudiya ware juglets[119] were present in the North Area and the Central Area, with a total of five sherds from all contexts (Fig. 44). Two sherds come from Square J31, a dumping area (Fig. 10): one from Level 1001, immediately below a layer of aeolian sand, and the other from the penultimate level, 1007; the decoration of the two Tell el-Yehudiya sherds from Square J31 is nearly identical and provides further evidence for the relatively short time span of the floruit of Umm Mawagir. The small size of the sherds makes any determination of shape difficult, and further study of the sherds' fabric remains a goal of future seasons. In Dakhla, a single, undecorated piriform juglet has been reported from a funerary context.[120] Undecorated piriform juglets made in Khargan fabrics are also present at Umm Mawagir, although thus far no oasis-imitation decorated juglets have been discovered.



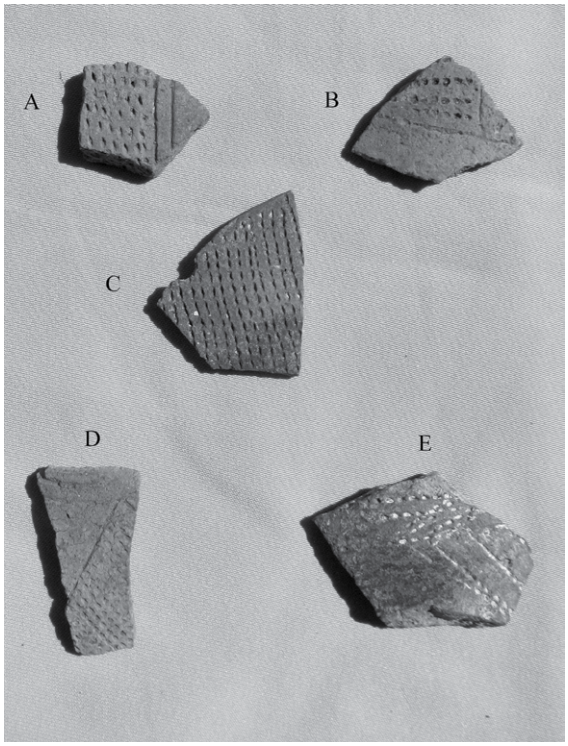


Fig. 43 (left) – Nilotic pottery from Umm Mawagir. A: UM.4119, fabric Nile B1; B: UM.4651, fabric Nile B2; C: UM.2135, Nile B2; D: UM.1194, fabric Marl A4; E: UM.1144, fabric Marl A3
Fig. 44 (right) – Tell el-Yehudiya ware sherds from Umm Mawagir. A: UM.1346; B: UM.1347; C: UM.1348; D: UM.4571; E: UM.4584

[110] Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 215 Group 45 (Phase 1); interestingly, an oasis copy of this form (Group 46) was also excavated at Ain Asil, but is classified within 'Phase 2' ceramics.
[111] von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 332-3, fig. 147a, 334-5, fig. 148a-c.
[112] Ayers, Moeller, in Forstner-Müller, Rose (eds.), *Nubian Pottery,* 112.
[113] Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III,* 276, no. 111.
[114] Bourriau, *Survey of Memphis IV*, 62.
[115] Kopetzky, *Tell El-Dab'a XX*, 88.
[116] Seiler, *Tradition und Wandel,* Falttafel. 4; Seiler, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period,* 47, fig. XI.1.
[117] Bourriau *et al.*, *Ä&L* 15, 115.
[118] Seiler, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period,* 47.
[119] Aston, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *Bronze Age in Lebanon*, 165-94; Aston, Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a VIII*.
[120] Hope, *JSSEA* 10, 288 and pl. 20d.

Nubian Ceramics

Sherds of Nubian tradition are present in small numbers in all excavated squares and at all levels in both the North Area and the Central Area.[121] The thick deposits of material from Phase 2 at the Central Area preserve a number of complete bowl forms whose off-set rims and patterns of incised decoration suggest affiliation with the Pan Grave culture.[122] The identification of Middle Nubian pottery has not been consistent for the oases, with the same basic bowls with incised decoration labeled as 'Libyan',[123] 'Second Intermediate Period C-Group',[124] or 'Kerma'.[125] The combination of vessel shape, rim style, and patterning of the incised decoration within the corpus of Nubian ceramics from Umm Mawagir and Ain Asil find their closest parallels among Pan Grave ceramics at sites/levels dated to the late Twelfth through Thirteenth Dynasties (based on the occurrence of Egyptian imports in similar strata or within the burials): Abydos,[126] Hierakonpolis,[127] Gharb Aswan,[128] Elephantine,[129] and sites in Lower Nubia.[130]

The Nubian vessels from Umm Mawagir are predominately hand-made open bowls that divide into two basic types: smaller, black-topped red-polished bowls, and larger bowls with incised decoration (Fig. 45). The finer Nilotic clay III.N2 is preferred for the former, while the coarser III.N1 is primarily used for the larger incised bowls; the oasis imitations of the incised Nubian bowls occur in fabric I.O80 and its finer variant I.O81. Parallels to the blacktopped red-polished bowls occur in all major Middle Nubian cultural groups –C-Group, Pan Grave, and Kerma– but the recessed and/or off-set rims with incised line point to a Pan Grave affiliation for the vessels from Umm Mawagir.[131] The larger, incised bowls can be uncoated or have a thin self-slip; their rims are

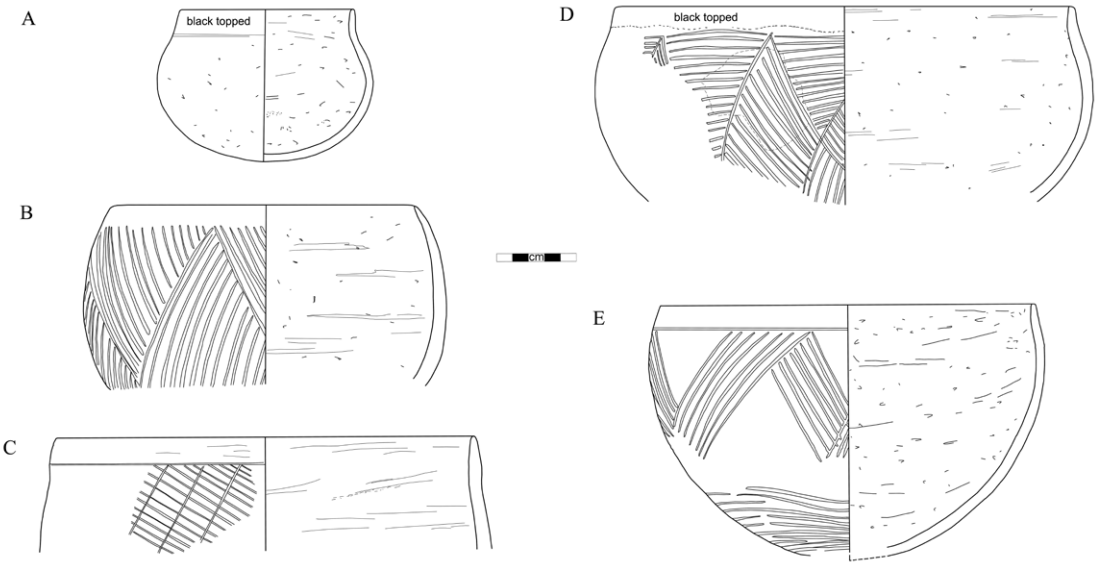


Fig. 45 – Nubian ceramics from Umm Mawagir. A) UM.2152, fabric III.N2; B) UM.3145, fabric I.O80; C) UM.3129, fabric I.O80; D) UM.2195, fabric III.N1; E) UM.2185, fabric I.O80

[121] The following is a summary of Manassa, in Förstner Müller, Rose (eds.), *Nubian Pottery*, 129-48.
[122] Giuliani, in Kroeper, Chlodnicki, Kobusiewicz (eds.), *Archaeology of Early Northeastern Africa*, 647-58.
[123] Caton-Thompson, *Kharga Oasis in Prehistory,* 41-2.
[124] Giuliani, in Kroeper, Chlodnicki, Kobusiewicz (eds.), *Archaeology of Early Northeastern Africa*, 647-58.
[125] Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 140, 207; Baud, *BIFAO* 97, 28, 33-4.
[126] Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III,* 239, 241.
[127] Giuliani, *S&N* 5, 41-4.
[128] Gatto, Gallorini, Roma, in Förstner Müller, Rose (eds.), *Nubian Pottery*, 83-102.
[129] Raue, in Förstner Müller, Rose (eds.), *Nubian Pottery*, 49-58.
[130] Säve-Söderbergh (ed.), *Middle Nubian Sites*; Bietak, *Ausgrabungen in Sayala-Nubien*; Bietak, in Hägg (ed.), *Nubian Culture,* 113-28.
[131] Giuliani, in Kroeper, Chlodnicki, Kobusiewicz (eds.), *Archaeology of Early Northeastern Africa*, 647-58.

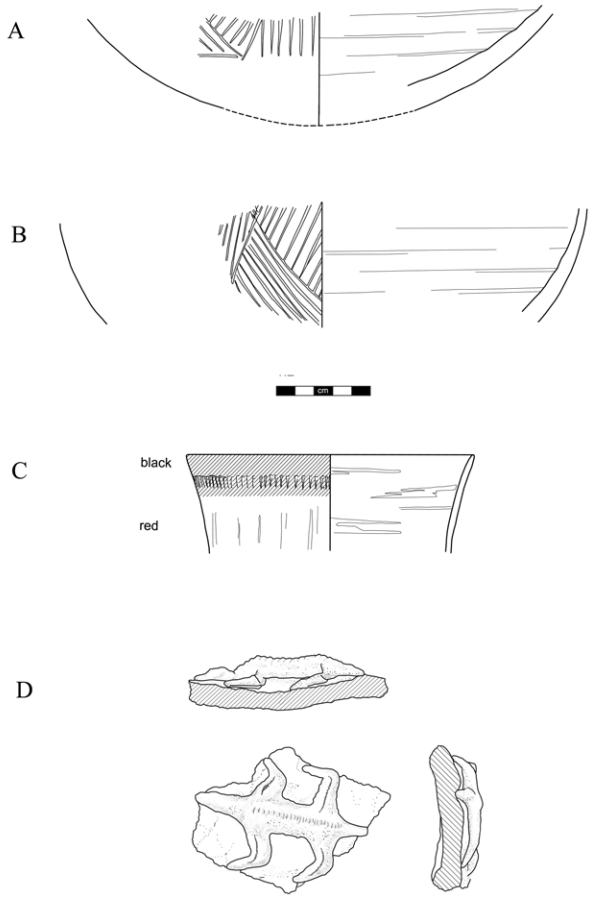


Fig. 46 – Nubian ceramics from Umm Mawagir. A: wheel made-sherd with incised Nubian style decoration, UM.3173, fabric I.O21.c; B: wheel made-sherd with incised Nubian-style decoration, UM.3133, fabric I.O31.b; C: sherd from Kerma beaker, UM.3172, fabric III.N2; D: sherd with crocodile applique, UM.4130, fabric I.O31

either direct or recessed, but in both cases are offset with an incised line. Most of the large bowls also have traces of secondary burning, indicative of their use as cooking pots. The incised decoration on these bowls falls into four groups (Fig. 45), all of which are attested as motifs on Pan Grave bowls.[132]

In addition to the hand-made Nubian vessels, two sherds have been excavated within the Central Area that are clearly wheel-made vessels with incised Nubian-style decoration (Fig. 46A, B). Both employ standard oasis fabrics (I.O21.c and I.O31.b), and while one was situated within a Phase 1 context, the lowest level of Square QQ25 (Fig. 46A), the other derived from a Phase 3 context, the aeolian sand fill of the large courtyard of Squares PP24/25 and QQ24/25, south of the grain silo (Feature 309) (Fig. 46B). No wheel-made Nubian-style incised sherds have previously been reported in the oases, but similar hybrid vessels are attested at Hierakonpolis,[133] Edfu,[134] and possibly Aniba.[135] Finally, two sherds appear to belong to the Kerma cultural tradition. One black-topped red-polished sherd from Umm Mawagir with impressed designs (Fig. 46C) belongs to a Kerma beaker.[136] A sherd of a large vessel contained an appliqué crocodile (Fig. 46d; fabric I.O31.b), and an exact parallel to this decoration occurs on a sherd excavated at Kerma and assigned to the 'classic Kerma' phase (Boston MFA 20.3768).[137] The crocodile appliqué sherd from Umm Mawagir was from the upper sand fill in Square NN26, which can be compared with the Phase 3 context of the black-topped beaker sherd.

Summary of the Ceramic Remains at Umm Mawagir

Based on limited parallels from Nile Valley sites, and a virtually identical corpus of pottery from the site of Ain Asil, the ceramics at Umm Mawagir appear to date to the late Middle Kingdom through the late Second Intermediate Period. Considering the idiosyncrasies of the oasis ceramic tradition, it is possible that some of the activity began in the late Twelfth Dynasty and continued through the early Eighteenth Dynasty. As the only stratified settlement of the second millennium thus far excavated within Kharga Oasis, the study of the ceramic remains from the excavated units at Umm Mawagir is instrumental in determining the scope and nature of Egyptian activity within Kharga Oasis. The creation of a fabric classification system for Kharga Oasis will hopefully aid in the identification of imported oasis forms from within Nile Valley contexts, and one of the goals of future study is a more detailed comparison of the Kharga and Dakhla Oasis fabrics. While Ain Asil does have a few forms that are thus far not attested at Umm Mawagir,[138] the vast majority of the ceramic corpus from Ain

[132] Gratien, *CCE* 6, 113-48; Säve-Söderbergh (ed.), *Middle Nubian Sites,* vol. I, 38-40; Giuliani, in Kroeper, Chlodnicki, Kobusiewicz (eds.), *Archaeology of Early Northeastern Africa*, 647-58.

[133] Giuliani, *S&N* 5, 40; Friedman, *S&N* 5, 31.

[134] N. Moeller, personal communication.

[135] Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of Pottery,* vol. I, 417.

[136] For other oasis examples, see Marchand, Tallet, *BIFAO* 99, 326, fig. 45; Baud, *BIFAO* 97, 34; Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 207.

[137] <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/red-polished-vessel-fragment-with-crocodile-applique-488668>, accessed 7.15.2015; for a similar crocodile appliqué on a C-Group pot, see Säve-Söderbergh (ed.), *Middle Nubian Sites*, vol. II, pl. 15, 270/LXXVIII.2.

[138] Form groups not attested at Umm Mawagir include Group 9 and 49, bowls and jars with 'pie-crust' rim decoration (Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie*, 178-9, 218-9); one example of a Group 49 vessel has been recovered from cemetery KH1, east of Gebel Ghueita, which will be published in a forthcoming monograph on the pharaonic material from central Kharga Oasis.

Asil and Umm Mawagir share the same forms and features; even unusual non-container forms such as the bird-headed lids and 'censer arm' appear at both sites. One of the most significant differences between the corpus of ceramics at Ain Asil and that of Umm Mawagir is the diversity of fabrics within specific classes of forms at the latter; for example, cups and spouted bowls at Umm Mawagir can appear in all four major fabric divisions of silt imitations as well as a few rare examples in marl imitations, while all small open vessels at Ain Asil are confined to one or two fabrics. The diversity of fabrics within shape classes at Umm Mawagir may represent one aspect of the transition between Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom ceramic production.[139] In terms of ceramic production, Dakhla and Kharga Oases during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period appear to represent a single regional unit.[140]

While many of the ceramic forms at Umm Mawagir and other Khargan sites appear to be part of an autochthonous development within the oases (e.g. double-bodied bread molds, spouted bowls, straight-sided zirs, severe kettle-mouth jars, etc.), some basic open and closed forms, such as the hemispherical cups and basic jar form, show the influence of Upper Egyptian ceramic traditions. Although 99% of the pottery at Umm Mawagir and associated sites is locally made, a small, but important group of imported ceramics from the Nile Valley is present at the site. These imported ceramics appear to be predominately Upper Egyptian forms, including Marl A3/A4 jars and a beaker in Nile B2; the one major exception is the presence of four sherds of Tell el-Yehudiya ware. The Nubian ceramics imported from the Nile Valley show their closest affiliations with Pan Grave ceramics, although at least one beaker sherd of Kerma tradition is present. The presence of Nubian ceramics within Kharga Oasis is itself significant, but even more striking is the existence of Pan Grave cook-pots manufactured in Khargan clays as well as two sherds that show Nubian style incised decoration on Egyptian wheel-made forms.

Viewed as a whole, the ceramic material from Umm Mawagir reveals oasis potters clinging to earlier Middle Kingdom forms, perhaps somewhat isolated by political events within the Nile Valley, but in contact with the Thebaid and having a working knowledge of contemporaneous Upper Egyptian ceramic technology. The ceramic material at Umm Mawagir does not display any of the typical Eighteenth Dynasty forms or surface treatment,[141] suggesting that the abandonment of the bakery complex was complete by the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Epigraphic Material at Umm Mawagir

Epigraphic material at Umm Mawagir is exceptionally rare.[142] A fragment of a hieratic ostracon (with a few partially preserved signs), stamped mud sealings, and a stone seal are consistent with the late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period date of the site. The paucity of mud sealings at the site may be the result of a collection of sealings as part of the administrative process, as was the case at several Middle Kingdom sites.[143] An extremely fragmentary hieratic ostracon from the north area reveals the use of cursive Egyptian at the site,[144] and suggests the presence of at least some literate elements of the population.

The Garet Mo'unis Road, Qarn el-Ghinneh, and Bulaq – the Ancient Darb el-Arbain

The Umm Mawagir site is well placed to control and enjoy the formerly considerable water resources of Gebel Ghueita to the south and Qarn el-Ghinneh to the north. The settlement was also well placed to oversee and participate in the trade and traffic that passed along a major road passing just east of the site. Between Garet Mo'unis in the north –almost due east from Hibis Temple– continuing south across the eastern slope of Qarn el-Ginneh, and appearing again along the western slope of ridges to the east of Bulaq, are the remains of north-south pharaonic road, apparently the late Middle Kingdom through New Kingdom version of the later Darb el-Arbain (Fig. 47). As it continued across the eastern shoulder of Qarn el-Ginneh, leading south along the east slope of Gebel Ghueita toward Bulaq, the road passed just below and to the east of the ridge atop which sits Umm Mawagir. As the southernmost branches of the Girga Road –essentially versions of the Abu Sighawal Pass– and the northern branches of the Darb Bulaq converge in the area between Qarn el-Ghinneh to the north and Bulaq to the south, the area of Umm Mawagir.

Ceramic remains along a north-south track indicate that the road was in heavy use from at least the late Middle Kingdom through the Eighteenth Dynasty, with some

[139] For example, that witnessed in Level V at Memphis – Bourriau, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 33.
[140] For other regional units of the time, see Bourriau, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 11-37.
[141] Compare Marchand, Tallet, *BIFAO* 99, 322-52.
[142] The following is a simple description of the epigraphic remains, which will be more fully published in the forthcoming monograph on Umm Mawagir.
[143] von Pilgrim, *CRIPEL* 22, 161-72; Smith, *CRIPEL* 22, 173-94.
[144] Compare also Marchand, Soukiassian, *Un habitat de la XIIIe dynastie,* 311.

Fig. 47 – View of pharaonic tracks south of Garet Mo'unis, looking south toward Gebel Qarn el-Ghinneh

Old Kingdom and Late New Kingdom material as well; each of these sites contains the same ceramic types as those present at Umm Mawagir. Classic Khargan forms, such as spouted bowls and thin-walled jars, as well as zirs of oasis fabrics, dominate the late Middle Kingdom material on the roads; the New Kingdom pottery is primarily represented by large oasis-ware amphorae, some of which may have transported wine produced at Gebel Ghueita. Sherds of imported Syro-Palestinian fabric are present on the stretch of the road to the east of Qarn el-Ghinneh, along with Nilotic Nubian material of Pan Grave tradition (publication forthcoming).

North Garet Mo'unis – Northern Outpost of Umm Mawagir

Umm Mawagir is a site at a juncture of north-south and east-west routes through Kharga. The presence of a smaller site of similar date farther to the north indicates that Umm Mawagir was a major hub in the road network of late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period Kharga. Just north of the road site at Garet Mo'unis is what appears to be a smaller, northern satellite of the great Umm Mawagir site north of Gebel Ghueita. The ceramic corpus at the North Garet Mo'unis site parallels in all major features that from Umm Mawagir. Overall, the habitation debris at North Garet Mo'unis is limited in extent and depth, suggesting continuous activity by relatively low numbers of individuals. Unlike Umm Mawagir, however, preliminary work at the site suggests that North Garet Mo'unis was not an intensively used industrial center, but rather a permanent outpost along the north-south track through Kharga Oasis.

The ancient remains at North Garet Mo'unis almost certainly continued further north than their present extent, but have now disappeared beneath recent farming activity. The mud-brick walls thus far examined, near the northern edge of the surviving portion of the site, were each built atop foundation bricks laid in sand. The walls are only a single brick in thickness, and belong to courtyards and interior spaces, the latter with *terre pisé* floors. The small scale of the architectural remains, particularly in comparison to Umm Mawagir, further confirms the identification of North Garet Mo'unis as an outpost located at the juncture of caravan tracks, rather than a major population center.

The ceramic corpus thus far revealed at North Garet Mou'nis –from surface collection and initial clearance– includes all of the standard forms present at Umm Mawagir, including single and double-bodied bread molds, spouted bowls, cups, jars, and zirs (Fig. 48). Other forms, such as small jars with round bases and short necks, appear at North Garet Mo'unis, the road site east of Qarn el-Ghineh, and Umm Mawagir. Nilotic imports included Marl A3 and Marl A4 forms of late Second Intermediate Period date, parallel to vessels from the final phase of activity at Umm Mawagir. Nubian ceramics of Pan Grave tradition are also present at the site (Fig. 49), in both dung and sand-tempered Nile silt and oasis fabrics.

Preliminary Conclusions

Material remains from the Umm Mawagir North Area indicate that every step in the baking process occurred

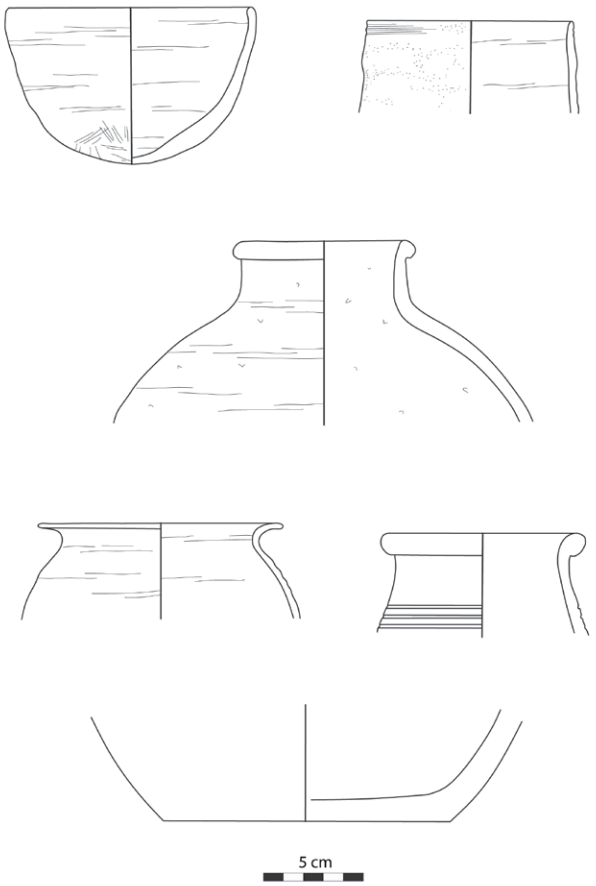


Fig. 48 – Ceramic remains from North Garet Mo'unis

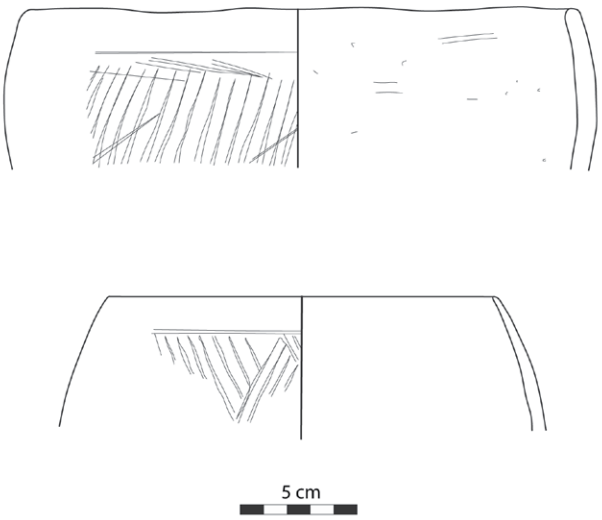


Fig. 49 – Nubian ceramics from North Garet Mo'unis

in this centralized area. The presence of grinding stones and a large quern indicates grain grinding and the refining of the raw vegetal products near and at the bakery proper. The potter's wheels and exclusive use of oasis clay sources for the bread molds indicate that the bread molds themselves were made in this same area, and the abundant chaff inclusions within the bread molds may have been a convenient by-product of the grain processing as well. The ovens within the mud-brick structure were certainly used for bread baking and perhaps as the kilns for the bread molds.[145] Further excavations at the site will hopefully elucidate the labor organization even further, but for now, evidence suggesting that potters and bakers operated in a single structure should be highlighted.

The intensity of activity at the site during a relatively restricted time period, as indicated by the depth of the deposit and the quantities of ceramic material therein, is remarkable. The continued use of open hearths surrounding Structure A implies that the output of the formal ovens within the structure –and across the site as a whole– was not always deemed sufficient. The consistency of the ceramic material –in terms of fabrics, relative ratios of forms, and overall ceramic corpus– from the earliest through the latest levels at the site indicates a massive effort at producing large quantities of bread within a relatively short period of time. The abandonment of the site after an apparently brief but intense period of use suggests that Umm Mawagir is part of a complex, perhaps both administrative and economic in nature, purpose-built to fulfill a particular need during the late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period.

For evidence as to what military or economic undertaking Umm Mawagir was a response, we must await the finds of future seasons of work. The presence of a population in Kharga Oasis during the Second Intermediate Period producing pottery in local fabrics based primarily on late Middle Kingdom forms, with influence from Upper Egyptian ceramic traditions, having some trade relations both with Lower Egypt and Nubia –in conjunction with comparable material from other sites– has broad implications for understanding the economy and military history of the Second Intermediate Period. The site of Umm Mawagir appears to have its twin in Dakhla Oasis, and the excavations of the IFAO at Balat/Ain Asil have revealed a bakery area that has a similar architectural basis and ceramic corpus to that at Umm Mawagir.

An ultimate implication of the new site is that the policies of Monthuhotep II at the dawn of the Middle Kingdom set into motion a series of events that resulted in the creation of an Egyptian –or at least Egyptianized– population center, with perhaps modest but temporally pervasive Nubian affinities, in Kharga and Dakhla. The similarities between the architectural forms, ceramic corpora, and overall activity patterns at Umm Mawa-

[145] The kilns may also have been used for firing other types of ceramics; a very low percentage of the pottery around Structure A and in the debris piles are waster sherds, but a potter's workshop at Amarna produced few waster sherds as well – see Rose, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports V*, 93-4.

gir and Ain Asil suggest that they may have formed a single administrative and economic unit, which was in contact with the other geo-political entities that existed during the Thirteenth through Seventeenth Dynasties. Neither the ceramic assemblage nor other artifacts at Umm Mawagir or Ain Asil provides evidence of a direct, hegemonic control of Kharga or Dakhla by another political power, as we see in evidence of the archaeological remains of the Second Cataract forts of the Middle Kingdom. An Upper Egyptian influence is the strongest of the overall relatively weak outer influences visible in the archaeological remains at Umm Mawagir. Although at the present time we do not yet know what specific political or economic ties the oasis 'polity' may or may not have had with their neighboring powers, they were not a colony of the Hyksos or the Kermans, and thus far nothing suggests that they were a colony of Thebes. The oasis culture in evidence at Umm Mawagir and Ain Asil is sufficiently distinct from the other three entities of the period, and at the same time of such remarkable homogeneity in Kharga and Dakhla, to suggest a fourth distinct geo-political group in the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period in the Western Desert. The local production of ceramics and foodstuffs suggests that this group may have been economically self-sufficient, although additional excavations are needed to determine any political relationships and interdependencies, in addition to the positively attested trade connections with the far north and far south and some technological affinity to basic Upper Egyptian material.

The archaeological material presented above represents a small percentage of the vast extent of the site of Umm Mawagir and related material at Qarn el-Ghineh and Gebel Ghueita. However, much like the discovery of Old Kingdom material in Dakhla, the very existence of a substantial population center in Kharga Oasis during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period allows for preliminary historical conclusions that will continue to be revised and refined as work proceeds at Umm Mawagir and other Western Desert sites. The remains at Umm Mawagir and Ain Asil suggest that simple reconstructions of a weak, embattled Thebes sandwiched between Kerman and Hyksos states are untenable for three basic reasons: (1) during at least the initial stages of the Second Intermediate Period, a fourth population group, and possible political entity –thus far unconsidered in most reconstructions– was present in the Western Desert; (2) evidence is lacking for direct Hyksos control of desert routes between the Upper Egyptian Nile Valley and Kharga, and indications of Hyksos activity is also absent in the Nubian oases of the Sinn el-Kaddab; (3) evidence from Western Desert road sites such as the Wadi el-Hôl and Tundaba reveal an expansion into the west by the Theban state during the late Seventeenth Dynasty. Although the Hyksos appear belatedly to have attempted to extend their influence into the Western Desert, via Bahariya Oasis,[146] both the existing population group and possible political structure in the southern oases and the western expansion of the Seventeenth Dynasty left them little room to maneuver.

At the Tundaba site along the main Girga Road[147] the results of the great expense of the early Middle Kingdom in instituting Monthuhotep II's program of integrating the oases into the Upper Egyptian economy appear most dramatically; ceramic material of late Seventeenth Dynasty to early Eighteenth Dynasty date is almost equally divided between Theban products and oasis vessels; imported Canaanite amphorae also appear at the site. Second Intermediate Period through early New Kingdom activity at Tundaba focused on a cistern, just over 28 meters in depth, cut through a playa deposit and extending down into the limestone of the plateau; the late Seventeenth Dynasty work appears to represent an enlargement of an earlier, possibly Middle Kingdom, excavation at the site. Dry stone structures, with floors partially cut into the desert surface, with low stone walls, and originally some sort of cloth or leather awnings as roofs, served as outposts for a small garrison, guarding a broad camping ground to the west. An ostracon recording a probable well-tax calculation at Tundaba reveals that by the time of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the efforts of rulers and expenditures of the state, beginning already with Monthuhotep II, led to extensive desert traffic between the Nile and Kharga Oasis.

The Second Intermediate Period was not a time of only three warring parties in northeast Africa, with the Hyksos and Kerman worlds connected via the Western Desert roads, their emissaries and armies bypassing a weak and cowering Thebaid.[148] A fourth group existed in the Western Desert: the Great Oasis, Kharga and Dakhla Oases together, capable of producing what may have been a significant surplus of food. The nature of the organization of the apparently culturally homogeneous groups in Kharga and Dakhla during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period is uncertain, but the intensive nature of the baking activity at Umm Mawagir suggests a well-organized administration supporting at least some elements of the population – perhaps a combined Khargan/Dakhlan community, already technologically linked to Upper Egypt, an administrative and economic entity towards which the late Seventeenth Dynasty made a concerted effort to expand. Both

[146] Colin, *BIFAO* 105, 35-47.

[147] J.C. Darnell, in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia*; Darnell, Darnell, in Förster, Riemer (eds.), *Desert Road Archaeology*, 221-63.

[148] So Bourriau, in Leahy, Tait (eds.), *Studies in honour of H.S. Smith,* 43-8; O'Connor, in Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos*, 45-67.

the sites of Umm Mawagir in Kharga Oasis and Ain Asil in Dakhla Oasis reveal a marked decline in activity between the late Seventeenth Dynasty and the early New Kingdom. Whether this resulted from some disruption in occupation and activity during the time of the final conflict between the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties, or from a late transition from Middle Kingdom administration and settlement patterns in the oases, remains to be seen. A scattering of New Kingdom material atop some portions of the Umm Mawagir site and more substantial and continuous New Kingdom deposits at nearby Gebel Ghueita[149] suggest a shift of focus south toward the hill of Ghueita at the time of transition from the early Second Intermediate Period to the later Second Intermediate Period in the area of Umm Mawagir and Gebel Ghueita. Future work in the great spread of ancient remains stretching between Qarn el-Gineh and the southern environs of Gebel Ghueita in Kharga Oasis may reveal more about the mechanism of these changes in the oases, and shed new and welcome light on a period in need of clarification.

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The tomb of a Governor of Elkab of the Second Intermediate Period

William Vivian Davies

Abstract

Report on a hitherto unpublished tomb (no. 73) at Elkab which is datable to the Second Intermediate Period. It is suggested on architectural and inscriptional grounds that the monument belonged to a governor of Elkab, possibly Sobeknakht I, the father of Sobeknakht II, whose well-known tomb (no. 66) is situated near-by, both tombs probably forming part of an extended family complex.

In addition to the published list of decorated rock-cut tombs at Elkab,[1] the main cliff of the necropolis contains a number of inscribed monuments which until recently have remained largely unnoted. Among the more interesting of these is tomb no. 73 (Fig. 2),[2] which bears inscriptions on its façade datable on stylistic and other grounds to the Second Intermediate Period. The name of the owner is lost but there are possible clues as to his identity. I present here a brief report on the tomb, which is currently under study as part of a necropolis-wide project of documentation (Fig. 3).

Tomb no. 73 is located in the upper range of rock-cut tombs in the main cliff (Fig. 2), a little to the west of the tomb of the well-known Governor of Elkab, Sobeknakht II (no. 66), and that of his older relative, Commander of the ruler's crew, Renseneb (no. 64), both of the Sixteenth Dynasty.[3] A new map of this section of the necropolis, with ground-plans of the tombs, is shown in Fig. 1. Typical for an elite tomb at the site, the interior of the superstructure of no. 73 consists of two rooms. The first and largest, orientated north-south, is the chapel proper. The second, in this case a side-room to the east towards the rear, contains the burial-shaft. It is very similar in form and size to the tomb of Sobeknakht II (no. 66), the difference in the location and orientation of the second rooms being simply a function of the nature of the space available in each case.

The façade is very damaged but the left end and part of the right end of the lintel are still in place together with a section of the left jamb (Pl. V). They bear the remnants of funerary inscriptions in sunk relief, originally four horizontal registers on the lintel and probably two columns on the jamb (see further below). From a small courtyard, the tomb is entered through a doorway (originally about 1.85 cm in height, 1.14 m in width and 50 cm in depth), the thicknesses rebated at the rear to accommodate a door. Unusually, it was fitted with a two-winged door, as is evident from the two deep sockets for the door-posts cut into the corners at the base of the rebates and from the rectangular sunken area just inside the entrance, which allowed the wings to be opened inwards freely (Fig. 4). The grooves running off each socket (the one on the east now largely eroded) were designed to enable the lower door-pivots to be slid easily into place.[4]

[1] PM V, 176-185.

[2] I utilise here the revised numbering system for the tombs of the necropolis established by the Belgium Mission to Elkab some years ago as part of the creation of a new map of the site. I am grateful to Dr Dirk Huyge for providing me with a copy of the map. A section is included by Warmenbol, Hendrickx, in Claes, De Meulenaere, Hendrickx (eds.), *Elkab and Beyond*, 75, n. 1, 77, fig. 1, in which tomb 73 is identified at the top right. The other decorated tombs of relevance to this paper have the following new numbers: Sobeknakht II (66, old no. 10), Renseneb (64, old no. 9), Bebi (54, old no. 8bis), Senwosret (46, previously unnumbered), and Hormin (39, old no. 8; see n. 19, below).

[3] PM V, 184-5, nos. 9-10; Tylor, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab*; Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit,* 280-94; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 132; Davies, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period,* 223-40; Willems, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 391-2.

[4] *Cf*. Clarke, Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry,* 164-5, fig. 190.

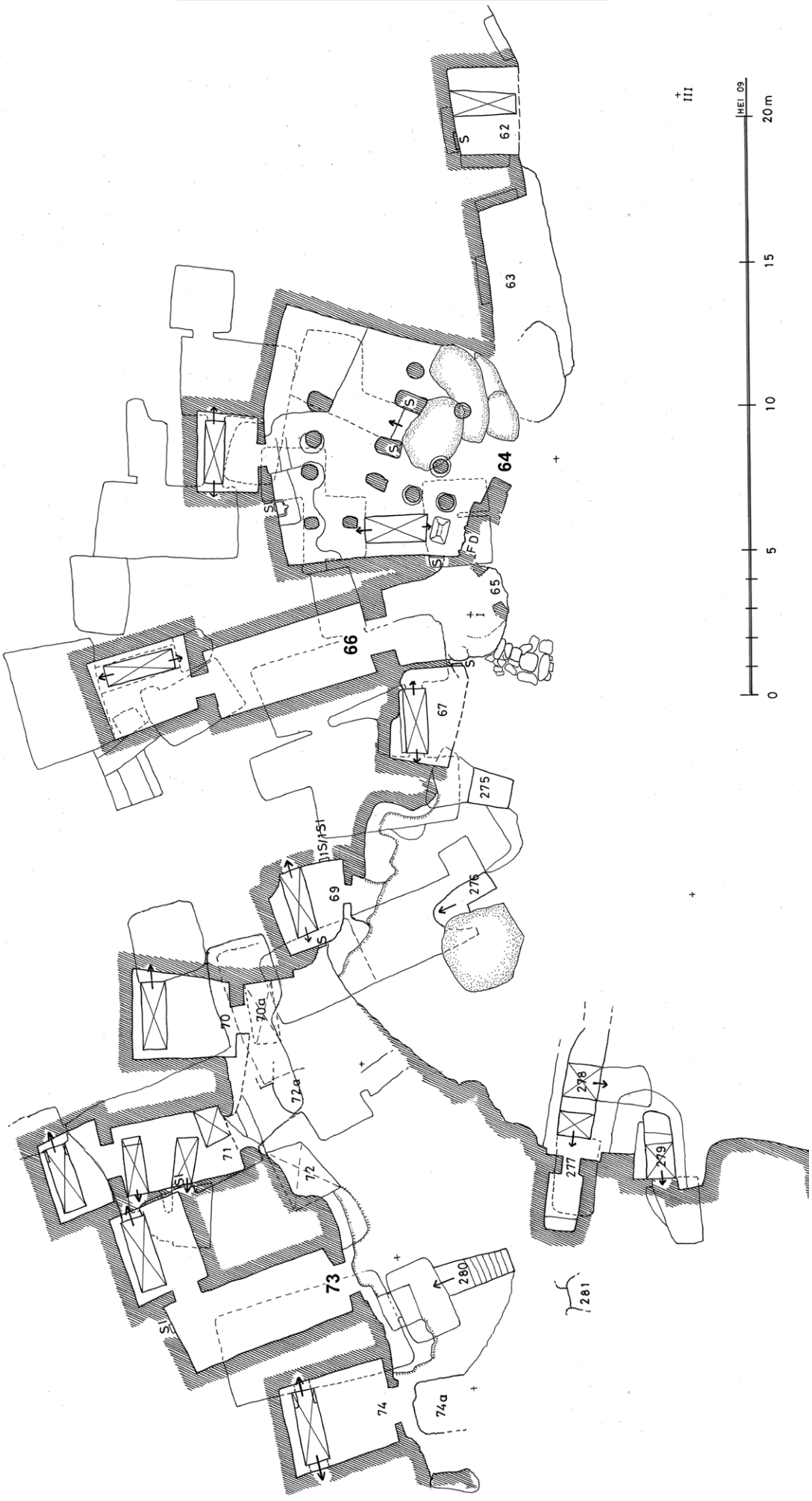

Fig. 1 – Elkab necropolis, plan of tombs, including nos. 73, 66 and 64 (Drawing: G. Heindl)

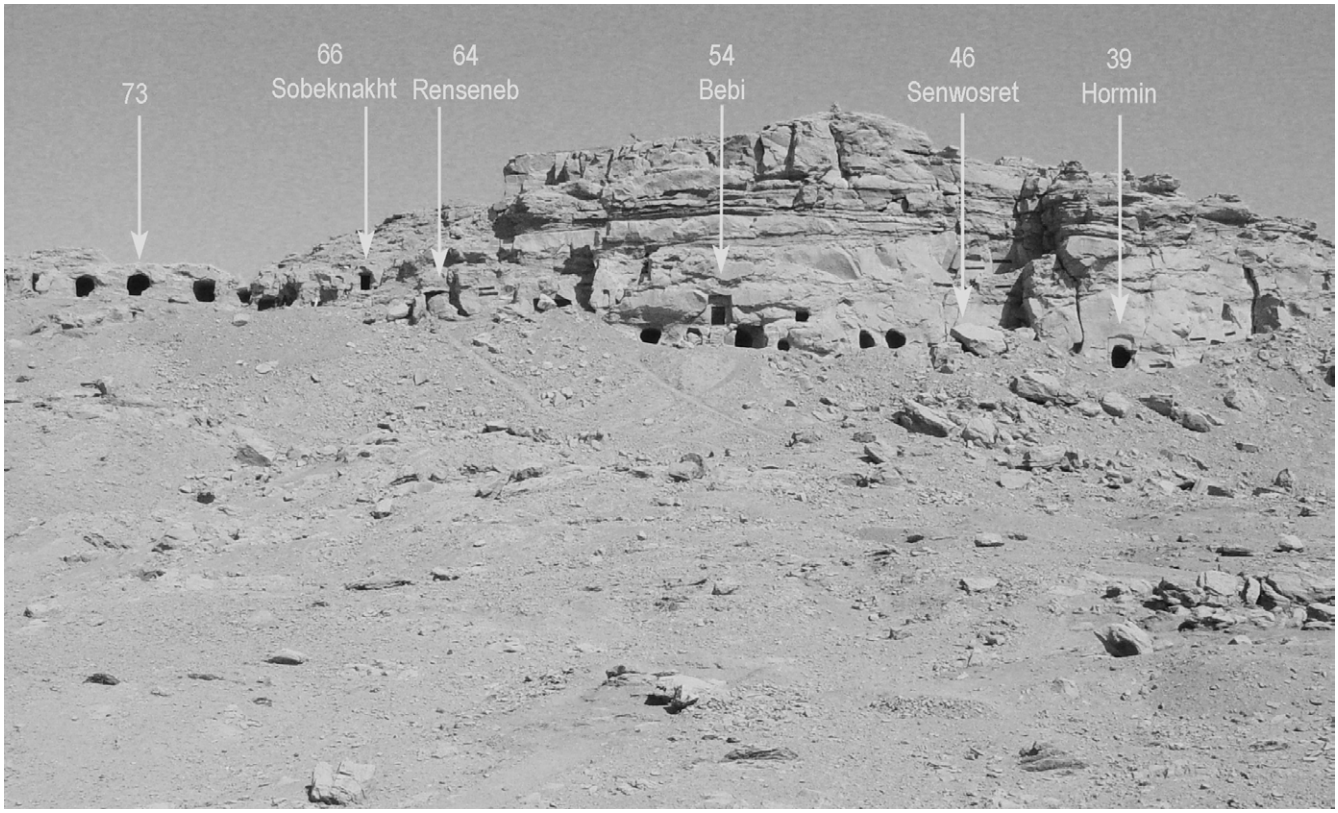

Fig. 2 – Elkab necropolis, main cliff, major decorated tombs, upper range (Photo: J. Rossiter)

The chapel consists of a single rectangular chamber with vaulted ceiling (about 6 m in length, 2.5 m in width and about 2.10 m in maximum height) (Fig. 5).[5] Cut into the chamber's back wall is a round-topped emplacement for a stela (74 cm in height, 39 cm in width, and originally about 11 cm in depth), the stela itself long gone. It is located near to a doorway in the east wall (1.68 m in height, 0.95 m in width), which gives access to a smaller rectangular room with a flat ceiling (the room, about 3.08 m in length, 2.58 m in width, and 1.82 m in height), containing a burial shaft (about 2.5 m in length, 0.94 m in width, and at least 3.5 m in depth) (Fig. 6), its floor covered with debris. Masons' 'footholds' are present in its north and south sides. Through a small rectangular doorway at the bottom of the shaft's east wall (Fig. 7), it is possible to crawl into to a large roughly rectangular chamber with a low ceiling, measuring about 7.5 m-8 m (north-south) and 5 m (east-west). The chamber, which connects with the substructures of other tombs and may originally have been smaller (perhaps around 5 m x 3 m), is filled with rubble and has yet to be investigated in detail.

The first room was once decorated in paint. Fragments of mud plaster are present on all the walls and especially the ceiling. As the plaster has mostly gone, it is possible to see clearly the masons' chisel-marks and to follow the successive stages in the creation of the surfaces. The latter were not worked to a completely smooth finish. Chisel marks, of varying depth, particularly deep on the ceiling, were deliberately left in place to provide purchase for the plaster. Some of the ceiling-plaster bears traces of decoration in red and blue paint (Fig. 8).[6]

That the owner was a person of high standing - evident from the tomb's architecture, the quality of its workmanship and the nature and extent of its original decoration – is confirmed by the content of the façade inscriptions. The text on the lintel consisted of a long offering-formula in four lines, only parts of the beginnings and ends of which now remain (Pls. VI-VII).[7] The crucial surviving

[5] The floor is currently cluttered with pottery not related to the tomb but discarded from earlier excavations in the area.

[6] Painted ceiling decoration, consisting of a simulated wooden plank with borders and a pattern of quatrefoils, is present in the contemporary tombs of Sobeknakht II (Clarke, in Tylor, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab*, pl. 12) and Horemkhauef at Hierakonpolis (the latter with a hieroglyphic inscription running along the plank; Davies, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, 118, colour pl. XLIII.3), motifs probably derived from an exemplar to be found in the early Twelfth Dynasty tomb of the governor Senwosret at Elkab (no. 46) (pers. observation; see n. 24 below). The themes and arrangement of the decorative programme in no. 46 appear to have formed the model and inspiration for those adopted in the Second Intermediate Period tombs, markedly so in the case of the tomb of Sobeknakht II.

[7] The king's formula at the beginning (Pl. VII), though now incomplete, was clearly written in the sequence *nswt* + *di* + *ḥtp*,

Fig. 3 – Elkab, Tomb 73, documentation by Günter Heindl and Kathrin Gabler in process (Photo: W. V. Davies)

section is that on the left (Pl. VI). Preserved at the end of the third line are two titles, *ḫtmty-bity imy-r gs-pr*, '[ro]yal sealer, overseer of the half-domain',[8] probably belonging to the tomb-owner's titulary (or just possibly to that of a predecessor, as part of a filiation), while the fourth line ends with a female name and epithet, reading, as it stands, '… Nefru, true of voice'. The female in question will have been a close relative of the owner, in such a context normally his mother or wife.[9] Of the inscription on the jamb below, which requires further study, only a section of the left side of the outermost column is preserved (Pl. VIII), possibly representing the remains of epithets of the god Osiris, among them perhaps '[ruler] of etern[ity…]'.

Though the name of the tomb-owner is lost, the surviving titles and the female name (assuming it is complete as read) are potentially indicative. In the context of the Elkab elite,[10] these titles are known to occur together in four sources, all relating to governors of the town, two dating to the late Thirteenth Dynasty and two to the Sixteenth Dynasty. Of the latter, one is the tomb of the Governor Sobeknakht II (no. 66), mentioned above, where they several times figure in sequence as part of the governor's titulary, as, for example, in the east frieze-inscription (Fig. 9, top line).[11] The other is the Juridical Stela (stèle juridique) from Karnak dating to Year 1 of Nebiryrau I (which documents the change of ownership of the Elkab governorship),[12] where they figure similarly in sequence among the titles of Sobeknakht II's father and predecessor as governor, the titular prince Sobeknakht I (for example, in line 27, Fig. 10, penultimate register).[13] The two earlier sources consist of texts on fragmentary grano-diorite statues, one (part of the pedestal of a standing figure) from Elkab (JE 87254; Figs. 11-13),[14] the

which became the standard form on stelae, at least in the south of Egypt, from the late Thirteenth/Sixteenth Dynasty onwards; see Franke, *JEA* 89, 54-5; Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 124-6; Grajetzki, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 310, n. 58; Marée, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 249; Ilin-Tomich, *ZÄS* 138, 22. Note that the offering-formulae in the tombs of Sobeknakht II (66), Renseneb (64), Bebi (54) and Hormin (39; see n. 19, below) are all of this same type; *cf.* Ilin-Tomich, *ZÄS* 138, 30, nos. 224-5.

[8] The rounded form and reversed writing of the *gs*-sign in *gs-pr* here are paralleled locally in the tomb of Renseneb (Davies, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 227, fig. 3, lines 2 and 3); the reversed writing is found also in the same title on the two statues of Aya (see below). On the titles, see most recently Grajetzki, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 308-9; Marée, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 274, with nn. 233-4; Franke, Marée (ed.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum,* 76-8, with nn. 7-9; Shirley, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 551, 553, 557-8; Kubisch, Franke, in Fischer-Elfert, Parkinson (eds.), *Studies on the Middle Kingdom*, 148 (x+3); Lange, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 198-9.

[9] *Cf.*, for example, Tylor, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab*, pl. 7, upper left, frieze-inscriptions: the top line ends with the name of Sobeknakht II's mother, the line beneath with that of his wife.

[10] On the use of the term 'elite', see Kóthay, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 482, n. 16.

[11] *Cf.* Tylor, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of Elkab*, pl. 8, upper left; also Davies, *ASAE* 80, 135, 141, fig. 6; Davies, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 229, n. 38, 233, fig. 6; Grajetzki, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 308-9.

[12] Davies, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 224-5.

[13] *Cf.* Lacau, *Une stèle juridique de Karnak*, 7, line 4, 24, line 13, 43, line 27; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 65, 67, 69.

[14] From the Belgian (Capart) excavations of 1937-8, previously unpublished, but cited by Vernus, *BiOr* 47, 340 (2.3.2); cf. Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 79, n. 268; Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung*, 28, i, 31, c; Franke, Marée (ed.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, 77, n. 7. The text appears to have been incompletely carved in parts and is now slightly damaged but the reading is clear: '(1) A gift which the king gives and Nekhbet, (2) mistress of Nekheb, that she may give (3) an invocation offering consisting of bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster, linen, incense, oil, and all things good and pure (4) for the *ka* of the royal sealer, overseer of the half-domain, Aya (*Ỉy*), engendered by Commander of the ruler's crew (5) Iymer(u) (*Ỉy-mr*(*w*)), born to Hereditary Princess Rediteneseni (*Rdit.n.s- n.i*), true

other (the body of a dyad) from Elephantine,[15] where the same titles form the titulary of the official Aya, Sobeknakht I's grandfather and the first of the family to be governor of Elkab (and later vizier).[16] As for the female name on tomb 73's lintel, it is known that 'Nefru' was the name of Sobeknakht I's wife, the 'hereditary princess, Nefru', a relationship recorded in several filiations in the tomb of Sobeknakht II, the best preserved being in the latter's biographical stela on the east wall (Fig. 14).[17] The inference from these correlations is two-fold: that the owner of tomb 73 was a governor of Elkab; and that the governor in question was probably Sobeknakht I, the father of Sobeknakht II, or at the very least a near contemporary, an attribution consistent with the palaeographic data (the forms and groupings of the hieroglyphs closely resembling those of the near-by tombs of Sobeknakht II and Renseneb).

Earlier work in the necropolis has already established a direct link between the tombs of Renseneb and Sobeknakht II, relatives-in-law, belonging to different generations and to separate branches of the same family.[18] In addition, there is a firm temporal link between the tomb of Sobeknakht II and tomb no. 39 of the official [titles lost], Hormin (Figs. 2, 15),[19] since the latter, like the former, bears the 'signature' of the local artist '[Scri]be of forms, Great one of ten[s of Upper Egypt], Sedjemnetjeru, repeating life' (Pl. IX), attested also in the tomb of 'Chief inspector of priests of Horus of Nekhen, Overseer of fields, Horemkhauef', at Hierakonpolis.[20] Assignable to the same period, on grounds of iconography, palaeography and phraseology, is tomb no. 54 of 'Commander of the ruler's crew, Bebi' (Fig. 2),[21] which also parallels the tomb of Sobeknakht II in having its entrance located well above ground-level and accessed by staircase (nos. 54 and 66 are the only tomb-chapels in the necropolis with elevated entrances and stairs).

Tomb no. 73 extends these connections and the known gubernatorial presence. At the same time, it supports the view that the upper section of the necropolis as currently revealed (from no. 39 up to no. 73 and beyond) represents in large part a community and complex of related tombs belonging to governors of Elkab, predominant-

of voice'. The names, titles and genealogy are paralleled on the Elephantine statue (see below, n. 15).

[15] Kaiser *et al.*, *MDAIK* 28, 188, fig. 111; Helck, *GM* 18, 25; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 77, no. 111; Franke, *Personendaten*, 48, Doss. no. 11; Junge, *Elephantine XI*, 14-5, pl. 3, c-d; Chevereau, *RdE* 43, 23, no. 414; Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib,* 78-9; Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung,* 28, i, 31, a; Verbovsek, *Als Gunsterweis des Königs in den Tempel gegeben,* 76-7, 157, 164, 172, 345-6, ESa1; Stefanović, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles*, 73, no. 401; Thill, *CRIPEL* 29, 254-5, n. 12, 278, nn. 154, 157.

[16] For the family lineage from Aya downwards, see Davies, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 235, fig. 10; *cf.* Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 40-1; Shirley, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 557-8; Ilin-Tomich, *JEgH* 7, 159. It is possible that the statues date to the period before Aya became governor (*cf.* Helck, *GM* 18, 25-7; Franke, Marée (ed.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum,* 77, n. 7) but the absence of the title *ḥ3ty-ʿ n Nḫb* from the titulary is not necessarily diagnostic. Moreover, the statues are now incomplete and might originally have borne further inscriptions. In the context of such figures, see also Thill, *CRIPEL* 29, 273-82, pls. 1-2, for a fragmentary statue from Sai Island, made of quartzite, inscribed for an official named *Ỉy-mrw*, possibly, it is suggested, to be related to the Elkab family.

[17] Davies, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 230-1, 233, fig. 6, pl. 45; also Tylor, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of Elkab*, pl. 7, top line, end; *cf.* Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 162.

[18] Davies, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 223, 235, fig. 10, pls. 38-9.

[19] PM V, 184, no. 8; Davies, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 223, n. 6, where it is pointed out that traces of the owner's name on the lintel are consistent with the reading 'Hormin'. The publication of the tomb is under preparation.

[20] Davies, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, 119-21; Davies, *EA* 23, 4-5; Davies, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 225; *cf.* Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 15-6, 112, 310; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 120-1; Quirke, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 306 (4); Kruchten, Delvaux, *Elkab VIII*, 199, 202-3, 215-8, 254; Bryan, in Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt,* 1000-1; Laboury, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 201; Stefanović, in Kotháy (ed.), *Art and Society*, 188, 190; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum,* 48, n. 20, 86-7, n. 12; Darnell, Manassa, in Fischer-Elfert, Parkinson (eds.), *Studies on the Middle Kingdom*, 89, n. 159. On the much-discussed title 'Great one of tens of Upper Egypt', *wr mdw šmʿw*, see, recently, Quirke, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 305-16; Grajetzki, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 310; Bazin, El-Enany, *BIFAO* 13, 7-8; Thill, *CRIPEL* 29, 266; Franke, Marée (ed.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum,* 86-7, with n. 12; Grajetzki, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 236-7; Shirley, in Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 561; Grajetzki, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 121-3; Ilin-Tomich, *JEgH* 7, 153-4, 157 (the latter seeing the title as part of 'a specific local system of ranking or quasi-ranking titles'). On the epithet *wḫm ʿnḫ*, 'repeating life, see Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 126-7.

[21] PM V, 184, no. 8bis; Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 57, n. 298, 59, 62, n. 323, 127, 205, 274-9, 292-3; Davies, O'Connell, *BMSAES* 14, 52, figs. 1-2; Davies, O'Connell, *BMSAES* 16, 102, figs. 1-3; Davies *et al.*, *ASAE* 85, 35, pls. 3, b, 4, a; *art. cit.*, 57, fig. 1, 66, pl. 1, a; Kubisch, Franke, in Fischer-Elfert, Parkinson (eds.), *Studies on the Middle Kingdom*, 152 (x+14), 153 (x+16-18), n. 33.

ly of the late Thirteenth Dynasty/ Second Intermediate Period,[22] their extended families, officials, and associates,[23] some of them no doubt having usurped the space of pre-existing tombs.[24] Complementing our concurrent work in the lower range of tombs,[25] the continuing documentation of the upper range (which includes several hitherto unpublished stelae) promises to yield further architectural and prosopographical data, bearing not only on the likely date of individual monuments but also on the role of the 'family complex' as an evolving component in the development, modification and organization of the necropolis of Elkab as a whole.[26]

Acknowledgements
The documentation project at Elkab, supported in part by the British Museum, is carried out with the permission of the Ministry of Antiquities of Egypt. I am grateful to colleagues in the Edfu inspectorate for their co-operation and help. The documentation of the architecture of tomb no. 73 is the work of Günter Heindl assisted by Kathrin Gabler; several of the photographs are by James Rossiter; the epigraphic content has been recorded by the present writer and Susanne Woodhouse; technical assistance in the preparation of this paper has been provided by Dr. Renée Friedman. The images included here as Figures 10-13 are the work of Ahmed Amin of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and are published courtesy of the Ministry of Antiquities. Dr Hisham El-Heithy has kindly facilitated matters.

[22] It is possible that not all the Elkab governors were buried here. Thus, for example, the two governors who became viziers, Aya and Iymeru, might (or might not) have chosen to be buried near to the kings whom they served.

[23] *Cf.* here the concept of the 'social house' (Nelson-Hurst, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 258-60).

[24] The tomb of Renseneb (Fig. 1, no. 64) incorporates a tomb of the late Old Kingdom located immediately to the left as one enters (Davies, *ASAE* 84, 131, 137, fig. 9, 141, fig. 15; Davies, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 224, fig. 1, 225, n. 20; for other Old Kingdom tombs in the vicinity, see Limme, *BMSAES* 9, 20-4, figs. 15-25, 31-3). There must also have been Middle Kingdom tombs in the range, though only the unusurped tomb of Senwosret (Fig. 2, no. 46), a governor of Elkab of the early Twelfth Dynasty, has yet been certainly identified as such (PM V, 184; Davies, O'Connell, *BMSAES* 14, 52-3, figs. 3-5; Davies, O'Connell, *BMSAES* 16, 102-3, figs. 5-6; Davies *et al., ASAE* 85, 35-6, fig. 4, pl. 4, b; *art. cit.*, 57-8, fig. 2).

[25] For recent results, see Davies, in Claes, De Meulenaere, Hendrickx (eds.), *Elkab and Beyond*, 139-75; Davies, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*, 381-409; Davies, O'Connell, *BMSAES* 22, 1-2, 10-7, figs. 1-11.

[26] Davies, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*, 408-9, nn. 117, 118; *cf.* Shirley, *JEgH* 3, 105-7; Vischak, in Hawass, Richards (eds.), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt*, 451-2; Vischak, *Community and Identity*, 221-3; Doxey, in Gundlach, Taylor (eds.), *Egyptian Royal Residences*, 1-3.

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Fig. 4 – Elkab, Tomb 73, doorway from inside, detail (Photo: J. Rossiter)

Fig. 5 – Elkab, Tomb 73, interior, first room (Photo: W. V. Davies)

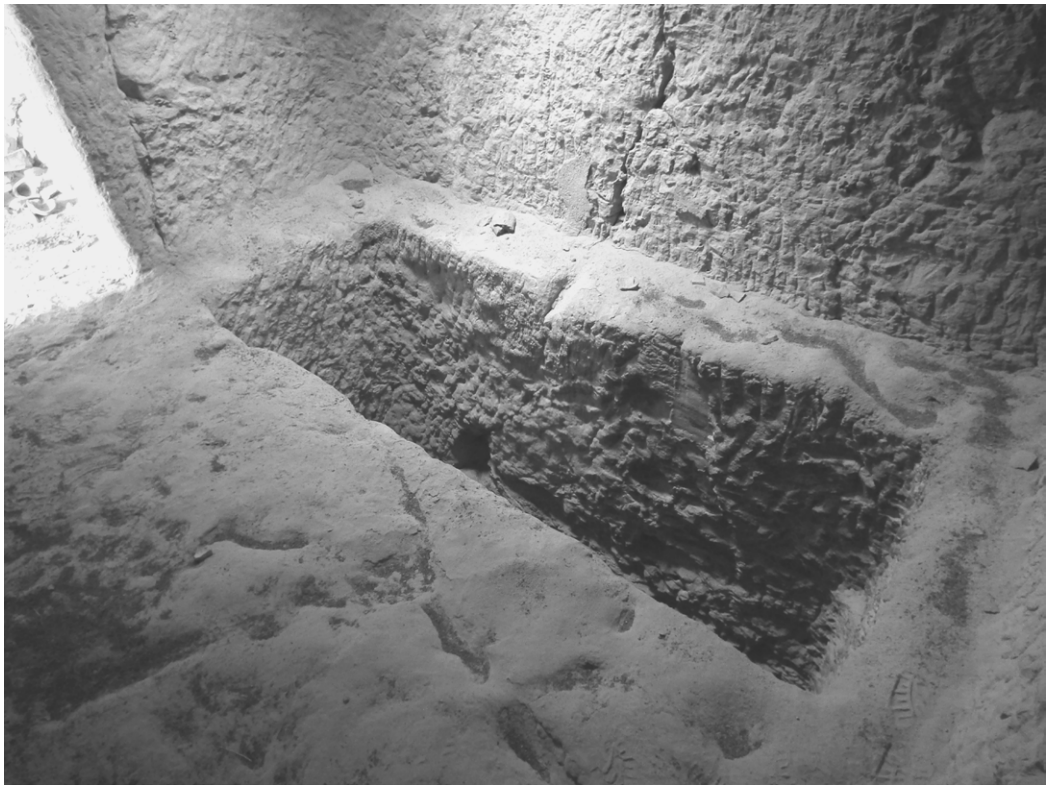
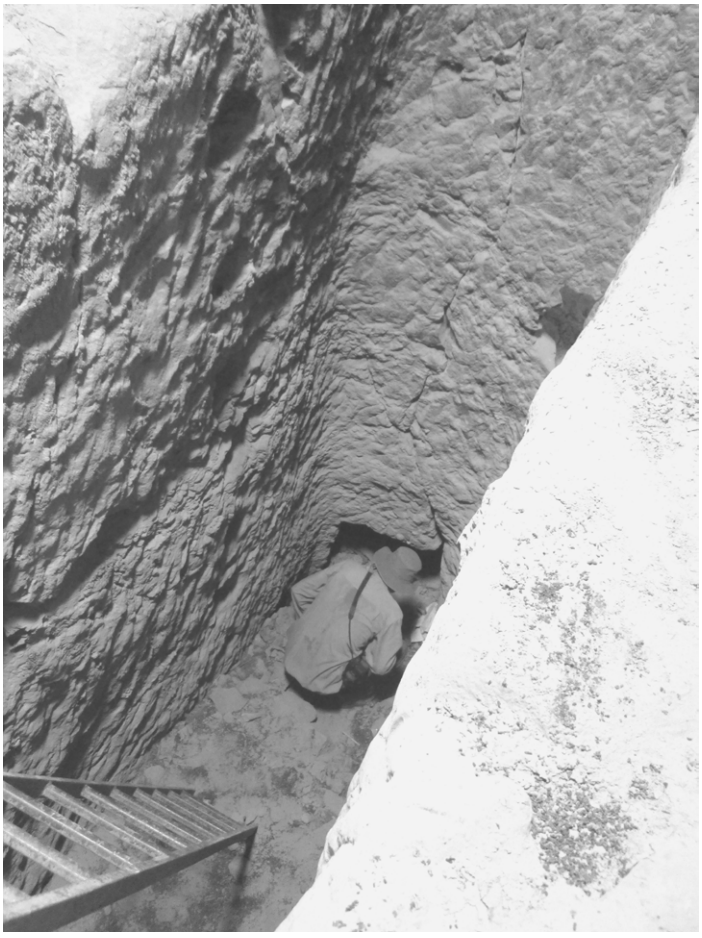


Fig. 6 – Elkab, Tomb 73, interior, second room, top of burial shaft (Photo: W. V. Davies)



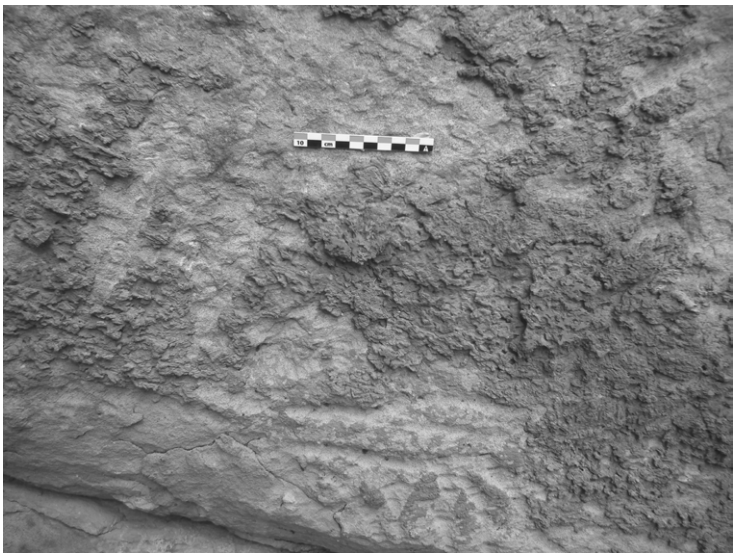


Fig. 7 – (left) Elkab, Tomb 73, interior, burial shaft, with entrance to burial chamber (Photo: K. Gabler)
Fig. 8 – (above) Elkab, Tomb 73, interior, first room, ceiling with fragments of painted plaster (Photo: W. V. Davies)

Fig. 9 – Elkab, Tomb 66, east wall, frieze-inscriptions, detail (Photo: J. Rossiter)

Fig. 10 – Juridical Stela (Cairo JE 52453), detail (Photo: Ahmed Amin, courtesy Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities)

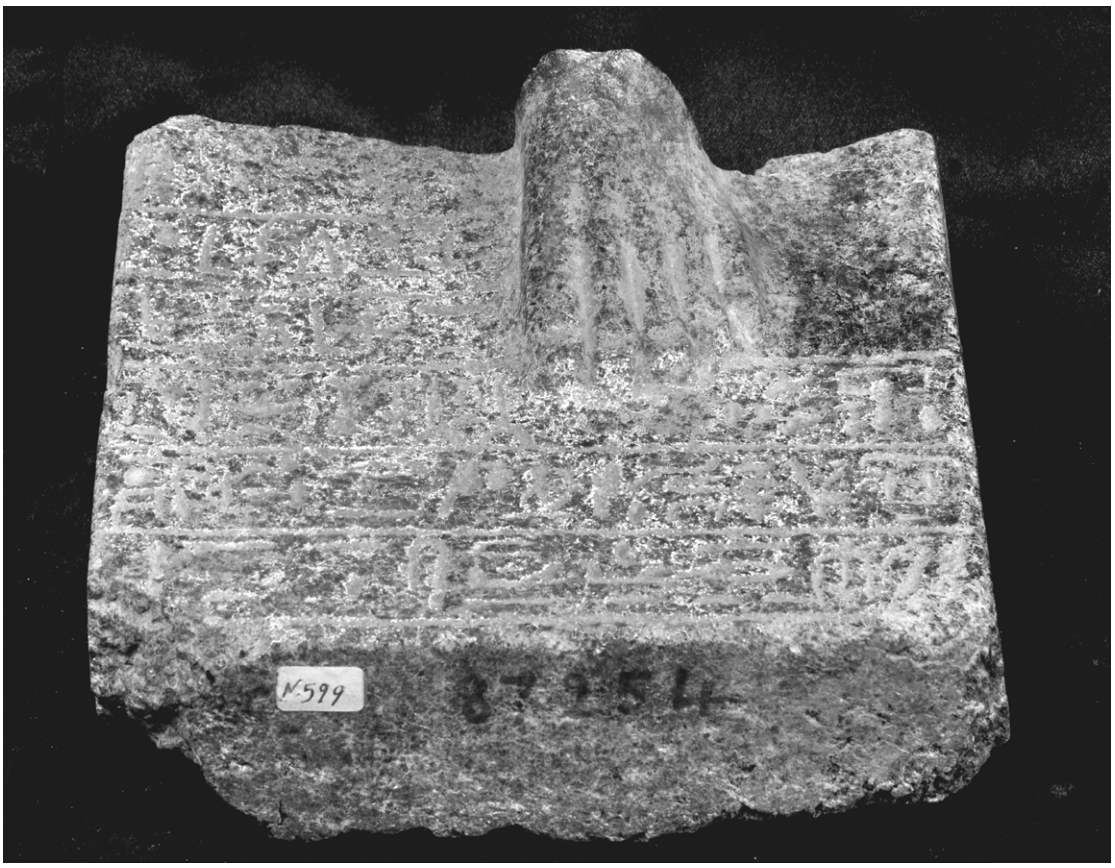


Fig. 11 – Elkab, statue Cairo JE 87254, frontal view (Photo: Ahmed Amin, courtesy Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities)

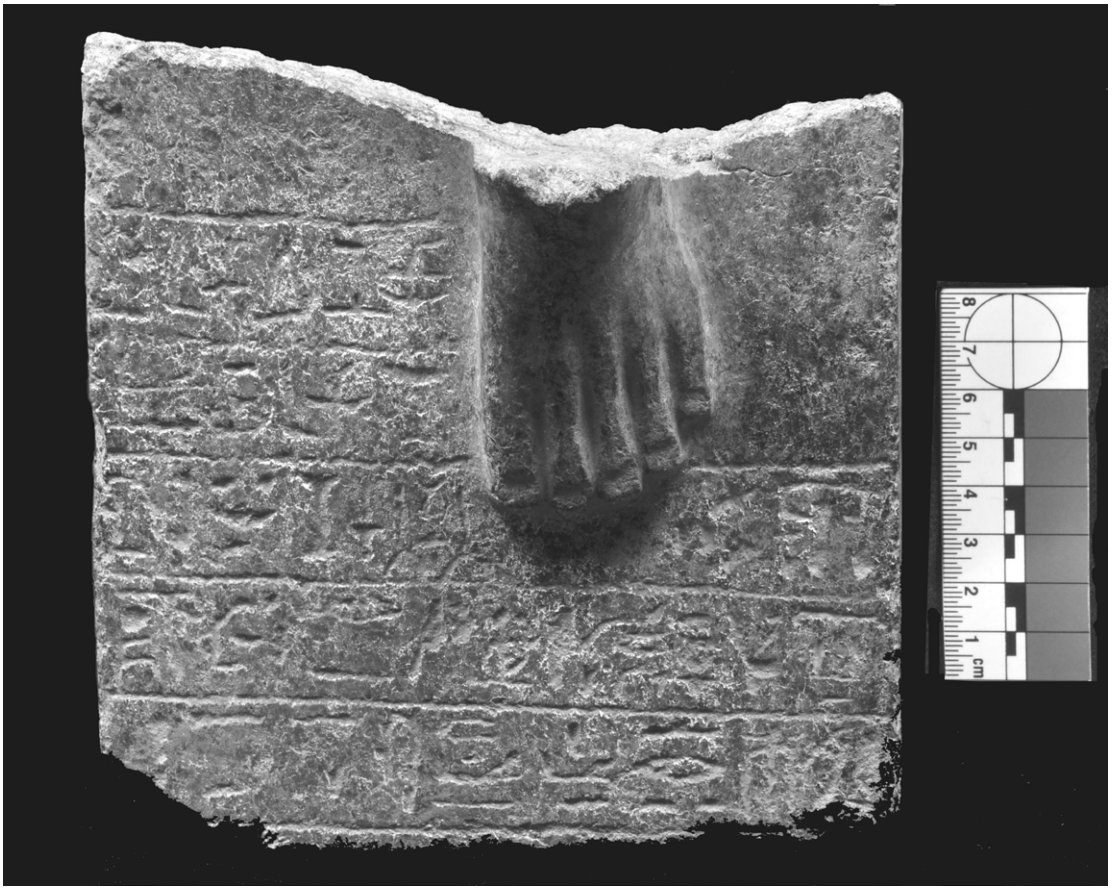


Fig. 12 – Elkab, statue Cairo JE 87254, view from above (Photo: Ahmed Amin, courtesy Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities)

Fig. 13 – Elkab, statue Cairo JE 87254, detail of inscription (Photo: Ahmed Amin, courtesy Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities)

Fig. 14 – Elkab, Tomb 66, east wall, biographical stela, detail (Photo: J. Rossiter)

Fig. 15 – Elkab, Tomb 39, façade (Photo: W. V. Davies)

Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC) II,* MKS 2, London 2016, 85-115

An Isolated Middle Kingdom Tomb at Dayr al-Barsha

Marleen De Meyer

Abstract

Tombs of the Middle Kingdom are well attested at Dayr al-Barsha: the nomarchal tombs high on the north hill are known best, and in addition there is also a cemetery of this time period in the desert plain. During excavations in the area of the Old Kingdom rock tombs of Zone 4, located at a lower level than the Middle Kingdom nomarchal tombs on the north hill, one tomb was found that contained a clear Middle Kingdom inventory. Even though the tomb had been reused and looted, it was nevertheless possible to reconstruct the original set of funerary offerings to a large extent. This paper presents this reconstruction and places it in the broader context of contemporary tomb inventories at the site. It is shown that this tomb with three large sloping shafts is architecturally unique at the site, and that elite burials took place during the Twelfth Dynasty in an area where they had not been expected up until now.

The necropolis of Dayr al-Barsha is well known for its Middle Kingdom governors' tombs, which are surrounded by contemporary tombs of high administrators.[1] These tombs are all located on one level high on the hill north of the Wadi Nakhla (Zone 2, Fig. 1). Another Middle Kingdom cemetery is located in the desert plain (Zone 9),[2] and this cemetery was connected to the area of the governors' tombs with a road, thus creating an extensive cultic landscape.[3] In order to reach the governors' tombs from the desert plain, one has to pass through an area of Old Kingdom rock tombs located at a lower level on the north hill (Zone 4, Figs. 2A-B). In the tombs of Zone 4, several trial trenches were excavated between 2002-2006 in order to understand the use-life of these tombs.[4] While many of the originally Old Kingdom tombs turned out to have been reused either during the First Intermediate Period, Second Intermediate Period-early New Kingdom, or the Ptolemaic Period, there was one tomb (16L25/1) with tomb equipment that clearly belonged to the Middle Kingdom.[5] This was unexpected in this area, and the results of the excavation of this tomb are summarized here.[6] Since the amount of finds resulting from this excavation was immense, only a small selection –but a representative one– of the objects is included in this article. The ceramics are not discussed in detail, but instead a general ceramic profile of each shaft is presented that describes the distribution of pottery of different time periods throughout the shafts. This is significant for determining the extent to which a shaft has been disturbed later on.

1. Architecture

Tomb 16L25/1 is located along the main path running through Zone 4 (Fig. 3). It seems that this tomb was inserted between two pre-existing tombs, 16L25/2 and 16L25/6, since the entrance of 16L25/1 originally consisted of a long narrow corridor between these tombs. While the side walls of this corridor are now quarried away, its presence can be determined from the pattern of black soot covering the ceiling. This corridor leads to a large square room (Room I) with one sloping shaft sunk into the floor (16L25/1A), a second sloping shaft in its southern wall (16L25/1B), and a square shaft in the floor (16L25/1E) (Fig. 4). In the same axis as the entrance, a small room (Room II) was hewn in the eastern wall of the room. Although this room was modified during the Coptic occupation of the tomb, resulting among others in two low benches against its northern

[1] Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture,* 59-123.
[2] Peeters, *MDAIK* 60, 266-9; Peeters, *MDAIK* 62, 328-37; Peeters, in Goyon, Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists,* 1481-3.
[3] Willems, Peeters, Verstraeten, *ZÄS* 132, 173-89.
[4] De Meyer, *Old Kingdom Rock Tombs at Dayr al-Barshā*.
[5] A short report appeared in De Meyer, in Goyon, Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, 426-7.
[6] A detailed account can be found in De Meyer, *Old Kingdom Rock Tombs at Dayr al-Barshā,* 178-332.

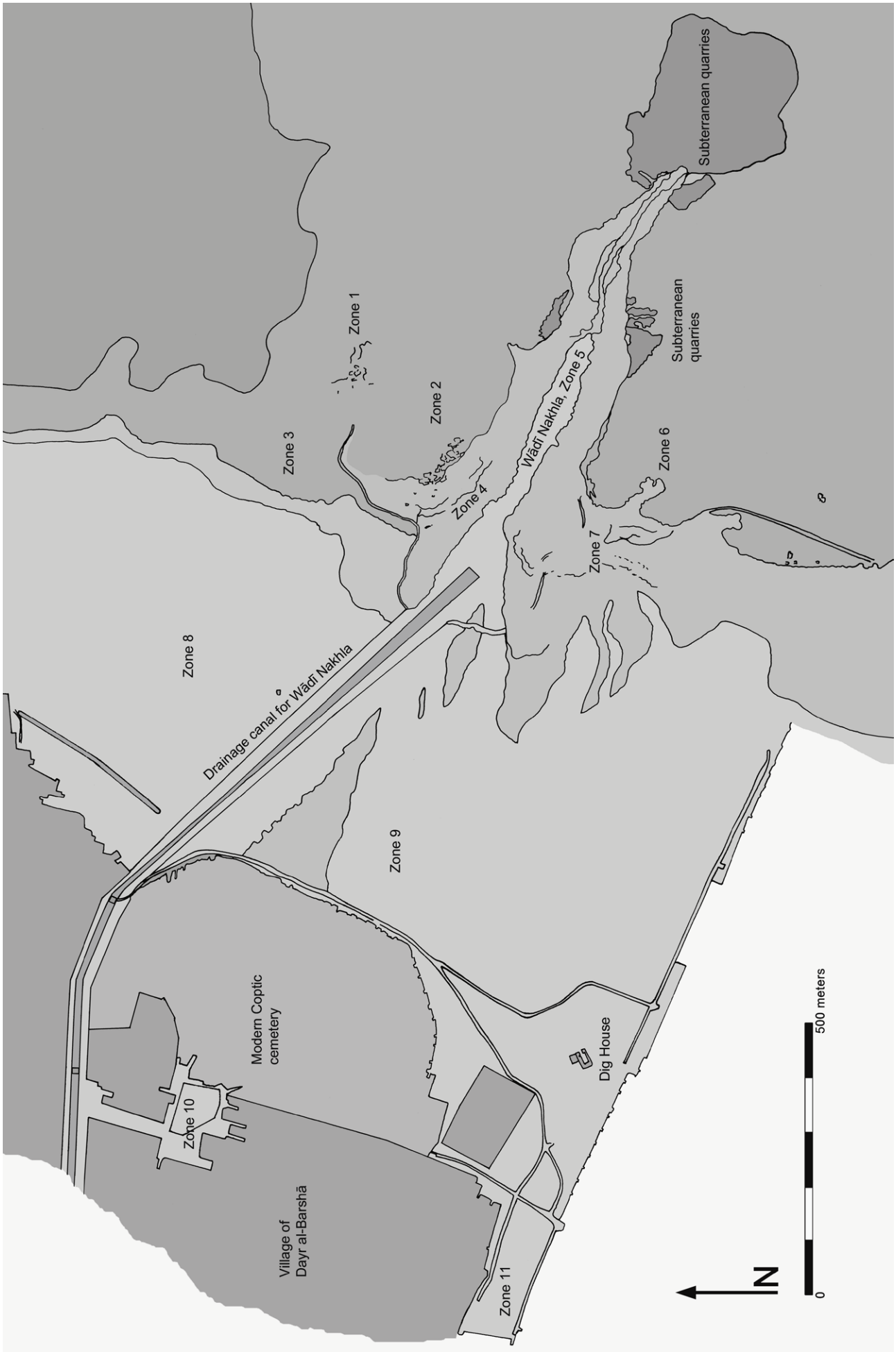


Fig. 1 – Site map of Dayr al-Barsha with indications of the different zones (map C. Peeters)

Fig. 2A – Ground plan of Zones 2 and 4 (map P. Dils and M. De Meyer)

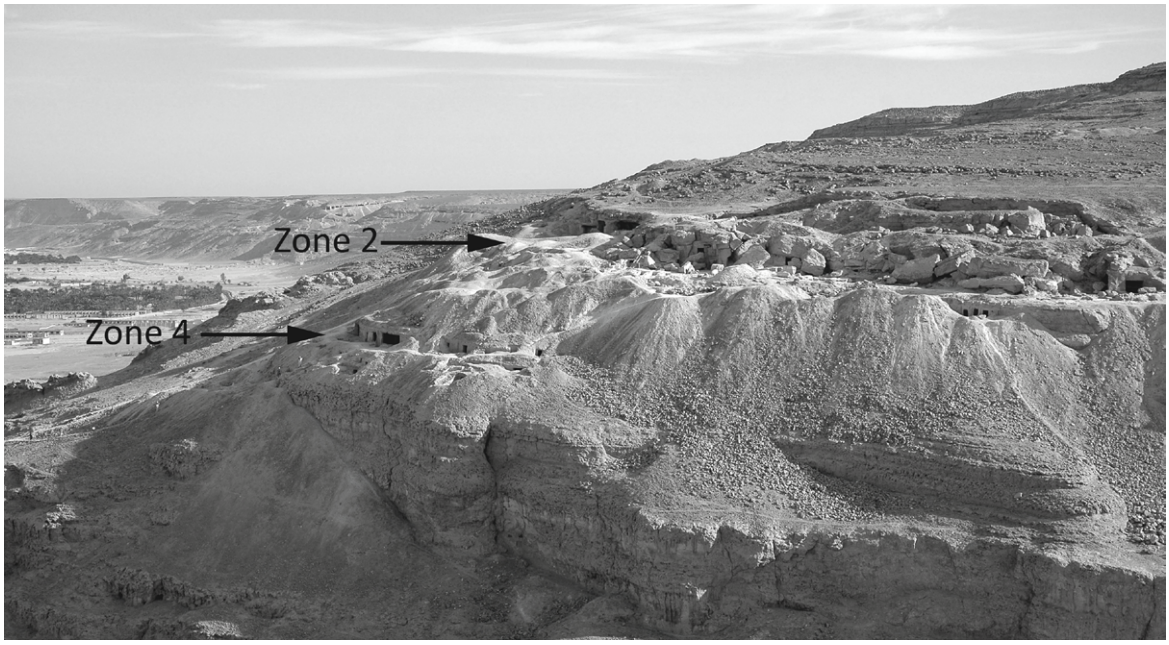


Fig. 2B – Photo of Zones 2 and 4 on the north hill (photo M. De Meyer)

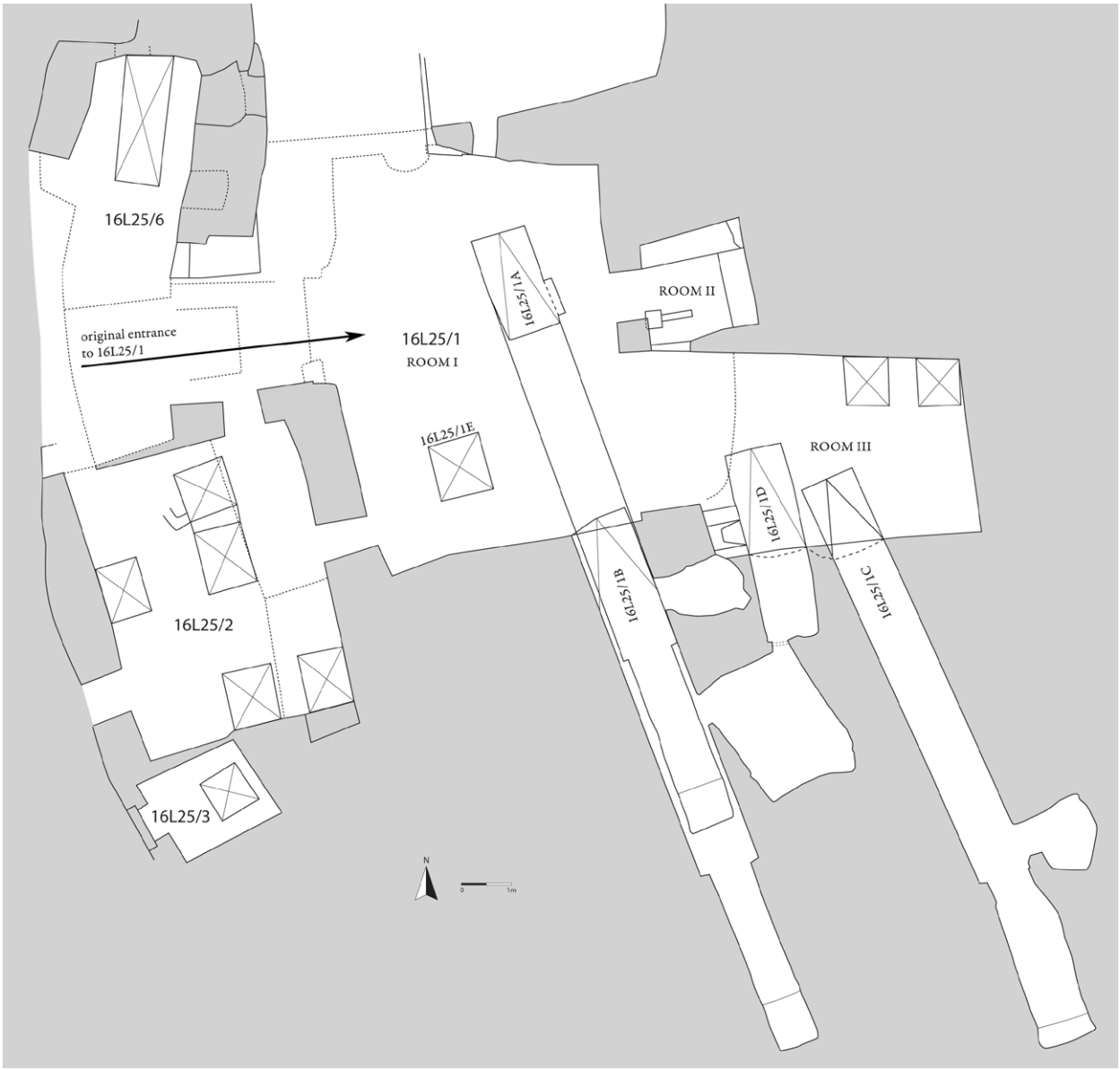


Fig. 3 – Ground plan of tomb 16L25/1 in Zone 4 (drawing P. Dils and M. De Meyer)

Fig. 4 – Interior of tomb 16L25/1 (photo M. De Meyer)

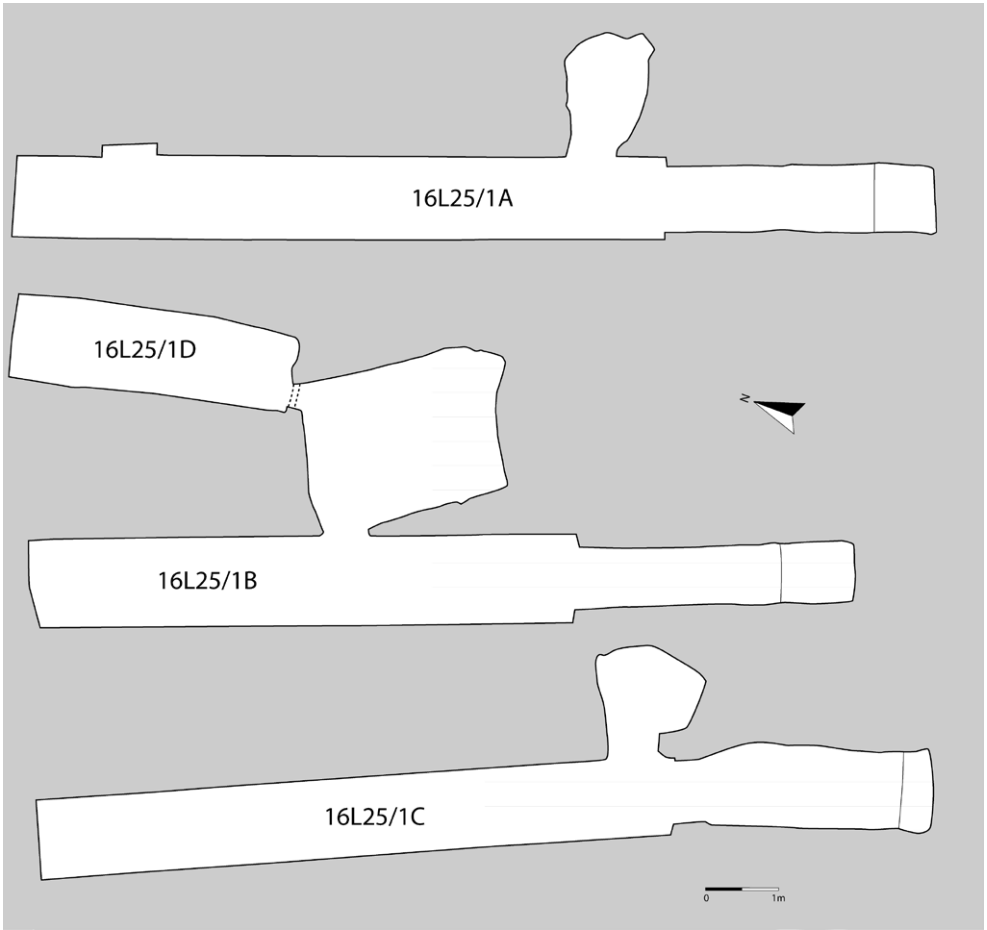


Fig. 5 – Ground plans of the sloping shafts in tomb 16L25/1 (drawing P. Dils and M. De Meyer)

and eastern walls, it seems likely that this room originally functioned as a statue niche. A large pivot hole in the floor may indicate the insertion point for the door closing off this niche. The square room was later on expanded to the east by adding a room in its south-eastern corner (Room III). In this room two square shafts were dug, as well as a sloping one (16L25/1C). A second sloping shaft (16L25/1D) was never finished since it collided with the side room of sloping shaft 16L25/1B.

This entire complex differs considerably from other tombs in Zone 4, mainly because of its three large sloping shafts. This is a shaft type that is not encountered anywhere else in Zone 4, or in the rest of the Dayr al-Barsha necropolis for that matter. Leaving unfinished shaft 16L25/1D out of consideration, the other three sloping shafts of tomb 16L25/1 all follow the same architectural plan (Fig. 5). The burial chambers form an extension of the shaft but are slightly more narrow, yet situated in the axis of the shaft. All burial chambers have an elevated bench at the back that likely served to display funerary offerings. The shafts are oriented north-south, and have a small side room in the eastern shaft wall immediately before the burial chamber. The dimensions of the shafts are summarized in Table 1. The slope of two of the shafts can be observed on the N-S section drawing through the tomb (Fig. 6).

Shaft	Length of shaft	Length of burial chamber	Angle of slope
16L25/1A	10.70m	3.90m	36°
16L25/1B	7.85m	4.00m	21°
16L25/1C	9.95m	3.60m	28°

Table 1 – Dimensions of shafts 16L25/1A-B-C

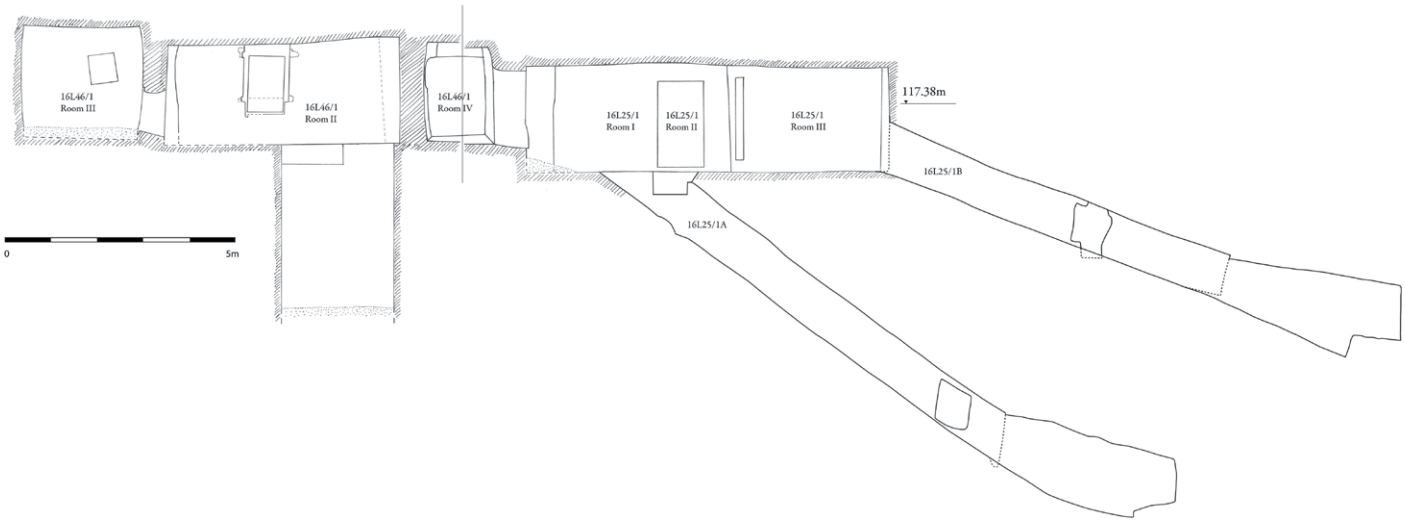


Fig. 6 – N-S section of tomb 16L25/1 and neighbouring tomb 16L46/1 (drawing P. Dils)

2. Archaeology

2.1. Shaft 16L25/1A

Shaft 16L25/1A was filled to the top with debris before excavation began. The fill of the shaft consisted of limestone debris mixed with sand, and disturbed remains of funerary equipment, clearly indicating this shaft was looted. This fill was excavated in horizontal layers, the feature numbers of which are indicated on the schematic drawing of Fig. 7.[7]

The funerary remains that were recovered **inside shaft 16L25/1A** were very disturbed, and can be grouped into three time periods, being the Middle Kingdom, the early New Kingdom, and the (early) Ptolemaic Period. One coffin fragment possibly dates to an earlier time period, but this piece is likely intrusive. This paper concentrates on the Middle Kingdom remains and leaves the later material aside.

Inside the small, irregularly cut **side chamber**, the disturbance seems to have been less extensive. In fact, some of the original fill of the shaft, being sterile white limestone debris, covered up a number of wooden tomb models and fragments thereof: two male figures (2456/23, 26) and several smaller fragments such as detached arms, part of a sandal (2456/30), a model fan (2456/50), a model vat most likely belonging to a bakery/brewery scene (2456/17) and elements of boat models (2456/18, 22, 24, 27, 41-42). In addition several copper spearheads were found in this chamber (2456/15-16) as well as a wooden arrow with inset flint blades (2456/43). Right in front of the opening of the chamber but inside the shaft, several more fragments of tomb models were found, and it is likely that they were originally located in the side chamber. The tomb model fragments concerned consist of ducks (2455/19-20), a fragment of a solar boat (2455/10), and more detached arms of human figures.

The large concentration of tomb model fragments in this side chamber suggests that this room served as a so-called model room, a type of room that is also found in several Middle Kingdom tombs at Thebes, for instance in the tomb of Meketre (TT 280).[8] The model chamber

[7] With this plan, the reader can easily determine in which part of the shaft or burial chamber an object was located, since the first part of an object number is the feature in which it was found (e.g. object 2456/23 was found in F2456, which is in the side chamber of shaft 16L25/1A).

[8] Winlock, *Models of Daily Life,* 12-3, pls. 54-5; Arnold, *Der*

of Meketre is also very irregularly cut, and located on the left side of the entrance to the tomb chamber. Other instances of model rooms are known from the tombs of Ipi (TT 315) and Meru (TT 240). In Thebes the occurrence of this architectural feature in private tombs points to an early Twelfth Dynasty date according to James Allen[9] and Dorothea Arnold,[10] a date which is challenged by

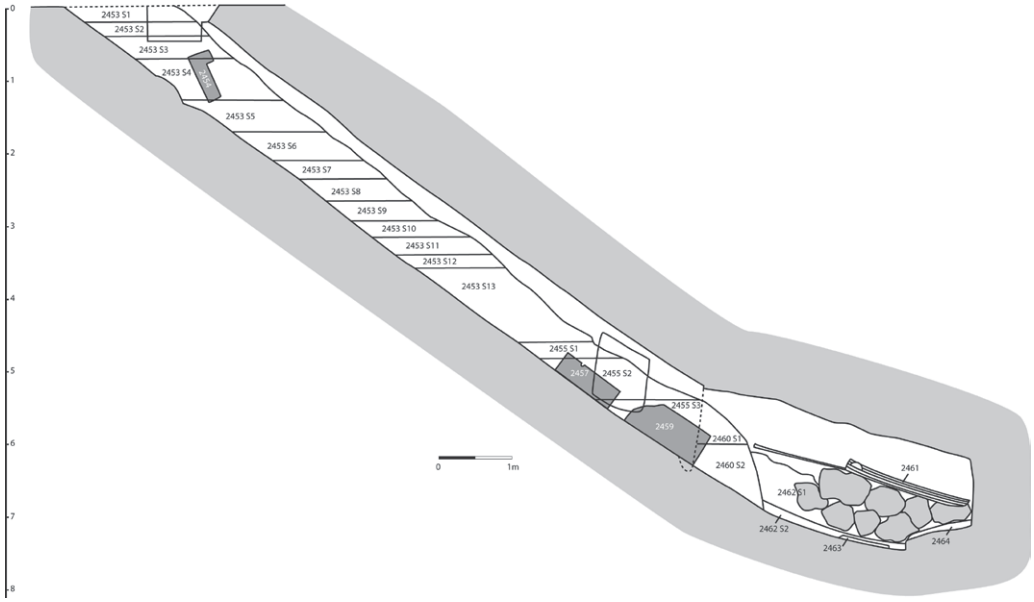


Fig. 7 – N-S section of shaft 16L25/1A showing the feature numbers of the excavated layers

others.[11] The concept of a model room is already found in the royal tomb of Mentuhotep II at Dayr al-Bahri,[12] and seems to have seeped through to the high elite at a later stage. The model rooms at Thebes are all sunk into the floor of the shaft and then extend sideways, whereas the chamber in shaft 16L25/1A is cut straight in the sidewall of the shaft. While fragments of tomb models were mainly found in this side room, some also occurred in the burial chamber and occasionally in the shaft.

The side chamber was once closed off with a large limestone blocking stone (F2457), as was the burial chamber (F2459). Both blocking stones were found pulled backwards in the shaft. Inside the **burial chamber**, an intact and *in situ* skeleton wrapped in linen bandages was found lying in a mat made of palm ribs tied together with rope (F2461). This burial lay on top of debris that consisted of fairly large limestone blocks and crystalline boulders, with on the floor of the burial chamber some smaller debris. This indicates that the body in the mat had been placed there after the original burial in the room had been robbed, and is in fact of a much later date. Although such mummies wrapped in mats are frequently found in excavations, their dating remains problematic since there are rarely any grave goods associated with them. Their date range varies from the New Kingdom to the Late Period.[13]

On the bottom of the burial chamber, a thin layer of debris held some remains of the original burial. These included several copper model tools (2462/24, 26-27, 41), namely two chisels, an adze, and six spearheads. In addition a second wooden arrow with inset flint blades was found (2462/33), which is nearly identical to the one found in the side chamber. Fragments of tomb models also surfaced, such as a male head (2462/29) and part of a wooden oar (2462/30). A fragment of a sandal likewise occurred (2462/31).

Combining the fragments of Middle Kingdom funerary equipment found in the burial chamber, the side chamber, and the area of the shaft right in front of both chambers, the following **object classes** can be discerned.

Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep, 12.

[9] Allen, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, 16, n. 74.

[10] Arnold, *JMMA* 26, 5-47.

[11] Brovarski, in Silverman, Simpson,Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 407-415; Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 23, n. 58 argues that the tomb of Meketre should be dated late in the Eleventh Dynasty, and not in the reign of Amenemhat I as *per* Arnold, *JMMA* 26, 5-47; Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung*, 241-3.

[12] A large number of wooden tomb models were found in two model rooms in the corridor of the royal tomb of Mentuhotep II (Arnold, *MDAIK* 28, 13-5, pls. 1-9; Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, 12). A third model room in this tomb was already found by Naville (*The XIth Dynasty Temple,* 3).

[13] For similar burials at for instance Saqqara, see Janot, *BIFAO* 97, 166-8, figs. 3-8; Ockinga, *Amenemone the Chief Goldsmith*, 133-4, pls. 45b-c.

A. Tomb Models

A.1. Boats (Figs. 8-10, Pls. XV-XVIII)
Boats form the best represented category of tomb models in many Middle Kingdom tombs throughout Egypt, and Dayr al-Barsha is no exception.[14] Only loose fragments were preserved in shaft 16L25/1A, such as oars and rudders (Fig. 8), so it is impossible to determine what type(s) of boat(s) they would have belonged to. Their distribution pattern suggests that they were placed both in the model room and in the burial chamber. The placement of boats on top of or next to the coffin inside the burial chamber is well documented throughout the Middle Kingdom up until the reign of Senwosret II and slightly later. In cases where a model room is present, such as in the tomb of Meketre, boats occur in the model room as well.

Fig. 8 – Fragments of model boats from shaft 16L25/1A – (above): Wooden model oar (2460/27); (below): Wooden model rudder (2456/42)

Two oval wooden disks were also found in the side chamber (Fig. 9, Pl. XV), with a motif painted alternately in red, black, and a colour which has faded (light green?). Such disks were attached to the extremities of model papyrus boats, and represent the ends of the bundles of papyrus from which the boat was made.[15]

Besides these fairly random boat elements, one object in particular was found that can be attributed to a so-called model solar bark (2455/10) (Fig. 10, Pls. XVI-XVIII). This type of model is rare, and Reisner[16] mentions only one from Meir and two from Dayr al-Barsha, the latter both deriving from Daressy's excavation in 1897,[17] and now both preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Reisner's no. 4949 (JE 32818)[18] originates from the burial chamber of Sepi III and was located on top of his coffin. The hull was painted white, as were most of the objects on top of it. Other colours that occur are mainly black and yellow. The second solar boat, no. 4953 (JE 32823)[19] was found in the burial chamber of Sepi II next to his coffin. However, since this burial chamber had been robbed in antiquity, it is quite possible that it was originally located on top of the coffin as was the case for Sepi III. The hull of this model boat is also white, but the objects placed on top of it have a colour scheme that is identical to that of 2455/10. Most of the objects placed on the boat are painted half yellow and half red (Pl. XVIII). Reisner[20] even specifically mentions that the yellow upper part is larger than the red lower part, as is also the case for 2455/10.

2455/10 can be identified with the object closest to the stern on the hull of the model solar bark, being a square object with four protruding sticks on the corners. The corners are painted black, as are the sticks. The four sticks are not preserved on 2455/10, but then neither are any of the corners. The insertion points of these sticks into the wooden object may have formed a weak spot, causing the wooden object to decay or be damaged more easily in the corners.

Another example of such an object was discovered by Harco Willems in a shaft in the tomb of the nomarch Djehutihotep in Zone 2 (17L20/1) during the 2005 excavation season (1207/185). Some of its corners are likewise damaged, but some clearly show the insertion points for the protruding sticks. This example has a black and white colour scheme and thus more closely resembles JE 32818.

[14] For boat models, see Tooley, *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs*, 69-74; Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats*; Glanville, Faulkner, *Wooden Model Boats*; Spanel, *SAK* 12, 243-53; Merriman, *A New Typology of Egyptian Watercraft Models*.
[15] Compare for instance to the model funerary boats of governor Djehutinakht IV or V from Dayr al-Barsha (Reisner Tomb 10A): Freed *et al.*, *The Secrets of Tomb 10A*, 175-5.
[16] Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats*, xxv-xxvii (type vi).
[17] Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 31-2, 37-8. The boats are also discussed in Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats*, 101-3 (no. 4949), 106-7 (no. 4953), pls. 22, 24. Note that Reisner in both instances wrongly refers to Kamal, *ASAE* 2, 14-43 for the publication of these boats. Other fragments of solar boats were found at Lisht, Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 272, fig. 178.
[18] Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 37-8.
[19] *Art. cit.*, 31-2.
[20] Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats*, 107. The colours of the objects on the boat are not recognizable from Reisner's grayscale publication (pl. 24), but fortunately this boat is on display at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Personal observation affirms the close similarity between the colours of that boat and those of 2455/10, even up to the presence of darker orange lines in the yellow area resulting from the uneven distribution of paint by the brush.

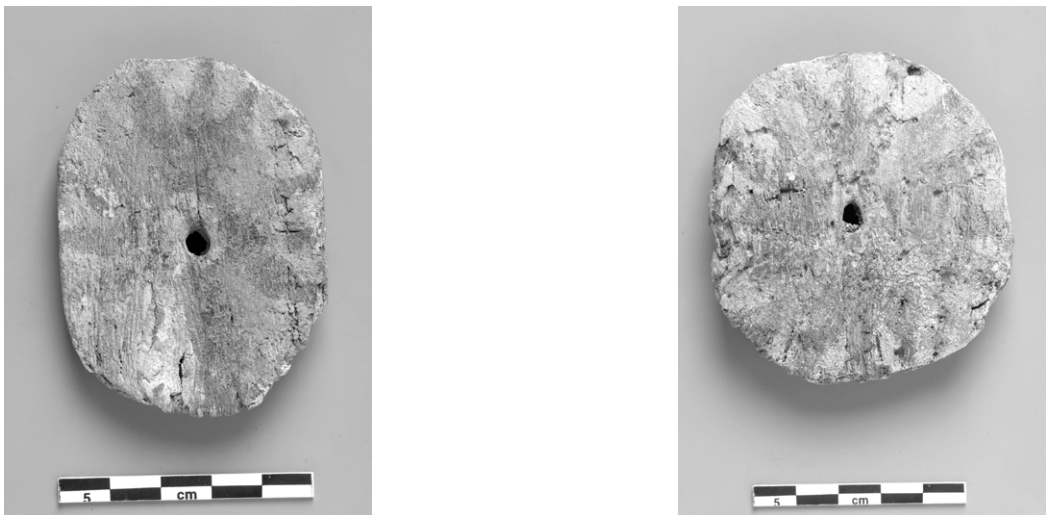


Fig. 9 – Two extremities of a model papyrus boat from shaft 16L25/1A – (left): 2456/24; (right): 2456/27

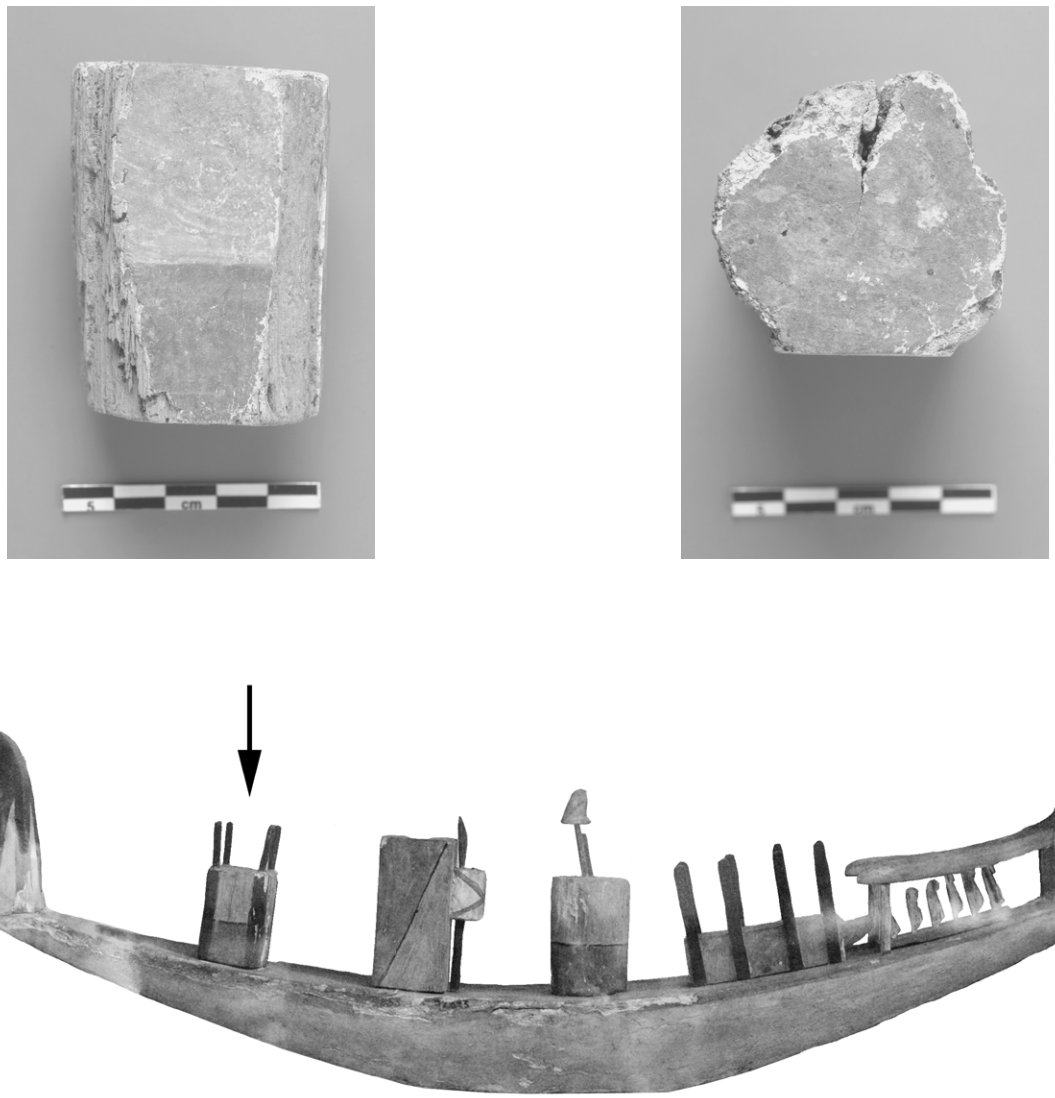


Fig. 10 – (above): Fragment of a model solar bark (2455/10) from shaft 16L25/1A (side view and top view) - (below): Model solar bark Reisner nr. 4953 (JE 32823) from the tomb of Sepi II at Dayr al-Barsha (photo taken by the author in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo). The arrow indicates the element to which 2455/10 is identical

Although no other identifiable fragments of a solar bark were recovered from shaft 16L25/1A, this one object indicates that there certainly once was such a bark present. The two model solar boats from Zone 2 at Dayr al-Barsha, belonging to Sepi II and III, are both securely dated since Sepi II and III were subordinates of governor Djehutihotep and therefore his contemporaries. Inscriptions in the tomb of Djehutihotep mention that he served during the reigns of Senwosret II-III. Fragment 1207/185, which was found inside the tomb of Djehutihotep, fits within this picture as well. Although the solar bark from Meir does not have a secure dating, Reisner likewise places it in the Twelfth Dynasty.[21] Solar barks are extremely rare, and only occur in the late corpus of tomb models, which starts to appear during the reign of Senwosret II, but mainly manifests itself during the reign of Senwosret III.[22] This combined evidence builds a strong case for dating the burial in shaft 16L25/1A to the later Twelfth Dynasty as well, and most likely within the reigns of Senwosret II-III.

A.2. Persons (Fig. 11, Pls. XIX-XXI)

In the model room two fairly well preserved tomb models representing men were found (2456/23 and 2456/26). Both are wearing knee-long white kilts and their left legs stride forward. They have black half long hair and their facial features are only crudely indicated. One of them carries a stick (a herdsman or a drover?), while the other does not hold any attributes. Both are carved from one piece of wood, with the exception of the arms that are attached to the torso by a small peg. The models are similar in size and style, which perhaps indicates that they were manufactured in the same workshop and were destined for the same burial. They likely belonged to a larger model scene, but its nature cannot be determined.

The rest of the statuettes representing persons were badly preserved and consist of separate body parts. Three heads of tomb models were recovered, all of them from men. Two of these heads were found in the debris in the shaft, while two others were found inside the burial chamber. A number of arms of tomb models were also recovered. Since these body parts were manufactured separately and were only joined to the torso by a small peg, they easily fell off and remained in the debris. All together

Fig. 11 – Various fragments of tomb models representing men, from shaft 16L25/1A - (a): 2456/23; (b): 2456/26; (c): 2460/26; (d): 2456/44; (e): 2464/5

[21] Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats*, 107.

[22] For a summary with further references, see Morfoisse, in Morfoisse, Andreu-Lanoë (eds.), *Sésostris III*, 214-6.

thirteen arms were recovered, but most of them were too deteriorated to even determine whether they were left or right arms. If any paint was preserved, it was always red, indicating that the statuettes represented males.

A.3. Duck roasting scene? (Fig. 12)
Two wooden ducks (2456/19-20) were found in the model room, one with a spit stuck in from behind, the other from the front. It is likely that they functioned in a duck roasting scene rather than that they were being carried by offering bearers since the latter normally hold the ducks by the wings and not on a spit.[23] Models of duck roasting scenes are known, though they do not occur frequently.[24] In these scenes a person is often depicted fanning the fire. Possibly the fan blade (2456/50) that was found in the model room as well should be considered together with the ducks.

A.4. Brewery/Bakery? (Fig. 13, Pl. XIV)
Only one object was found in this shaft that may point to the presence of the popular brewery/bakery model, namely a wooden model vat (?) (2456/17). While this object clearly seems to be a container, model vats in brewery/bakery models normally do not have hollowed out tops, and often have a sieve depicted on top.[25] Therefore its interpretation as belonging to a brewery/bakery model is put forward here with caution.

B. Model carpenter's tools (Fig. 14)
Copper model carpenter's tools abundantly occur in Middle Kingdom burials, and a few of them were found in shaft 16L25/1A, including two model chisels (2462/24d and 2462/27)[26] and one model adze (2462/26),[27] all of which were discovered in the burial chamber. They likely belonged to a more complete set of model tools that often also includes a model axe, drill, and saw.[28] Such sets of model tools are frequently depicted in the object friezes on Middle Kingdom coffins, where they mostly appear close to the feet of the coffin.[29] At Dayr al-Barsha they

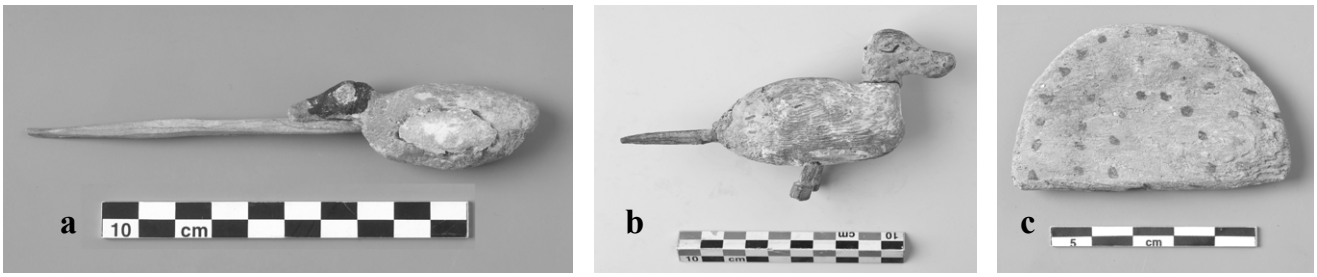


Fig. 12 – Various fragments related to duck roasting scenes, from shaft 16L25/1A – (a-b): two ducks on a spit (2456/19 and 2456/20); (c): fan blade (2456/50)

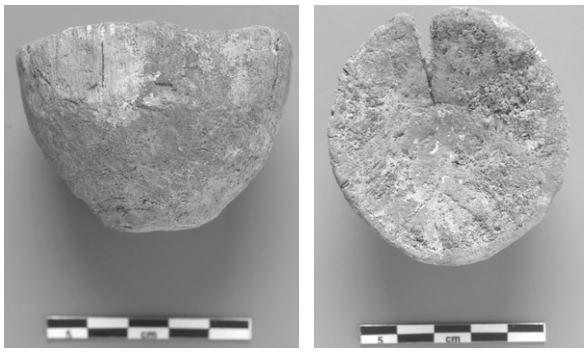


Fig. 13 – Model vat from shaft 16L25/1A (2456/17) – (left): side view; (right): top view

[23] Female offering bearers are particularly often represented as carrying one or more ducks in their right hand, while supporting a basket on their head with their left hand; for examples, see Breasted, *Egyptian Servant Statues*, pls. 52, 54-5, 57-9, 61-3; Roth, Roehrig, *JMFA* 1, 31-40. For an example of a duck roasting scene, see Donadoni Roveri *et al.*, *Il museo egizio di Torino*, 140 (Asyut, Middle Kingdom).
[24] Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, no. 245; Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, 296. For depictions of duck roasting with fans in tomb scenes, see Peters-Destéract, *Pain, bière et toutes bonnes choses,* 234-6.
[25] However, for examples of vats with hollowed out tops, see Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, pl. 56c.
[26] These chisels would have originally been fitted in a wooden handle. For chisels with this shape, see for instance Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 20, pl. 21 (12-23, 91-5); Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, pl. 87a (left); Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture*, 17, pl. 10d.
[27] The blade of the adze would have been tied to a wooden handle with a piece of string. For adzes with this shape, see for instance Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 16, pl. 15 (51, Twelfth Dynasty); Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, pl. 87a (right); Maddin *et al.*, *JEA* 70, pl. 8. For actual adze blades tied to a wooden handle, see Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture*, 14-5, pls. 4-8.
[28] For examples of sets of copper tools from Middle Kingdom contexts, see for instance Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 78, fig. 66; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 288-9, figs. 189-90; Winlock, *Models of Daily Life*, pl. 69 (tools from the model of Meketre's carpenter's shop). A set of model tools was also encountered in the tomb of Nakhti at Asyut which dates to the late Eleventh to early Twelfth Dynasty (Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, 163, 258).
[29] Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 269-70; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 213.

occur on the foot ends of Group D coffins (Senwosret II-III) together with granaries, writing equipment, and occasionally sandals.[30] Model tools, granaries, and sandals are also archaeologically attested as sets in Middle Kingdom burials.[31] Although no fragment was found in shaft 16L25/1A that with certainty belonged to a model granary (although two small fragments may potentially be identified as wooden staircases of a granary), a pair of sandals was certainly present (*cf.* below). It therefore seems that of the standard set of model tools, sandals, and a granary, at least the former two were included in this burial.

In the desert plain of Dayr al-Barsha (Zone 9) a number of similar copper model tools were also found in Middle Kingdom tomb contexts. In the unpillaged tomb 10O11/2 an intact set of model tools was found, including two axe blades, two adzes, a saw and two chisels (?), most of them with pieces of string still attached.[32] In other, disturbed tombs in Zone 9 several model tools were found as well, but they do not represent complete sets.

Fig. 14 – Copper model carpenter's tools from shaft 16L25/1A – (a-b): chisels (2462/24d and 2462/27); (c): adze (2462/26)

C. Weaponry (Figs. 15-16)

In the burial chamber and side room a number of objects were found that can be classified as weaponry. This is the case for eight copper spearheads,[33] two of which were found in the side room (2456/15 and 2456/16) and six in the burial chamber (2462/24 and 2462/41).[34] These spearheads would have been bound to a wooden stick with twine. Furthermore, two arrowheads with inset flints were recovered, one in the side room (2456/43) and one in the burial chamber (2462/33). The possible tip of a bow with string attached to it was also found in the burial chamber (2462/12).

Most of these weapons were found in the burial chamber itself, which is not surprising since weapons, when found in tombs, were commonly placed on top of[35] or inside[36] the coffin of the deceased. This is for instance the case at Asyut, where bows and arrows were found in several Middle Kingdom tombs.[37] The best preserved example comes from the tomb of Nakhti, where two bows were found on top of the coffin, together with a number of arrows with flint blades, as well as two quivers containing arrows with bronze blades.[38] The latter are identical in shape to those found in tomb 16L25/1A.

The two arrows with inset flakes of flint likely formed a set with a bow, of which possibly a small tip was recovered (2462/12).[39] In Thebes such sets are frequently found in tombs of Eleventh Dynasty nobles and should, according to some Egyptologists, be brought into relation with the struggle of the Thebans to overcome the Heracleopolitan Dynasty at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.[40] However, sets of weapons (bows, arrows, and clubs) also occur in tombs of the same period at Elephantine, where the atmosphere of the clash between Thebes and Heracleopolis was undoubtedly not as dominant.[41] Sets of bows and arrows occur later during the Middle Kingdom as well.[42] It rather seems that weap-

[30] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 213 (4.5.4.b).

[31] Op de Beeck, *A Functional Analysis of Egyptian Burial Equipment,* 532-4.

[32] Peeters, *Excavations in the Western Cemeteries of Dayr al-Barsha*. The excavations of sca Inspector Helmy Husayn Sulayman in the village square (Zone 10) likewise yielded many copper model tools. Although the KU Leuven mission was able to make photographs and drawings of these objects, their find contexts were unfortunately never adequately documented.

[33] Such metal spearheads are also found on the spears that are carried by the regiment of Egyptian soldiers from the tomb of Mesehti at Asyut (late Eleventh to early Twelfth Dynasty). For a photo of these soldiers carrying spears, see Bietak, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar,* pl. 1; Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, no. 258, pl. 56. For the date, see Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 117-8.

[34] In neighbouring shaft 16L25/1B one more identical spearhead was recovered (2705/60).

[35] See for instance Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 16, 387-8.

[36] See for instance Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 158-60.

[37] For an overview of the weaponry found in the tombs at Asyut, see Op de Beeck, *A Functional Analysis of Egyptian Burial Equipment,* 301, n. 1255.

[38] Chassinat, Palanque, *Une campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout*, 47-8, pl. XIII.2; Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut,* 192-4 (CPA Tomb 7, late Eleventh to early Twelfth Dynasty).

[39] See Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 279-80, fig. 182 for a representation of such arrows and bow. Arrows with flat flint heads apparently served to cause very bloody wounds (Bietak, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 89).

[40] Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 280; Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri*, pl. 20.

[41] Seidlmayer, in Willems (ed.), *Social aspects of funerary culture*, 233-40.

[42] For an overview of the position of bows and arrows in in-

onry was a typically 'male' object category in funerary contexts, and that the presence of such objects does not necessarily refer to political unrest and strife in the country.[43] It rather refers to the role model of the man as a figure of authority.

E. Headrest (?) (Fig. 18)
Two fragments of a three-piece headrest were found in this shaft, although it is not certain whether they belonged to the same object. 2455/60 forms the curved top of a headrest, while 2460/29/1 forms the base of one.

Fig. 15 – Weaponry from shaft 16L25/1A: copper spearheads – (a): 2456/15; (b): 2456/16; (c): 2462/24; (d): 2462/41

Fig. 16 – Weaponry from shaft 16L25/1A – (a-b): two arrows with inset flakes of flint (2456/43 and 2462/33); (c): tip of a bow (?) (2462/12)

D. Sandals (Fig. 17)
Indications were found for the presence of a pair of sandals with a flat wooden sole (2455/22) and a strap that was held in place by wooden pins (2455/24, 2456/30, and 2462/31). This would not have been a functional pair of sandals, but served purely funerary purposes as the wood is too thin and the construction with the strap too flimsy to have lasted when actually worn. As discussed above, sandals form part of a standard set of Middle Kingdom funerary equipment that also includes model tools and granary models.

The dating of these objects remains obscure due to their fragmentary nature, and while it is possible they belong with the Middle Kingdom use of the tomb, they could equally belong to its phase of New Kingdom reuse.

F. Ceramic profile of shaft 16L25/1A
A large amount of pottery with a date range from the Middle Kingdom to the early New Kingdom was found throughout all sweeps in the shaft itself, but this drastically decreased in the burial chamber. In fact, in the burial chamber hardly any pottery was found. In the side room (F2456), which contained most of the well preserved Middle Kingdom tomb models, the majority of the sherds could also be dated to this same period. The amount of Coptic pottery was very large in the top layers of the shaft, but this gradually decreased from sweep 10 onwards, and only one intrusive sherd was found both in the side room and the burial chamber. Combined with the

tact Middle Kingdom tombs, see Podvin, *MDAIK* 56, 290-1. A set of arrows with inset flint flakes was for instance found in the tomb of Sobekhotep at Beni Hasan (Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 160, fig. 162).

[43] The 'female' counterparts in funerary objects were mirrors, jewellery, and cosmetics (Seidlmayer, in Willems (ed.), *Social aspects of funerary culture*, 233).

Fig. 17 – Various fragments of sandals from shaft 16L25/1A – (a): 2455/22; (b): 2455/24; (c): 2456/30; (d): 2462/31

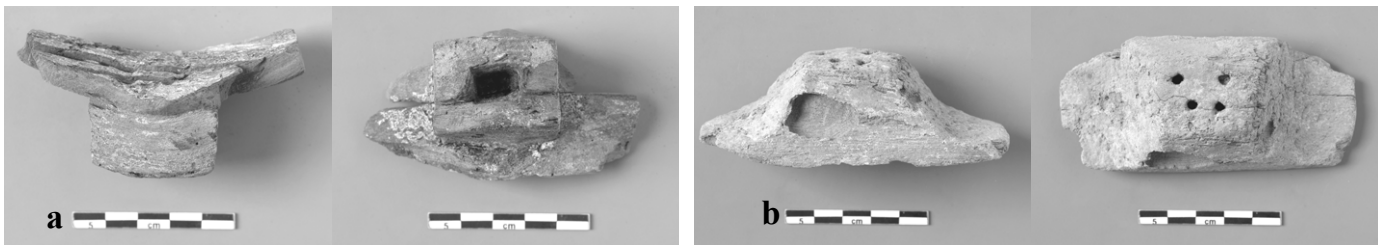


Fig. 18 – Two fragments of a three-piece headrest from shaft 16L25/1A – (a): 2455/60; (b): 2460/29/1

objects found in shaft 16L25/1A, this suggests that while the burial chamber was reused in the early New Kingdom and later, the side chamber was never disturbed much. The Coptic occupation of the tomb chapel explains the Coptic pottery in the upper layers of the shaft, but this never penetrated very deeply into the shaft.

G. Summary of shaft 16L25/1A

The remains of the Middle Kingdom burial in shaft 16L25/1A are very fragmented and diverse, but still allow for a partial reconstruction of the funerary assemblage that was once present. Architecturally the shaft is very similar to shafts from the Theban area with long sloping corridors, burial chambers in the extension of these corridors, and side rooms that served to store various tomb models. That the side room of shaft 16L25/1A was used as a model room is clear from the many well preserved fragments of tomb models that were found in it. Models were likely also once present in the burial chamber, and included model boats, possibly a duck roasting scene, a brewery/granary, and other scenes in which statuettes of men were present. The model of a solar boat that must once have been present is not only remarkable, but forms a good dating criterion to place this burial in the later Twelfth Dynasty.

All of the model carpenter's tools and most of the weaponry consisting of arrows, spearheads, and possibly a bow, were found inside the burial chamber. The presence of these objects indicates that a man was buried in this room. Furthermore evidence was found for a pair of sandals, and a headrest. Remarkably no fragments of a decorated coffin from the Twelfth Dynasty emerged. This was different in shaft 16L25/1C (*cf.* below), which contained similar funerary equipment, including fragments of a cedar coffin with Coffin Texts. Given the size of the burial chamber of shaft 16L25/1A, and the diverse nature of the funerary gifts involved in the burial, it seems likely that a decorated coffin must once have been present in the burial chamber of this shaft as well.

2.2. Shaft 16L25/1B

Shaft 16L25/1B is located in the southern wall of the tomb, and was not filled to the top with debris before excavation started (Fig. 19). The matrix of the limestone debris was homogeneous throughout the entire shaft, side room, and burial chamber, and was thoroughly disturbed. Nevertheless, here as well an original use in the Middle Kingdom with a reuse during the New Kingdom and Ptolemaic Period can be observed in the objects that were recovered. Only a few elements of the Middle Kingdom assemblage remain, but sufficiently so that an original use during that time is certain.

At a depth of 4.40 m into the shaft, a **side chamber** is cut into the eastern side of the shaft wall. Contrary to the side room in shaft 16L25/1A, this side room is regularly cut and finished. The debris in the room was heaped up at the entrance and against the northern and western wall, while in the south-eastern corner of the room the floor was almost empty. In the northern wall of the room, a hole connects this room to neighbouring unfinished shaft 16L25/1D. Contrary to the side room

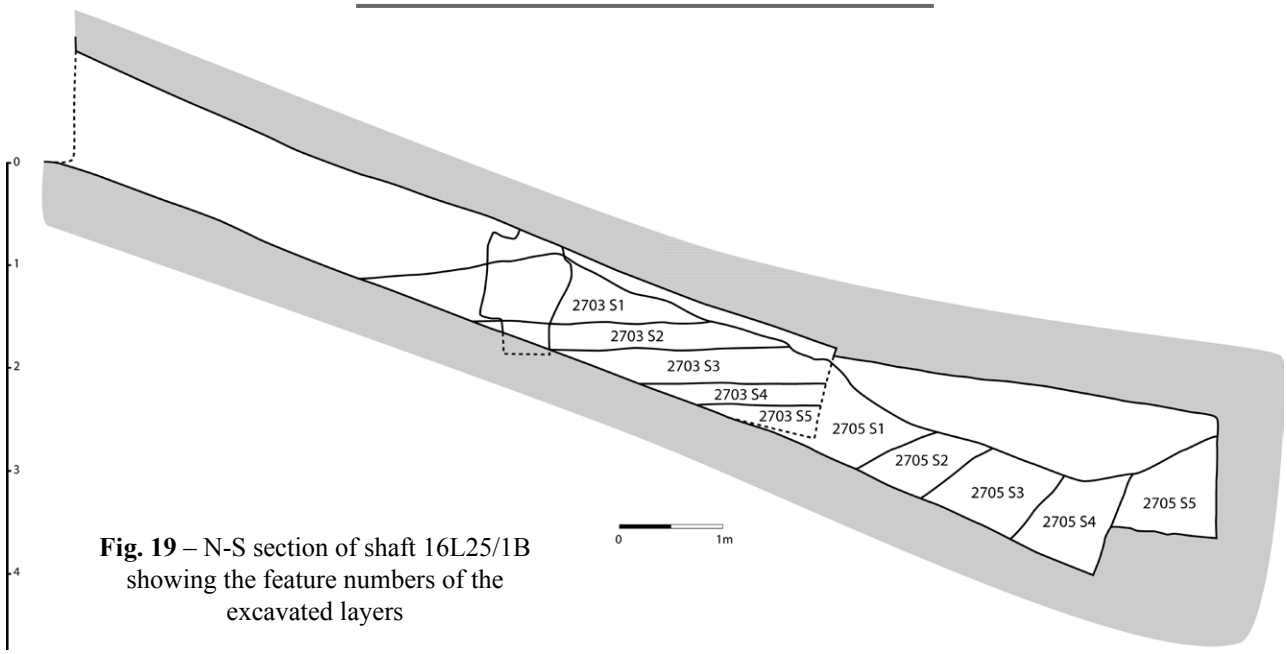


Fig. 19 – N-S section of shaft 16L25/1B showing the feature numbers of the excavated layers

of shaft 16L25/1A, no serious amounts of (fragments of) tomb models were recovered. Only one wooden arm (2704/8) and one plaster foot (2704/9) were retrieved; several fragments of wooden sandals were found as well (2704/5, 7, 32). However, many fragments of ceramic coffins were found, sometimes with a white wash or painted decoration, including the crudely fashioned face of the lid of such a coffin (2704/28). This suggests that this side room was reused for burials at a later point in Egyptian history. The room was thoroughly disturbed in recent times, as is proven by the presence of several burnt matches and a piece of paper mentioning the 1867 World's Fair in Paris (2704/10).

The debris in the **burial chamber** also consisted of the same matrix as that in the shaft. The sides of the entrance to the burial chamber are damaged, which must have been caused by robbers when trying to bypass a blocking stone. There is no doubt that a blocking stone was once present here like in neighbouring shafts 16L25/1A and 16L25/1C, but the actual stone was not recovered. Finds within the burial chamber that belong to the Middle Kingdom assemblage, include fragments of wooden sandals (2705/6, 2705/46, 2705/76), and a few small fragments of a painted wooden coffin. Immediately in front of the bench at the back of the tomb some fragments of tomb models were found (2705/57-58), as well as a model spearhead (2705/60), and a large concentration of cattle bones. These objects were possibly once located on top of the bench.

Combining the fragments of Middle Kingdom funerary equipment found in the burial chamber, the side chamber, and the shaft, the following **object classes** can be discerned.

A. Tomb models (Fig. 20)

As this shaft was severely disturbed, only very few fragments of tomb models were found. However, the fact that they were once present, is certain. In the side room one arm (2704/8) and one foot (2704/9) were found, while in the burial chamber a fairly well-preserved male figure (2705/57) was recovered.

Fig. 20 – Various fragments of tomb models representing men, from shaft 16L25/1B – (a): 2704/8; (b): 2704/9; (c): 2705/57

B. Weaponry (Fig. 21)
One copper spearhead was found in the burial chamber, which is identical to those found in shaft 16L25/1A.

Fig. 21 – Weaponry from shaft 16L25/1B: copper spearhead (2705/60)

C. Sandals (Fig. 22)
The fragments of model sandals were particularly numerous in this shaft, with both fragments of the soles and of the parts that hold the strap. All of them are covered in a thick layer of white plaster.

a short kilt is standing in front of an offering table. The hieroglyphs are fairly crudely incised, and the surface of the stela is quite damaged.

The remaining hieroglyphs can be interpreted as follows:

1. […] *im3ḫ.w* […]
[…] the revered one […]

2. […] *ḫ.t nt.t m ꜥ=ṯn* […]
[…] the things that are in your hand […]

3. […]*r=ṯn wi ḫr w3.t* […]
[…] you […][44] me on the path […]

4. […]*ḫwy m3ꜥ-ḫrw*
[…]khuy, true of voice

The damaged condition of the stela prevents the use of many of the classical dating criteria of stelae,[45] but

Fig. 22 – Various fragments of sandals from shaft 16L25/1B – (a): 2704/5; (b): 2704/32; (c): 2705/46; (d): 2705/76; (e): 2704/7; (f): 2705/6; (g): 2705/58

D. Stela (Fig. 23)
The lower part of a limestone stela decorated in sunk relief was found deep in the shaft (2703/59). The fragment has a height of 14.80 cm, a width of 19.60 cm, and a thickness of 10.00 cm. The edges of the stone are dressed, indicating this was the entire width of the stela. The top part of the stela has not been recovered.

On the right, three columns of text and the last part of a fourth are preserved. On the left a male figure wearing

[44] The missing verb was likely an imperative with the particle *r* + second person plural suffix pronoun (Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 192).

[45] For instance, since the top of the stela is lacking, it is not known which form it originally had, rectangular or round-topped (Pflüger, *JAOS* 67, 127-35); no *ḥtp-di-nsw.t* formula is preserved (Bennett, *JEA* 27, 77-82); no women are portrayed on the fragment (Malaise, *SAK* 5, 183-98) nor any deities (Malaise, *SAK* 9, 259-83).

Fig. 23 – Photo and drawing of fragmentary stela 2703/59

nevertheless some observations can be made. Firstly, the kilt that the deceased is wearing has an unusual form with two folds of textile pointing down. This type of kilt is particularly common during the Middle Kingdom (Twelfth Dynasty) and falls out of fashion during the early New Kingdom.[46] A survey of the funerary stelae that were found in the offering chapels in Abydos North and that date to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, shows several depictions of such kilts.[47]

The fragmentarily preserved inscription on the stela belongs to the type of the 'Appeal to the Living'.[48] Although the traditional beginning of this formula (*i ꜥnḫ.w tp.yw tɜ*… "Oh Living-Ones, who are on earth…") is not preserved, it is clear that the text belongs to this genre due to the suffix pronouns in the second person plural *=tn*. In such an appeal the deceased addresses the visitors to his tomb, requesting them to make offerings, say a prayer, or engage in other activities that are beneficent for his *ka*. Unfortunately none of the dating criteria regarding Middle Kingdom stelae carrying 'Appeal to the Living' formulae that are mentioned by Berlev can be applied to this stela, since no relevant passages are preserved.[49] Furthermore no title strings of the deceased have survived that might have given an indication of its date.

Although hard evidence for a firm date of this stela is lacking, the stylistic details discussed above seem to point towards the Twelfth-Thirteenth Dynasties. The stela was likely placed in the offering chapel near the shaft, since visitors to the tomb should have been able to read it. The placement of such stelae with an 'Appeal to the Living' formula in Middle Kingdom offering chapels is well documented at Abydos.[50]

E. Ceramic profile of shaft 16L25/1B

The pottery found in this shaft has a clear peak from the (late) Middle Kingdom, through the Second Intermediate Period, into the early New Kingdom. This gives the

[46] Bonnet, *Die ägyptische Tracht*, 28-30, pl. 4 (24). The kilt with two points hanging down is a variation of the kilt with only one pointed pleat in the front (Bonnet, *Die ägyptische Tracht*, pl. 4 [22]). In the classification of Middle Kingdom garments by Malaise, the kilt with two points strangely enough does not occur, although a stela from Abydos (CG 20526) that is included in his sources clearly shows several depictions of exactly such a kilt (Malaise, in Geus, Thill (eds.), *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter*, 220, pl. 2 [19]; Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 47 [ANOC 30.2]; date Amenemhat I-Senwosret I). According to Malaise, the kilt with one point is particularly in fashion in the mid-Twelfth Dynasty, during the reigns of Amenemhat II, Senwosret II, and Senwosret III. Another example of a Twelfth Dynasty stela showing a kilt with two points can be found in Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 333, fig. 221 (reign of Amenemhat I).

[47] Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 47 (ANOC 30.2), pl. 57 (ANOC 39.1-2), pl. 60 (ANOC 41.2). In addition to depicting the same type of kilt as that of stela 2703/59, the overall style of the figures on these stelae is also similar to the one from Dayr al-Barsha: they have thin, elongated limbs and hands, and are all carved in sunk relief.

[48] This type of text is first attested in the mid-Fifth Dynasty. For a study of its evolution during the Old Kingdom, see Sainte Fare Garnot, *L'Appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires égyptiens*. Although the format lives on during later periods of Egyptian history, no similar study of it has yet been undertaken.

[49] Берлев, *КСИНА* 46, 45-87. I would like to thank Detlef Franke for supplying me with a much appreciated French translation of this article in Russian.

[50] Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 29 (ANOC 19.2), pl. 32 (ANOC 22.3), pl. 46 (ANOC 30.1), pl. 48 (ANOC 31.1), pl. 50 (ANOC 32.2), pl. 52 (ANOC 34.2), pl. 67 (ANOC 49.1).

impression that after the initial use of the shaft in the Middle Kingdom, reuse of it took place relatively quickly afterwards. Coptic sherds are abundantly present in the shaft and in the side room, but decrease drastically in number in the burial chamber itself, suggesting this room was at least somewhat less disturbed.

F. Summary of shaft 16L25/1B

Shaft 16L25/1B has been thoroughly disturbed and few finds were made that can be assigned to the Middle Kingdom. The debris was homogeneous throughout the entire shaft, side room, and burial chamber. In the side room only a few fragments of tomb models were found, although it seems certain that the original function of this room was to serve as a model room. In the burial chamber, a few finds give an indication of the tomb equipment that was present in the Middle Kingdom burial. A pair of sandals was recovered, as well as a model man, and a metal spearhead of the same kind that frequently occurred in shaft 16L25/1A. The fragment of a stela containing an 'Appeal to the Living' is likely to date to the Twelfth-Thirteenth Dynasties, and even though the stela must originally have been located in the tomb chapel, it seems very possible that it belonged to the same burial as the other Middle Kingdom funerary equipment.

The ceramic evidence indicates that the shaft was reused for burials during the Second Intermediate Period and the early New Kingdom. This is also supported by non-ceramic evidence such as a stick shabti and furniture fragments. It is not certain whether the large amount of ceramic coffin fragments that were found throughout the shaft –some of them painted– belong with this phase of reuse.

2.3. Shaft 16L25/1C

Shaft 16L25/1C is the third sloping shaft in tomb 16L25/1, and it is located most to the east. The debris in this **shaft** started at a depth of 1.60m and filled the shaft up until the burial chamber (Fig. 24). Not many elements of the Middle Kingdom funerary assemblage occurred in the shaft fill, but rather large amounts of fragments of later pottery coffins were mixed in with the debris. At the very bottom of the shaft, and against the large closing block of the burial chamber, a layer of pure white limestone debris was encountered that likely formed part of the original fill of the shaft (F2711). Right on top of this white layer, a well preserved tomb model of a scribe was found (2710/144) as well as several coffin fragments, some of which were decorated with hieratic Coffin Texts.

The large limestone closing block of the burial chamber was still in place (F2713). This enormous block originally measured 123 x 96 x 96 cm, but the corners had been broken away to gain access to the burial chamber. It seems that a fire was set around the block, since the top part of the block and the walls of the shaft surrounding it were blackened by soot. If a fire was first set around the block to heat up the stone, and subsequently cold water was thrown on it, the limestone would break apart easily. A clay jar stopper that was found in the immediate neighbourhood of the block had also been fired (2712/2). Since jar stoppers are made of unfired clay, the firing must have happened accidentally after the jar with the stopper had been deposited in the tomb.

Immediately before the burial chamber, at a depth of 8.90 m, an irregularly cut **side chamber** is hacked out in the eastern wall of the shaft. The room was about halfway filled with debris similar to that inside the shaft

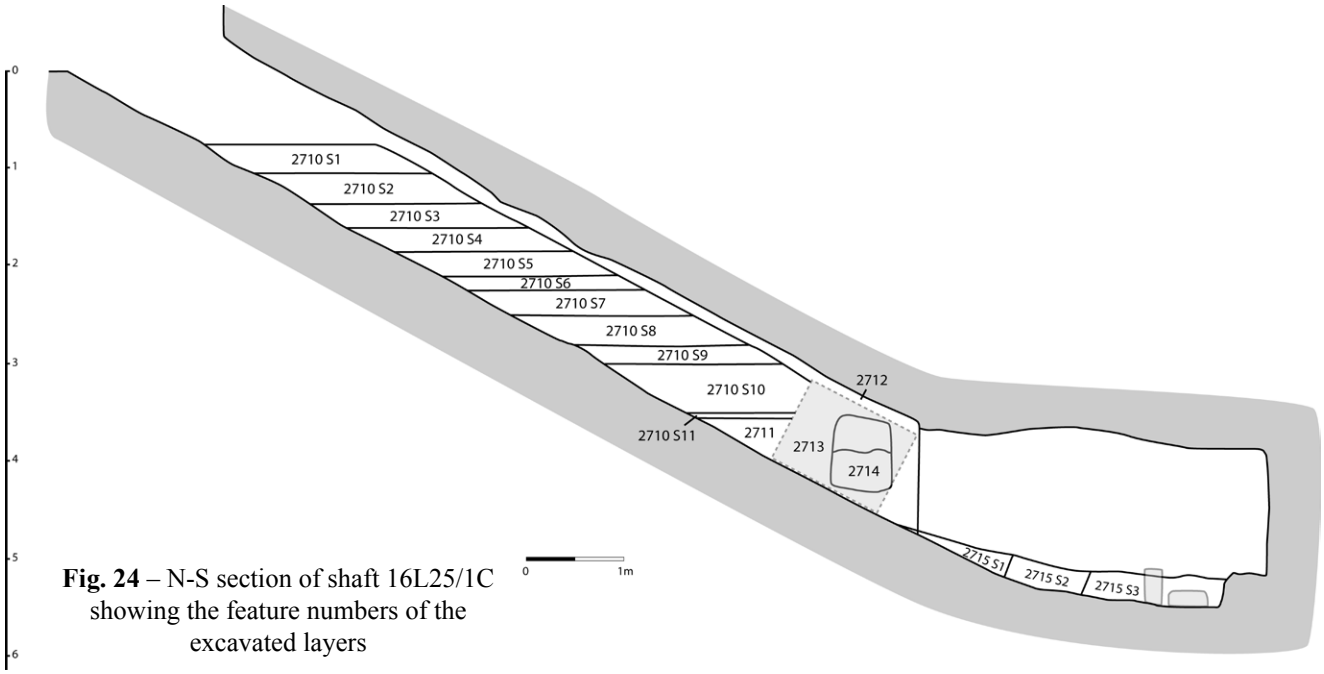


Fig. 24 – N-S section of shaft 16L25/1C showing the feature numbers of the excavated layers

(F2714). Most finds were deposited against the back wall of the room, and although this room undoubtedly functioned as a model room, only a few (parts of) arms from tomb models were recovered.

The **burial chamber** was nearly empty, undoubtedly because the large closing block prevented any debris from shifting in. While the chamber was thoroughly plundered, several fragments of the original tomb inventory were still inside the chamber. The blocked entrance ascertains that these fragments belonged with the original use of the tomb in the Middle Kingdom.

In the back of the room a small bench was cut out in the rock to display the funerary offerings. In the rubble that covered the floor of the burial chamber a rectangular area of 30 x 60 cm in the back of the room was fairly empty. This area was lined with some large stones that were however not placed regularly. Therefore it is not certain whether this area was man-made or accidental. Parts of a large female offering bearer were found (2715/27-30), as well as parts of tomb models. Several fragments of an inscribed wooden coffin appeared, as well as parts of sandals.

Combining the fragments of Middle Kingdom funerary equipment found in the burial chamber, the side chamber, and the shaft, the following **object classes** can be discerned.

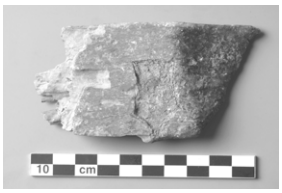
A. Tomb models (Fig. 25, Pls. XII-XIII)
Several tomb models must have been present in the tomb, but primarily arms were recovered from the burial chamber and the side room. One complete statue representing a man (2710/144) was found in the shaft on top of the white fill (F2711). This statue of a scribe, carrying most likely a roll of papyrus, is well made and closely resembles a figure that was found in the tomb of Djehutinakht IV or V by George Reisner in 1915.[51] It is not possible to reconstruct which types of models were once present in the tomb. Surprisingly, not a single fragment of a model boat was preserved.

B. Coffins

B.1. Box coffin (Figs. 26-27, Pls. X-XI)
Several fragments of a Middle Kingdom box coffin made in cedar wood were found, most of them in the lowest sweep of the shaft and inside the burial chamber itself. The exterior of the coffin had an ornamental text with large engraved hieroglyphs that ran horizontally along its sides, just below the top of the coffin. The hieroglyphs

[51] see D'Auria, Lacovara, Roehrig (eds.), *Mummies & Magic*, 116.

Fig. 25 – Model of a scribe from shaft 16L25/1C (2710/144)



2710/23

Fragment of a wooden coffin with hieroglyphs in sunk relief. The upper half of a *ḫrp*-sceptre '' is preserved. To the left a fragment of an unidentified hieroglyph is visible. The *ḫrp*-sign is filled with blue paint and has black contour lines. A horizontal black line ran along the top of the hieroglyphs. The coffin was burnt, as is obvious from the blackened right side of the fragment.

The *ḫrp*-sign does not occur in the traditional offering formula, so it seems likely it belonged to a title of the deceased, possibly *ḫrp ns.ty*.

2714/12

Fragment of a wooden coffin with hieroglyphs in sunk relief. The lower half of a quail chick ' ' is preserved as well as the right half of an *r* . Possibly these are the remains of *im3ḫ.w ḫr* . The signs were originally filled with blue paint. This fragment has an obliquely cut angle on the right, indicating it formed the corner of the coffin. The dowel hole that is visible in front of the *w* stabilised this join. If the identification of the hieroglyphs is correct, this would mean that the text wrapped around the corner. The coffin was burnt, as is obvious from the blackened left side of the fragment. The original thickness (1.50 cm) and height (6.10 cm) of the plank are preserved. The plank was attached to others by round dowels, one of which is still visible on the bottom.

2715/43

Fragment of a wooden coffin with hieroglyphs in sunk relief. The upper half of a sign (possibly ?) is preserved and is filled with blue paint. The sign has a black contour line and a horizontal black line ran along the top of the hieroglyphs. The coffin was burnt, as is obvious from the blackened right side of the fragment.

2715/58

Fragment of a wooden coffin with hieroglyphs in sunk relief. Two signs are partially preserved: ' '. These signs form the end of the line, as the edge has an oblique angle forming a mitre joint. This indicates that these signs likely belonged to the name of the deceased. Since the often served as a determinative, the name ended in '' *ib*.

The hole for the dowel that stabilised the mitre joint is visible in the . The coffin was burnt, as is obvious from the blackened right side of the fragment.

2715/59

Fragment of a wooden coffin with hieroglyphs in sunk relief. Two signs are partially preserved. Perhaps they form part of the offering formula *ḥtp-di-nsw.t*. Since there seem to be no signs preceding these two, this might form the beginning of the line. The signs were filled with blue paint.

2715/73

Fragment of wood with hieroglyphs in sunk relief. Two signs are partially preserved. The one on the left is difficult to identify. The one on the right might be a *mn*-sign ''. Alternately, if the fragment is reversed, ' ' may be depicted. It is not certain that this fragment belongs with the other fragments of a wooden coffin with incised hieroglyphs that were found in this shaft since this fragment is covered with plaster and the others are not.

2715/74

Fragment of a wooden coffin with hieroglyphs in sunk relief. A *tp*-sign ' ' is partially preserved, showing the neck, the bottom of the hair, and the onset of the beard. The sign was filled with blue paint. Possibly it formed part of a title involving *ḥr.y-tp*. Alternately it could have belonged to the epithet of Anubis *tp.y-ḏw=f*,"who is on his mound".

were filled with blue paint and the contours drawn in black ink. The text was written over two planks that were joined by round pegs. Although only very few hieroglyphs were preserved, and all of them only partially, they fit in the traditional *ḥtp-di-nsw.t* offering formula that runs along the front and the back of a coffin. The *ḫrp*-sign in 2710/23 does not fit in this formula, but it could have formed part of a title of the deceased (*ḫrp ns.ty*?). The two signs on 2715/58 are located at the end of the line, so they may have belonged to the name of the person buried in the coffin. A fragment that could tentatively be identified as *im³ḫ.w ḫr* may have been written on either the head or foot board of the coffin. Due to the extremely fragmentary nature of the pieces with hieroglyphs, it cannot be stated whether vertical text columns were also present on the exterior of the coffin.

In addition to these fragments with ornamental incised hieroglyphs, several pieces of wood with painted decoration from the coffin's exterior were recovered. Two of them (2710/151 and 2710/154, Fig. 26) both have a mitre joint on the right, and have an almost identical decorative pattern. The decoration consists of vertical bands of white and blue paint, with a repetitive pattern in between, forming an ornamental frame on the vertical edges of the coffin.

Fig. 26 – Two fragments of the painted ornamental frame on the exterior of a Middle Kingdom box coffin, from shaft 16L25/1C – (a): 2710/151; (b): 2710/154

The interior of the coffin was decorated with hieratic Coffin Texts painted in black ink on a yellow background (Fig. 27, Pls. X-XI). Unfortunately the few fragments that are preserved are too small to allow for an identification of the spells. It should be noted that the hieratic signs were not incised in the wood as is often the case with early Middle Kingdom coffins at Dayr al-Barsha, which makes a later date for the coffin plausible.

That fragments of a coffin with Coffin Texts were found in this shaft, is rather unusual. Such coffins are reserved only for a small upper layer of the population, and at Dayr al-Barsha they almost all come from the nomarchal tombs in Zone 2.[52] However, one group of coffins that was excavated by Antonini in 1902 might potentially originate from Zone 4. The excavations of Antonini were published by Kamal, but the description that he offers of the find location is very vague:[53]

> Sur la pente nord de la vallée ci-dessus mentionnée, on a découvert une tombe de la XIIe dynastie également violée dans l'antiquité. Cette tombe, creusée dans le rocher, a fourni les objets suivants:
> Planches d'un cercueil, de style riche, au nom de var. , qui était revêtu des deux titres : basilicogrammate, et , var. , scribe de cercueil. Ces planches ont été recueillies en partie dans le puits et en partie dans le caveau.

The description "sur la pente nord de la vallée" is not specific enough to allow for a positive identification with Zone 4, but it is at least somewhat suspicious that he would speak in these terms if he meant the tombs (in the immediate vicinity) of the Middle Kingdom governors. Nothing in the report by Kamal suggests that Antonini ever worked in the governors' tombs of Zone 2, only that he worked on the northern flank of the *wadi*. Kamal describes that the coffin boards were found in a Twelfth Dynasty rock-cut tomb on the north hill, which potentially fits the description of tomb 16L25/1.[54] The coffins that Antonini found are known as B5C, B7C, and B8C,[55] and all belonged to a scribe named Djehutihotep carrying the titles *sš ʿn nsw.t* and *sš ḥn*. This group is dated by Willems from the last years of Amenemhat II to the early years of Senwosret III, or slightly later.[56] The coffin boards have ornamental texts on the outside, and Coffin Texts on the inside, which is consistent with the fragmentary remains in shaft 16L25/1C. Other finds in the same tomb included a funerary bed (B3P) that is

[52] Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture*, 146-54. In the desert plain (Zone 9) fragments of a coffin with Coffin Texts were excavated in tomb 10N15/1 (6/9/2, 16/7/11, 74/16/3); see Peeters, *Excavations in the Western Cemeteries of Dayr al-Barsha*.

[53] Kamal, *ASAE* 3, 277.

[54] *Art. cit.*, 277-81; Tooley, *Middle Kingdom Burial Customs,* 43.

[55] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 77 (Group E).

[56] *Op. cit.*, 163.

Fig. 27 – Three fragments of the interior decoration of a Middle Kingdom box coffin with Coffin Texts, from shaft 16L25/1C

covered with Coffin Texts,[57] four alabaster canopic jars with lids but without inscriptions, two clay covers of a canopic jar, a wooden *ḏd*-pillar, a wooden statue of Taweret, two model boats with brightly painted colours, and a wooden lid with a figure in the shape of a woman.[58]

It is very unlikely that Antonini found the coffin boards of the scribe Djehutihotep in shaft 16L25/1C. The blocking stone in front of the burial chamber would certainly have prevented the removal of complete coffin boards from this room. Nonetheless the small fragments with Coffin Texts in 16L25/1C prove that a similar coffin was once present in this tomb,[59] and one may assume that the two other sloping shafts in the same tomb, namely 16L25/1A and 16L25/1B, contained a similar burial. So far tomb 16L25/1 is the only tomb in Zone 4 with clear Middle Kingdom (Twelfth Dynasty) burial practices, and it would therefore be a good candidate for the location of Antonini's excavation. The dimensions of the coffins of Djehutihotep –as far as they are known– fit in the burial chambers of shafts 16L25/1A and B. While the length of B7C is not known, this coffin had a height of ca. 84.30 cm and a width of ca. 85.70 cm. B5C was nested in B7C and has a length of 2.30 m, which means that B7C must have been around 2.50 m long. This would fit within the burial chambers of both shaft 16L25/1A and 16L25/1B.

B.2. Anthropomorphic coffin? (Fig. 28)

Another tantalising find is the fragment of a face carved in wood, of which the left eye socket, nose, and mouth are preserved. In the nostrils and on the lips some traces of red paint are preserved. The eye socket is hollowed out, indicating that the eyes were once inlaid. This fragment closely resembles the facial features of the anthropomorphic coffin of Sepi III (JE 32668), who was a subordinate of the nomarch Djehutihotep and was buried in a shaft in front of his tomb in

[57] Published in Rigault, Delange, *RdE* 60, 63-110. A short mention of it appears in Kamal, *ASAE* 3, 280. See also Willems, *Chests of Life*, 77, where it is erroneously called a coffin sledge.

[58] Kamal, *ASAE* 3, 281.

[59] The hieratic handwriting on the fragments from shaft 16L25/1C is also very similar to that of coffin B5C.

Zone 2.[60] Anthropomorphic coffins only start to appear during the Twelfth Dynasty, and the one of Sepi III is one of the earliest datable ones.[61] As a contemporary of governor Djehutihotep, he lived during the reigns of Senwosret II-III. An anthropomorphic coffin was thus perhaps once present inside the box coffin in shaft 16L25/1C, making this the second example of this type to emerge from Dayr al-Barsha.

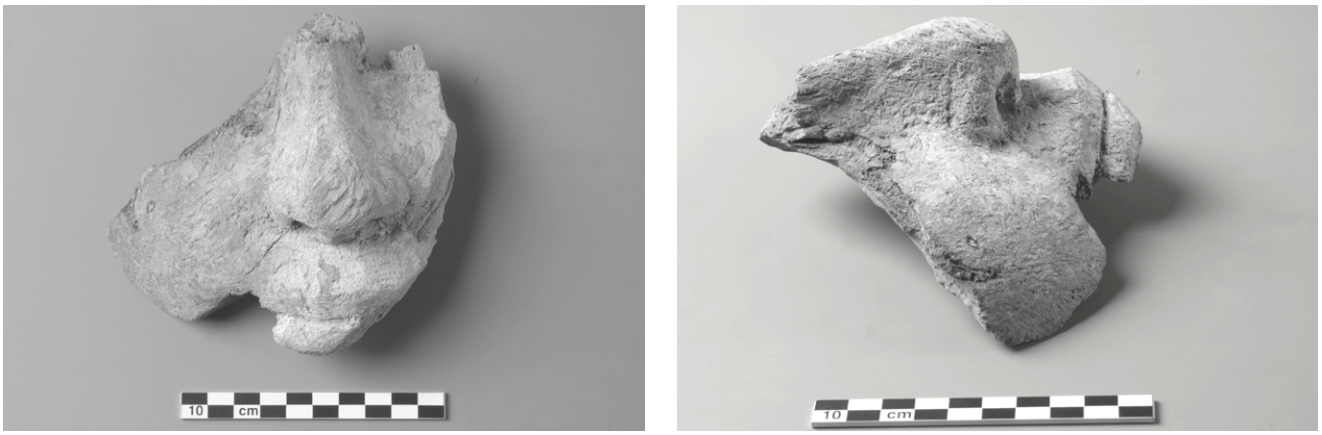


Fig. 28 – Fragment of the face of an anthropomorphic coffin (?) from shaft 16L25/1C (2710/7)

C. Female offering bearer (Fig. 29)

Two feet, the right leg, and the lower left arm of a large female offering bearer were recovered. The feet of the statue had originally been pinned in a wooden block, but that was no longer preserved. The skin is painted yellow, indicating this was a female statue. Her left hand is pierced by a pin, which shows that she was holding something. The elbow joint of the arm has part of a tenon which might mean that the arm was flexed. If the arm was straight, no such join would have been necessary. It is therefore likely that the woman carried something on her head that she held with her left arm, such as a basket. Offering bearers carrying baskets moreover almost always use their left arm to support the basket.[62] Their left foot is sometimes placed slightly in front of their right foot to form a striding pose. While it is impossible to calculate the exact height the statue would have originally had based on these few fragments, it must certainly have been quite tall (*c.* 40-50 cm not including the object she carried on her head).

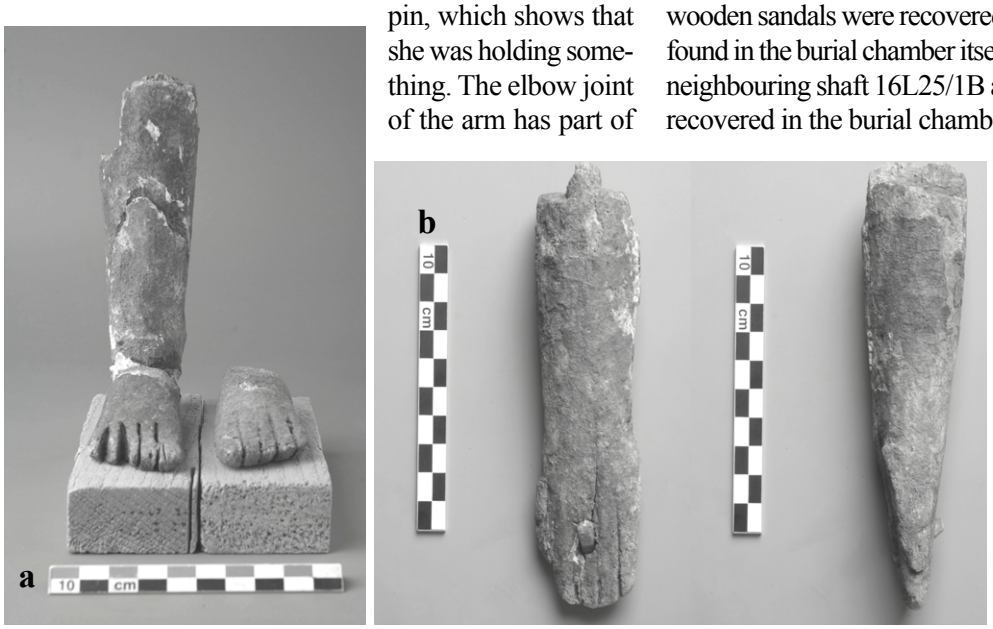


Fig. 29 – Fragments of a large statue of a female offering bearer from shaft 16L25/1C – (a): Reconstruction of the right leg and feet of the statue (the base is a modern piece of wood) (2715/27-29, 62); (b): left arm of the statue (2715/30)

D. Sandals (Fig. 30)

Several fragments of both the soles and the strap holders of wooden sandals were recovered. All of these fragments were found in the burial chamber itself except for one (2710/24). In neighbouring shaft 16L25/1B a pair of sandals was likewise recovered in the burial chamber (2705/46 and 2705/76).

E. Ceramic profile of shaft 16L25/1C

In shaft 16L25/1C a ceramic profile similar to that of shaft 16L25/1B was encountered, namely with a concentration of pottery dating from the Middle Kingdom to the early New Kingdom. However, the fact that the burial chamber was still blocked by a large stone has prevented the Middle Kingdom ceramics that were once placed in-

[60] Daressy, *ASAE* 1, 39-40; for an image of this coffin, see Forman, Quirke, *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 94.
[61] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 8, fig. 10.
[62] For examples, see Breasted, *Egyptian Servant Statues*, pls. 53-61; D'Auria, Lacovara, Roehrig (eds.), *Mummies & Magic*, 115-6.

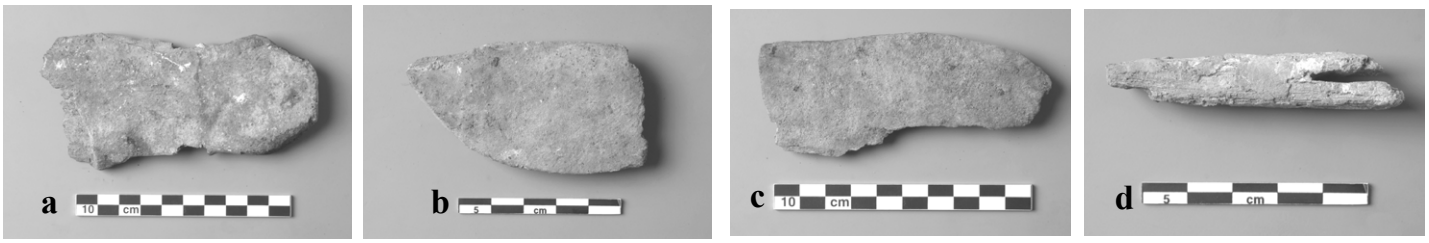


Fig. 30 – Various fragments of sandals from shaft 16L25/1C – (a): 2715/77; (b): 2715/78; (c): 2715/79; (d): 2710/24

side the burial chamber from becoming greatly dispersed. Pottery was not high on a tomb robber's list of desiderata, and thus many of the sherds found in the burial chamber could be joined to form almost complete vessels. As a result, a fairly complete ceramic corpus could be drawn up that dates to the Middle Kingdom burial. The assemblage contained at least three large round-bottomed plates, four small round-bottomed plates, and four jars that were likely sealed with jar stoppers. Two intact jar stoppers that were found inside the burial chamber have a rim impression that matches the diameter of the rim of these jars. Several fragments of hemispherical cups were found as well in the shaft.

E.1. Large round-bottomed bowls (Fig. 31)
Three large round-bottomed bowls in Nile B2 were recovered, two of which have rope impressions (2710/132/7 and 2715/13/11). The third bowl has no rope impressions but a slightly pronounced rim (2715/45/3). These large bowls occur throughout the Middle Kingdom, but mainly during the Twelfth Dynasty.[63]

E.2. Round-bottomed simple plates (Fig. 32)
In addition to these large bowls, four round-bottomed simple plates in Nile B2 were found.[64] The plates all have scrape marks on the exterior of the base.

E.3. Jars (Figs. 33-34)
Four jars in Nile B2 could be reconstructed, all of which preserve traces of clay on the rim, indicating that clay jar stoppers once sealed these vessels.[65] A remarkably large amount of well preserved clay jar stoppers was also found in shaft 16L25/1C. Two of them that were found in the burial chamber (2715/9 and 2715/18) fit perfectly on the rims of two of the four bottles. They are reconstructed on top of the vessels in Fig. 34.

E.4. Hemispherical cups (Fig. 35)
Only one complete profile of a hemispherical cup was preserved (2710/1/3) with a vessel index of 176. Hemispherical cups with a vessel index between an average range of 190 and 150 are datable to the later Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasties.[66]

F. Summary of shaft 16L25/1C
Shaft 16L25/1C is the least reused one of all three sloping shafts. The presence of the large closing block (F2713) *in situ* proves without a doubt that no secondary burial ever took place inside the burial chamber. The hole through which the burial chamber needed to be reached is so narrow that an adult can only enter through it with difficulty. Several elements point towards the fact that a fire must have once raged through the shaft. The walls of the shaft are blackened, and many of the wood fragments of tomb models and coffins have burnt ends. Also some clay jar stoppers were found that had been fired into hard baked ceramic, which certainly happened accidentally after they had been applied onto vessels. The blackening of the shaft walls was more intense around the closing block, which seems to indicate that the fire was started there, most likely to break up the limestone.

The architecture of the tomb and the finds in it confirm a Middle Kingdom date for the burial, as was the

[63] Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, pl. 28; Engelbach, *Harageh*, pl. 34, 2e-2f3; Arnold, in Arnold (ed.), *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, 110, fig. 55a (1-2), fig. 63 (192-3), pl. 65d. In the tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht eight large round-bottomed plates were found, all bearing rope impressions below the rim on the exterior (Mace, Winlock, *The tomb of Senebtisi*, 110-2, fig. 82 (1), pl. 34). These plates were intended to hold food offerings. In one of them two large beef joints were found, while the other contained "some ribs of beef, a goose (?), and a couple of trussed ducks (?)". Another large plate was filled with tiny saucers, while a fourth contained 125 small clay pellets that may have been incense balls. See further Nelson, Kalos, *Memnonia* 11, 131-51, fig. 6, a-c. In the tomb of governor Djehutinakht IV or V (17K74/1) at Dayr al-Barsha such bowls were also found (De Meyer *et al*., *JEA* 100, 68-9.). Reisner describes similar bowls containing remains of food in a niche at the bottom of pit E in the tomb of the governor Ahanakht I in Zone 2 at Dayr al-Barsha (Willems *et al*., *Dayr al-Barshā*, vol. I, 26, pl. 57).

[64] At Lisht the large bowls were also accompanied by smaller round-bottomed plates (Arnold, in Arnold (ed.), *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, 110-1).

[65] Compare to Spencer, *Excavations at El-Ashmunein*, 66, pl. 107 (type 2.3); von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, fig. 161.d.

[66] Arnold, in Arnold (ed.), *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, 140. A vessel index of 176 falls in the period from Amenemhat III to the first third of the Thirteenth Dynasty according to the chronology that has been established at Tell el-Dab'a and Dahshur (Bietak, *BASOR* 281, 281). It is also very close to the evidence from Elephantine where Twelfth Dynasty hemispherical cups have a vessel index ranging between 164 and 154 (von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 186-7).

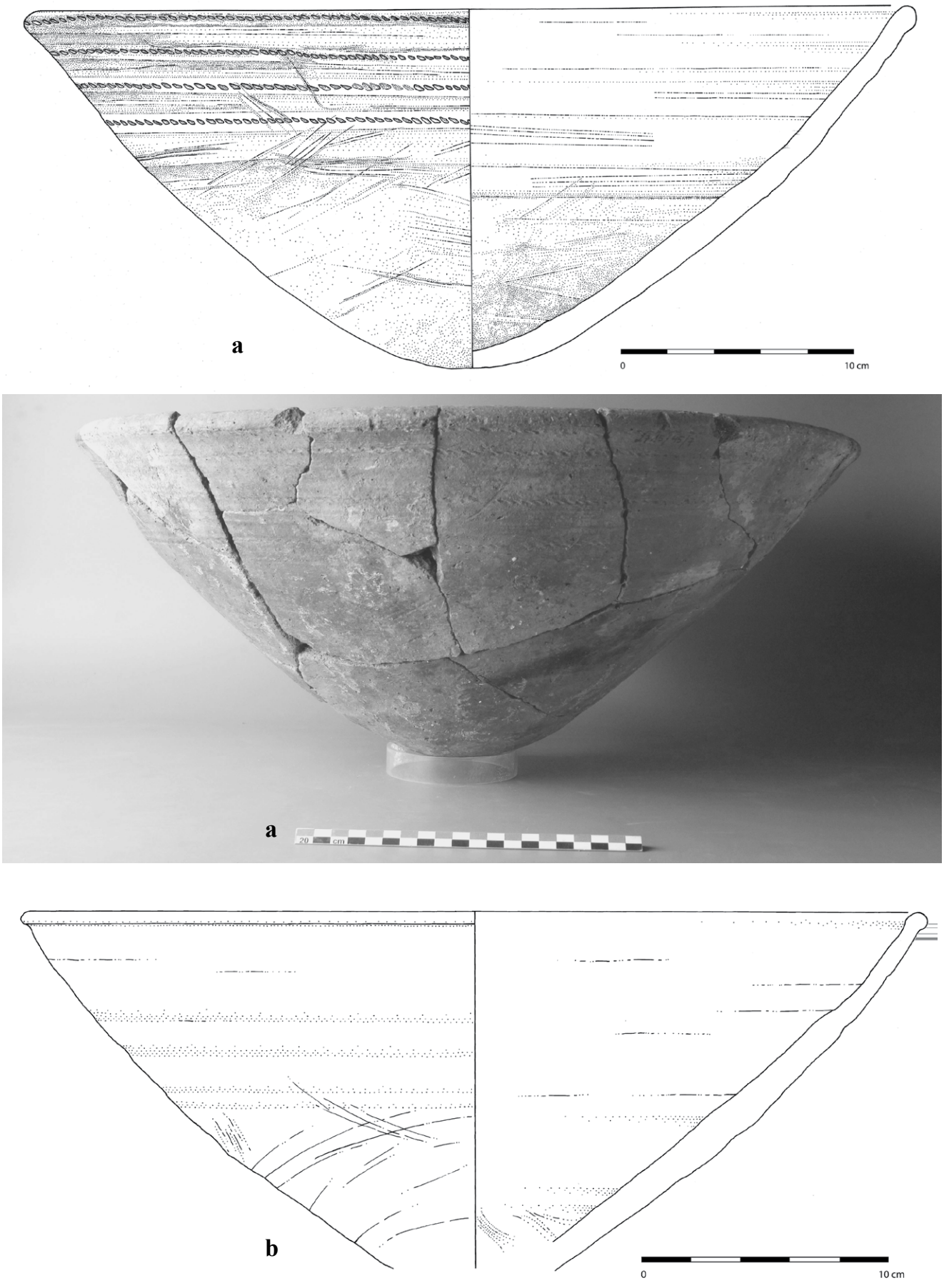


Fig. 31 – Large round-bottomed bowls from shaft 16L25/1C
(a): 2710/132/7, almost all the fragments of this bowl were found in the burial chamber; (b): 2715/45/3

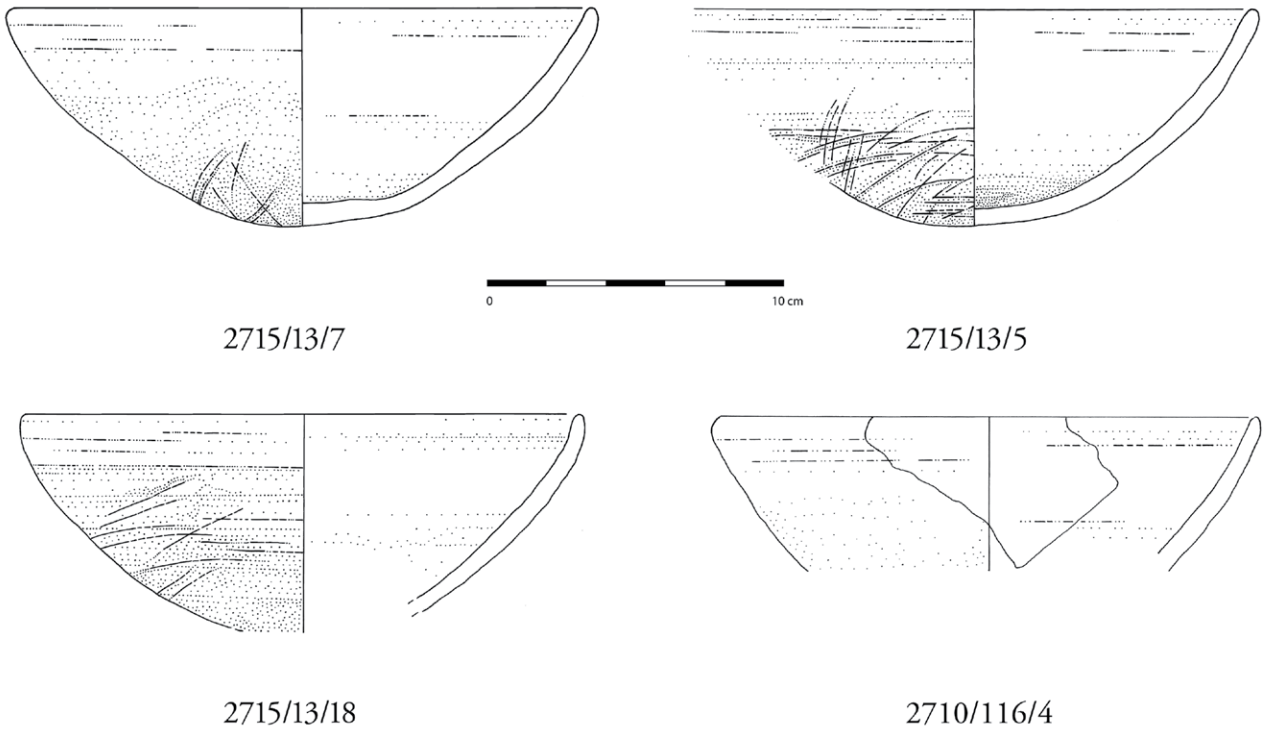


Fig. 32 – Round-bottomed simple plates from shaft 16L25/1C

case for shafts 16L25/1A and 16L25/1B. Several objects belonging to the Middle Kingdom tomb inventory were fragmentarily preserved in the burial chamber. This inventory was composed of a wooden box coffin decorated with Coffin Texts on the inside and an ornamental text band on the outside. Thin slivers of wood that belonged to this coffin show that its outside was at least partially painted with bright blue, red, and white colours in a geometrical pattern. Inside this box coffin an anthropomorphic coffin seems to have been present, although only part of its face is preserved. It has already been pointed out that a similar combination of a box coffin and an anthropomorphic coffin was found in the tomb of Sepi III, which dates to the period of Senswosret II-III.

Other funerary equipment included a fair number of tomb models, but since mainly loose arms were recovered, nothing can be said about the types of models that were present. One complete figure shows a scribe, who could have formed part of a number of models as an accountant or a registrar. Furthermore, a large statue of a

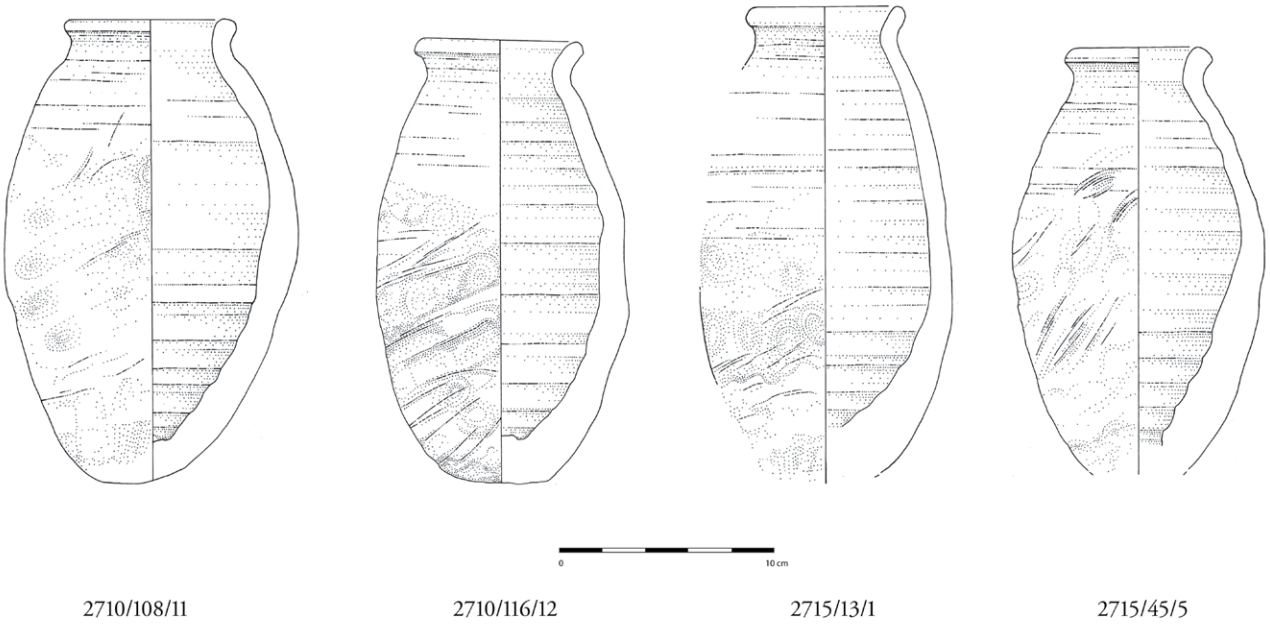


Fig. 33 – Jars from shaft 16L25/1C

Fig. 34 – Four jars from the burial chamber of shaft 16L25/1C, with a reconstruction of the position of two jar stoppers

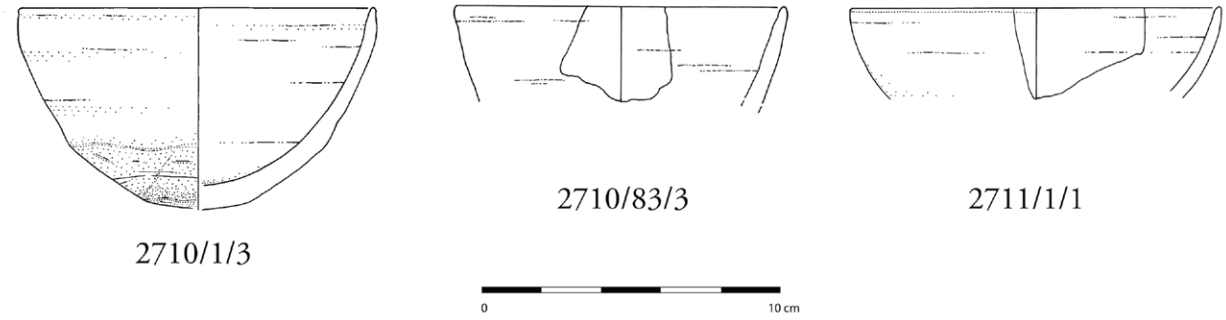


Fig. 35 – Hemispherical cups from shaft 16L25/1C

female offering bearer was once present, likely carrying something on her head. Fragments from a pair of wooden sandals almost all originate from the burial chamber, indicating that this was the room where they were originally deposited.

For the first time a coherent ceramic assemblage was found in a sloping shaft of tomb 16L25/1. This assemblage consisted of four jars that were once sealed with clay jar stoppers, four small round-bottomed plates, three large round-bottomed plates, and several hemispherical cups. Based on the vessel index of the hemispherical cup this assemblage can be placed in the Twelfth Dynasty, with a preference for its later half.

As opposed to shafts 16L25/1A-B where fair amounts of New Kingdom material were recovered, this shaft only yielded one fragment of a veneered piece of furniture. This fragment was moreover found in the top sweeps of the shaft, and should therefore be considered intrusive. Also from the Ptolemaic Period only little evidence was found, with only one piece of a decorated ceramic coffin, which was also located in the top sweeps of the shaft. It thus seems likely that shaft 16L25/1C was not reused for burials. The gigantic blocking stone in front of the burial chamber may have deterred potential usurpers from using this shaft.

3. General conclusion

It has already been established that the three sloping shafts all follow the same architectural layout, consisting of an accurately cut sloping shaft with a north-south orientation, in the extension of which a burial chamber is located to the south. In the rear of the burial chamber

an elevated bench was carved into the rock, likely to display funerary equipment. In front of and to the east of the burial chamber a small side room was hewn that served as a model room. The burial chambers and side rooms were closed off with massive blocks of limestone. This type of shaft construction is unique at Dayr al-Barsha, and is also not found in the contemporary nomarchal tombs of Zone 2. While a short sloping shaft is preserved in the tomb of Nehri II, this has no burial chamber or a side room. If this shaft was left unfinished, it remains unknown whether a construction similar to the shafts in 16L25/1 was ever envisaged. It was excavated in 1915 by George Reisner, but according to his excavation diary this contained "absolutely nothing".[67] Tomb 16L25/1 can therefore be said to be the only Middle Kingdom complex with some *grandeur* in the rock tombs outside of Zone 2. Architecturally the three shafts of 16L25/1 recall the sloping shafts with a model room of Middle Kingdom Theban elite tombs.

The finds inside the shafts provide evidence that burials of a similar nature must have taken place in them during the Middle Kingdom. While the funerary equipment has become dispersed through two phases of reuse (early New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic Period) and looting, nonetheless the presence of several object categories could be determined, of which an overview is provided in Table 2.

Evidence for a decorated wooden box coffin with Coffin Texts and an ornamental text only occurred in shaft 16L25/1C, but as has been discussed above, the coffin of the scribe Djehutihotep that Antonini excavated at the site in 1902, could potentially have originated from one of the other shafts in this tomb complex. An anthropomorphic coffin has only been attested in shaft 16L25/1C.

Common elements in all the shafts are the presence of sandals and tomb models. Shaft 16L25/1A offered the largest selection of tomb models, most of which were found in the model room. The model rooms of shafts B and C were heavily disturbed, which may explain why only a few scraps of models were recovered there. A fire in shaft C is likely also responsible for the disappearance of many wooden tomb models. Weaponry was found in shafts A and B, and model carpenter's tools only occurred in shaft A. A large statue of a female offering bearer is unique for shaft C, while shaft B is the only one to preserve a fragmentary stela.

Several dating criteria have been put forward above. The inclusion of solar barks in the repertoire of tomb models, the style of the fragmentarily preserved stela, the likely presence of an anthropomorphic coffin, the range of pottery vessels, and the overall composition of the funerary assemblages, all point towards a date in the Twelfth Dynasty. It seems fair to conclude that this tomb once held the burials of high officials who served under one or several of the Twelfth Dynasty governors who are buried just a few meters higher up in Zone 2. The funerary equipment in the shafts of tomb 16L25/1 shows affinities with the material that was retrieved from the shaft of Sepi II and III in front of the tomb of governor Djehutihotep. The shaft of Sepi II and III and the four other shafts that lie in the same row do not have any superstructures, at least not anymore.[68] Even if they once did have superstructures, it can only have been a pile of rocks or something else to close off the shafts and at the same time mark them. They would not have had their own rock-cut chapels.

Perhaps the reason why the persons who were buried in tomb 16L25/1 chose this location, is because here they could also lie right underneath their governor(s), but at the same time have their own tomb chapel. This was more difficult, if not impossible, in Zone 2, where the governors themselves occupied the rock-cut chapels, while the subordinates were left with a shaft in the area in front of those chapels. The few exceptions are the tombs of Iha, Djehutinakht, Khnumnakht, and a few undecorated tombs to the west of them. Iha, Djehutinakht, and Khnumnakht –subordinates of Ahanakht I– were buried in front of his tomb, and did have small rock-cut chapels.[69] However, they date from the very beginning of the use of this area as a nomarchal burial ground, and this practice seems to not have continued. Moreover, their chapels are of such modest dimensions that a person could not even stand up straight in them. This is not the case for tomb 16L25/1, which is a spacious subterranean complex.

Another bonus for this location of the tomb in Zone 4, is that it lies along the path leading up to the nomarchal tombs of Zone 2. As has been observed in Zone 9 in the plain, the largest tombs with the most elaborate tomb inventories lie immediately next to the processional route, while less impressive tomb complexes lie further away from it. A 'front row' location next this road may have

[67] Reisner, *Deir el-Bersheh Expedition Diary* (unpublished manuscript, Museum of Fine Arts Boston), entry of Monday, 22 March 1915. See also Griffith, Newberry, *El-Bersheh*, vol. II, 37; Brovarski *et al.*, *Bersheh Reports 1*, 14. Sloping shafts are known from Middle Kingdom tombs at other sites, such as for example in the 'mastaba du nord' at Lisht, which dates to the reign of Senwosret I, and in a mastaba to the south-west of the pyramid of Amenemhat I (Gautier, Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, 64-7, 101). In these examples the burial chamber is also located in the extension of the shaft, but no model room is present.

[68] For a reconstruction drawing of the position of these shafts in front of the tomb of Djehutihotep, see Willems *et al.*, *MDAIK* 62, 317.

[69] Willems *et al.*, *Dayr al-Barshā*, vol. I.

been a privilige awarded only to the higher class. That we are dealing with persons of elevated rank in tomb 16L25/1, is sufficiently clear from the size of their shafts, the elaborate tomb inventories, and the fact that a coffin with Coffin Texts once formed part of it. It is unfortunate that no further details are known about the titles and functions of these individuals. The fact that burials took place at Dayr al-Barsha during the Twelfth Dynasty in rock tombs other than those of Zone 2 is an entirely new element in the history of the site's use-life.

During the early New Kingdom at least one of the sloping shafts (16L25/1A) was reused for the burial of a person who himself also carried an elevated rank. An impressive set of funerary equipment dating to this period was recovered, including furniture (some of it veneered), alabaster vessels, a scarab, potentially a kohl-bottle, basketry, and jewellery. This funerary assemblage was even more fragmented than the Middle Kingdom one, and nothing further is known about the person. It is remarkable that similar funerary equipment of this period has so far not been encountered in any other tomb in Zones 4 or 7, and it should likely be concluded that exactly this tomb was chosen for this reuse because of its architectural *grandeur* compared to the other rock tombs in the area.

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	16L25/1A	**16L25/1B**	**16L25/1C**
Decorated box coffin			
Anthropomorphic coffin			
Sandals			
Tomb models			
Boats			
Men			
Duck roasting?			
Brewery/bakery?			
Weaponry			
Model carpenter's tools			
Headrest?			
Stela			
Female offering bearer			

Table 2 – Overview of the object categories present in shafts 16L25/1A-B-C

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The Transmission of Offices in the Middle Kingdom

Nathalie Favry

Abstract

While studying the transmission of offices from one generation to the next, it is apparent that two schemes existed simultaneously. Indeed, other than royal approvals, common to all appointments made in the highest spheres of Egyptian administration, a distinction must be made between the local and the central administrations. In the provinces, the direct transmission of the office of a local ruler is standard procedure. When a high official mentions the transmission in private texts, it means that an event occurred to disrupt this situation and mention of it is necessary to return to the standard 'normality'. Conversely, in the highest spheres of the central administration, the standard is the absence of direct transmission from father to son, or grandson. Here, the royal appointment is totally personal and the hereditary function is not a usual or normal procedure. Finally, in all the lower strata of Egyptian society, the direct transmission is very rarely expressed. It sometimes appears, but only when a family is well established in a region or an institution, or when an official wishes to express his own social progress compared with that of a direct ancestor.

As for every craftsman, every traveller and all of the people who raise their hands towards this image, by Nemty, will be rewarded; as for whoever will destroy my name and my image, by the gods of the Hare Nome, his children will be excluded from his office after his death[1]

This simple sentence expressed as a reprisal for a negative action in graffito 49 of Amenemhat at Hatnub,[2] apparently perfectly illustrates the pre-eminent place granted by Egyptians to the notions of succession, that it is about the name, about the property or even about the function. In a great many inscriptions on stelae or on walls of private tombs, we find several testimonies expressing this need to perpetuate; the first one of them being the 'memory' of the name through the classical formula for the Middle Kingdom: *sꜣ.f sꜥnḫ rn.f*, 'his son who perpetuates his name'.[3] In this context where the notion of succession is particularly noticed, it is initially tempting to believe that the transmission of a job or a function could be likewise seen. The observation of statistical data shows, however, a different reality and *a priori* seems to confirm the comment made by P. Posener-Kriéger in 1991: "*pour fréquentes que soient les similitudes partielles des titres entre le propriétaire d'un tombeau et son fils aîné, le fonctionnement réel de la transmission d'une fonction de père à fils nous échappe, en raison de la pauvreté de la documentation administrative qui nous est parvenue*".[4] However, I am opposed to her idea that we never find in the autobiographical inscriptions of officials the mention of the transmission of a function from father to son.[5] On the contrary, some following examples show us that high officials wished to supply specific information about their ascendants. They indicate, for instance, that they were also able to pass to the next generation material possessions and also positions both public and social.[6]

[1] This is not an isolated instance; a 'similar' address is engraved in Khnumhotep II's tomb at Beni Hasan: *jr grt ḫm-kꜣ rmṯ nbt ḫnn.t.sn st n wnn.f n wnn sꜣ.f ḥr nst.f*, "But, as for the servant and every man who will perturb them, who does not exist any more and whose son does not exist any more in his function" (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, pl. XXV.l, 96-9). *Nst* can be translated "seat" with the meaning "function", that it means "civil servant's seat": Posener-Kriéger, *CRIPEL* 13, 111. A complete summary of this question is proposed by Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir,* 155, n. 338.

[2] Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 76-8, pl. 31; for a slightly different translation, see Shaw, *Hatnub*, 160-1.

[3] This formula is found, for instance, on stela CG 20515 dated to year 10 of Senusret I and on pseudo-naos, M. Tadross collection, side A (Thirteenth Dynasty) (Vernus, *RdE* 26, 100-14). However, a member of the family other than the son, can also make the 'transmission' of the name. This is the case, for example, in a stela kept in Geneva, where it is the brother of the dedicatee who ensures his memory (*cf.* Page-Gasser, Wiese, *Égypte, moments d'éternité*, 101, no. 62).

[4] Posener-Kriéger, *CRIPEL* 13, 107.

[5] *Art. cit.*, 107: "les fonctionnaires qui dans leur tombeau retracent leur carrière ne mentionnent jamais qu'ils ont hérité leur fonction de leur père, même lorsqu'ils déclarent avoir hérité de ses biens".

[6] This idea of a real transmission of a title within a family is not obviously new. See some examples proposed by Grajetzki, *Die*

A. Expression of transmission in private documents from the beginning of the Middle Kingdom

Four documents dated to the second half of the reign of Senusret I and the first half of the reign of his son and successor Amenemhat II, present a particular phraseology in which the expression of the transmission of a status or a function from father to son is clearly developed.

1. The lineage of Khnumhotep I, Nakht I and Khnumhotep II of Beni Hasan

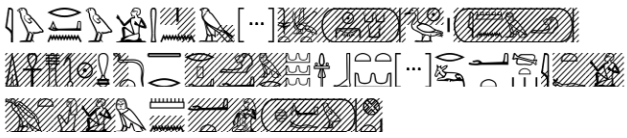
Khnumhotep I is the owner of Tomb 14 at Beni Hasan[7] from the reign of Amenemhat I. The royal intervention in the nomination of Khnumhotep at the head of Menat-Khufu is distinctly indicated in the inscriptions of his tomb: *rdj.n wj ḥm.f m ḥ3ty-ʿ n Mnʿt-ḫwfw*, "his Majesty appointed me as count of Menat-Khufu",[8] and remembered by his grandson Khnumhotep II in the great biographical inscription of Tomb 3: *mj jryt n jt mwt.j (…) (r)djt.f sw r jry-pʿt ḥ3ty-ʿ jmy-r3 ḫ3swt j3btt m Mnʿt-ḫwfw*, "as was made for my mother's father (…) (when) he (= Amenemhat I) appointed him as a hereditary prince and count, and overseer of the eastern deserts in Menat-Khufu".[9] His responsibility at the head of the Oryx Nome is also mentioned by his grandson: *ʿḥʿ.n rdj.n.f sw r jry-pʿt ḥ3ty-ʿ jm3-ʿ ḥry-tp ʿ3 n M3-ḥḏ*, "then, he appointed him as a hereditary prince and count, gracious-of-arm, great chief of the Oryx Nome".[10] In one instance in the same document (lines 65-6), he is defined as 'ruler of the Oryx Nome' (*ḥq3 n M3-ḥḏ*).

His eldest son Nakht I is the owner of Tomb 21 at Beni Hasan.[11] He bears the titles of 'count' (*ḥ3ty-ʿ*), 'great chief of the Oryx Nome' (*ḥry-tp ʿ3 n M3-ḥḏ*) and 'overseer of the eastern deserts' (*jmy-r3 ḫ3swt j3btt*). We know however, thanks to the great inscription of Khnumhotep II, that he inherited his authority over Menat-Khufu directly from his father Khnumhotep I. His legacy was confirmed by a royal decree (*wḏt*) pronounced by Senusret I:

rdj.n.f s3.f smsw.f […] r ḥq3 jwʿt.f m Mnʿt-ḫwfw

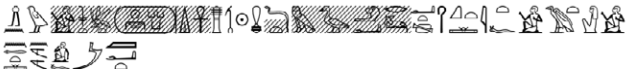
He (= Senusret I) appointed his eldest son […] to rule his inheritance in Menat-Khufu[12]

Living in the reigns of Amenemhat II and Senusret II, Khnumhotep II is the owner of Tomb 3 at Beni Hasan.[13] On the reliefs of his tomb, the great autobiographical inscription of 222 lines supplies all the information relating to the transmission of family offices over four generations.[14] Two sections of the text contain mentions of the inheritance received by Khnumhotep II in the Menat-Khufu area; he did not directly inherit Neheri's property, who is his father, but inherited it from his maternal grandfather Khnumhotep I. The king Amenemhat II allocated this inheritance in year 19 of his own reign (lines 77-9).



jw rdj.n wj ḥm n Ḥr […] nswt-bjty Nbw-k3w-Rʿ s3 Rʿ Jmn-m-ḥ3t
dj ʿnḫ ḏd w3s mj Rʿ ḏt r jry-pʿt ḥ3ty-ʿ jmy-r3 ḫ3swt j3btt […] r jwʿt jt
mwt.j m Mnʿt-ḫwfw

The Majesty of the Horus […] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nubkaure, son of Re, Amenemhat, given life, stability and power like Re for ever, appointed me as a hereditary prince and count, overseer of the eastern deserts, to [rule] the inheritance of my mother's father (= Khnumhotep I) in Menat-Khufu (lines 13-20)



jn wj nswt-bjty Nbw-k3w-Rʿ dj ʿnḫ ḏd w3s mj Rʿ ḏt m s3 ḥ3ty-ʿ r jwʿt ḥq3t jt mwt.j
n ʿ3t n mrr.f m3ʿt

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nubkaure, given life, stability and power like Re for ever, brought me, as a son of a count, to inherit the rulership of my mother's father, because of his love of Maat (lines 71-5)

Comment: While Khnumhotep II indicates twice in his biographical inscription that king Amenemhat II confirmed the inheritance of an office from his maternal grandfather Khnumhotep I, we notice that Amenemhat I, without previous transmission of the responsibility, appointed the latter. We can imagine that Khnumhotep I was the first of a new ruling lineage, possibly nominated by the first king of the Twelfth Dynasty, with authority

höchsten Beamten, 231-3.
[7] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, 81-5, pls. 42-7.
[8] *Op. cit*., vol. I, pl. 44, l. 7.
[9] *Op. cit*., vol. I, pl. 25, l. 24-5, 30-1.
[10] *Op. cit*., vol. I, pl. 25, l. 46-7.
[11] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, 26, pls. 22-22a.
[12] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. 25, l. 54-7.
[13] *Op. cit*., vol. I, pls. 22-38.
[14] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pls. 25-6 and Lloyd, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion*, 21-36.

over both the Oryx Nome and Menat-Khufu. These two functions are then transmitted to his eldest son Nakht I under king Senusret I. However, in year 19 of this reign we know that the title 'great chief of the Oryx Nome' is borne by a new man Ameny (Tomb 2) who ruled at Beni Hasan until year 43 of the reign. No family tie seems to exist between Ameny and the lineage of Khnumhotep I. So, it is possible to imagine a split at that time between Ma-Hedj on one side ruled by Ameny, while Menat-Khufu stayed under the authority of the Khnumhoteps. Furthermore, the existence of a break seems probable because, in his autobiographical account, Khnumhotep II indicates several times that he obtained his office in Menat-Khufu only from his mother's father in year 19 of king Amenemhat II.[15] Finally, after Khnumhotep II, it appears that the lineage also exercised its authority over the Anubis Nome (17th Upper Egyptian nome) because his son Nakht II bore the title *'ḥqꜣ' Jnpw* inherited from his maternal grandfather.[16]

2. Amenemhat / Ameny

He is the owner of Tomb 2 at Beni Hasan[17] dated to year 43 of the reign of Senusret I. In the core of the biographical inscription engraved on the front door of the tomb, Ameny gives an account of the first military expedition in Nubia in the company of the monarch, most probably in year 18 of the reign.

ḫntj.n.j m sꜣ ḥꜣty-ʿ ḫtmty-bjty jmy-rꜣ mšʿ wr n Mꜣ-ḥḏ
m jdn s jt jꜣw ḫft ḥswt m pr-nswt

I sailed upstream as the son of a count, sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt and great overseer of the troops of the Oryx Nome, like a man who replaces an aged father in accordance with favours in the king's palace[18]

Comment: Ameny's participation is made as 'son of a count (*ḥꜣty-ʿ*), sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt (*ḫtmty-bjty*) and great overseer of the troops of the Oryx Nome (*jmy-rꜣ mšʿ wr n Mꜣ-ḥḏ*)', when he is not yet 'great chief of the Oryx Nome'. The mention 'like a man who replaces an aged father' indicates the transmission of a military mission, but does not prove the handing over of the function attached to the title *jmy-rꜣ mšʿ wr n Mꜣ-ḥḏ*. This observation is all the more true since Ameny never bears this –or any other– military title in the rest of his biographical inscription.[19] The absence of integration of the title of 'great overseer of the troops of the Oryx Nome' in his 'official' title sequence could mean that it is rather a title expressing a mission than a title expressing a function.

3. Ameny, Mentuhotep's son and Khuy's grandson

This high official is well-known thanks to three inscriptions presented in an expeditionary context. Two of them are engraved at Wadi Hammamat (NIR 61[20] and Gasse 3042[21]) and the third on a stela found at Wadi Gawasis.[22]

wḏ ḥm.f rdjt.j m jꜣt.f jqrt nt ḫr nswt wr mdw Šmʿw jw.j
m ḥwn n
rnpt 18 wḏ ḥm.f wḥm.j ḥst.f rdj.t(w) ḥr nst.f nt sryt jw.f ʿnḫ

His Majesty commanded that I was appointed in his (= Mentuhotep) excellent function near the king (as) chief of Tens of Upper Egypt (when) I was an eighteen-year-

[15] After year 43 of the reign of Senusret I and the death of the nomarch Ameny, we unfortunately have no information giving a probable name of his successor in the Ma-Hedj area.
[16] See the family tree in Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, 113, fig. 24. *Cf.* also Nelson-Hurst, in Miniaci Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 257-72.
[17] Newberry, *Beni Hasan,* vol. I, 11-38, pls. 3-20.
[18] Sethe, *Historisch-biographische*, 14, 11-3.
[19] Ameny bears in fact the ranking titles 'hereditary prince and count' (*jry-pʿt ḥꜣty-ʿ*), 'gracious-of-Arm' (*jmꜣ-ʿ*), 'sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt' (*ḫtmty-bjty*), 'sole friend' *(smr-wʿty*) and 'true royal acquaintance' (*rḫ nswt mꜣʿ (+ m Šmʿw)*) and administrative and religious titles 'great chief of the Oryx Nome' (*ḥry-tp ʿꜣ n Mꜣ-ḥḏ*); 'overseer of everything that heaven gives and earth creates' (*jmy-rꜣ ḫt nbt ddt pt qmꜣt tꜣ*); 'overseer of horned, hoofed, feathered and scaled animals' (*jmy-rꜣ ꜣbw wḥmw šww nšmwt*); 'overseer of the double marsh of Pleasure' (*jmy-rꜣ sšwy n sḫmḫ-jb*); 'chief lector' (*ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*); 'sem-priest' (*sm*); 'controller of every kilt' (*ḫrp šndyt nbt*); 'who is in the palace, keeper of Nekhen and chief of Nekheb' (*jmy-js jry Nḫn ḥry-tp Nḫb*); 'controller of a phyle in the temple' (*mty n sꜣ m ḥwt-nṯr*); 'master of secrets of the sacred writings' (*ḥry sštꜣ n mdw-nṯr(?)*); 'controller of the estates of the Red Crown' (*ḫrp ḥwt Nt*); 'keeper of the crescent' (*jry jʿḥ*); 'overseer of the inventories of divine offerings' (*jmy-rꜣ wpwt ḥtpw-nṯr*); 'controller of the Two Thrones' (*ḫrp nsty + ḥr mꜣʿ (pr-)nsr*); 'king's nobleman' (*šps nswt + m qrsw(?)*); 'pupil of Horus who presides over heaven' (*sbꜣ Ḥr ḫnty pt*); 'overseer of chapels' (*jmy-rꜣ rw-prw(...)*); 'priest of Shu and Tefnut' (*ḥm-nṯr Šw Tfnt*). They are certainly titles borne throughout his career and still current at the time of the writing of the inscription on the walls of the tomb.
[20] Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres*, 81-5, fig. 1, pls. 23-4.
[21] Gasse, *BIFAO* 88, 83-94, pl. 6.
[22] Sayed, *RdE* 29, 169-73, pl. 16.

old young man. His Majesty commanded that I renew his favour and was appointed to his (= Mentuhotep) seat of the body of magistrates (when) he (= Mentuhotep) was still alive (Gasse 3042, l.16-9)

[jr]r.j m wpt nbt wḏt ḥm.f n bȝk-jm
m hȝb nṯr bȝk.f mty sȝ bȝk n jt
ḫntw n-ʿȝt-n ḥss.f wj ḥss.f bȝk jr wj r rḫyt nbt

I [acted] according to each mission that his Majesty commanded to the servant there when the god sent his straightforward servant, son of the father's servant who came earlier, inasmuch as he favoured me and favoured the servant who begot me, more than all (other) subjects (NIR 61, l.10-3)

Comment: Amenemhat I appointed Mentuhotep to the post of 'chief of Tens of Upper Egypt in Thebes of Khen-Nekhen and Ta-wer of the whole South' (*wr mdw Šmʿw m Ḫnw-Nḫn Wȝst Tp-rsy Tȝ-wr mj-qd.f*), with the purpose of restoring peace in this southern area. Then, Senusret I appointed Mentuhotep as a member of the body of magistrates (*sryt*), with the purpose of dispensing justice, and the same king appointed Ameny to the post of 'chief of Tens of Upper Egypt' (*wr mdw Šmʿw*) when he was 18 years old. Finally, Senusret I appointed Ameny as a member of the body of magistrates (*sryt*) in the same seat his father had previously occupied.[23] This nomination arrived when Mentuhotep was still alive. It is then necessary to speak about a transmission of office and not about an inheritance, which in its most conventional definition means the heritage left by a parent after his death. Moreover, this last appointment is not expressed by the transfer of a civil title from father to son, but rather by the transfer of power.

The unique title actually transmitted from the father to his son is *wr mdw Šmʿw*. The title 'herald' (*wḥmw*) marks progress in the career of Ameny[24] in comparison with his father and his grandfather. As for the titles 'inspector of inspectors of a detachment of recruits' –or 'inspector of inspectors and controller of recruits' (*sḫḏw ʿprw nfrw/sḫḏ sḫḏw ḫrp nfrw*)[25]– and 'overseer of infantry' (*jmy-rȝ mnfȝt*) found on the inscription NIR 61 at Wadi Hammamat and dated to year 38 of the reign, they correspond certainly to mission titles rather than function titles.

4. Wepwawet -aa

This high official is known thanks to two stelae dated during the reigns of Senusret I (year 44) and Amenemhat II (year 2) for Leiden V.4[26] and the unique reign of Amenemhat II (year 13)[27] for Munich Gl.WAF 35.[28]

jn grt nswt-bjty Ḫpr-kȝ-Rʿ dj wj m-m smrw.f […] *ʿq.n.j r pr.j r pr jt.j*

and the King of Upper and Lower Egypt appointed me among his friends […] after I entered into my house and my father's house (Leiden V.4, l.7)

Comment: The phraseology used in the biographical inscriptions of Wepwawet-aa is less clear in expressing the method of inheritance of a function on behalf of his unnamed father. It seems that Wepwawet-aa received a material inheritance (*pr jt.j*), but no concrete information allows the assertion that he inherited at the same time either the social status of his father (presented as a 'magistrate, great of Ta-wer, magnate in his house, great in his fields'*, sr wr n Tȝ-wr ʿȝ m pr.f wr m sḫt.f*; Leiden V.4, l.12-3) or even one of his titles. It is moreover the indication of the royal nomination that prevails in the chosen phraseology: "this is King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare who appointed me among his friends" (*nswt-bjty Ḫpr-kȝ-Rʿ dj wj m-m smrw.f*).

This official appointment appears also in the stela Munich Gl.WAF 35, l.18-9:

[23] For a precise analysis of the chronology of the successive appointments of Mentuhotep and Ameny, at first as 'chief of Tens of Upper Egypt' and then as members of the body of magistrates, see Obsomer, *Sésostris Ier*, 216-20.

[24] Ameny bears this title at least from year 24 of Senusret I's reign, the supposed date of the inscription at Wadi Gawasis. Let it be noted that the ranking titles borne by Ameny in the inscription Gasse 3042 at Wadi Hammamat (year 38) are not present in the list of titles of his father.

[25] The reading of the title is uncertain. *Cf.* Chevereau, *RdE* 43, 32: 'grand chef des équipages de recrues', and Farout, *BIFAO* 94, 147: 'inspecteur des inspecteurs de l'infanterie de marine' contrary to Obsomer, *Sésostris Ier*, 695: 'inspecteur des inspecteurs, contrôleur des recrues'.

[26] Boeser, *Beschrijving van de egyptische Verzameling*, 3, no. 5, pl. 4; Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 30 [ANOC 20.1].

[27] Obsomer, *Sésostris Ier*, 564, 567, note (a).

[28] Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 30 [ANOC 20.2].

jw nḏ.t(w) n.j jɜwt m ꜥḥ m ḏd: jmy-rɜ ḥmw-nṯr jmy-ḫnt ꜥɜ m ȝbḏw
sḫnt ḥmst.j nbt r jtw.j ḫpr(w) ḫr-ḥɜt

It is in the palace that I was awarded the following offices: overseer of priests and great chamberlain in Abydos. Each of my positions was more distinguished than those of my forefathers who preceded me[29]

The status of his own immediate parent is probably low. It seems that Wepwawet-aa especially wished to insist on his ancestral inheritance numerous times: "my forefathers who preceded me" (*jtw.j ḫpr(w) ḫr-ḥɜt*; Leiden V.4, l.7); "I imitated what the forefathers made (before)" (*snj.n.j r jrt jtw*; Leiden V.4, l.6). The only insignia of status indicated for his father, that is to say 'magistrate great of Ta-wer' (*sr wr n Tɜ-wr*), is never used for his son; conversely, only Wepwawet-aa bears the ranking titles 'hereditary prince and count, sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole friend' (*jry-pꜥt ḥɜty-ꜥ, ḫtmty-bjty, smr-wꜥty*), the function title 'overseer of priests' (*jmy-rɜ ḥmw-nṯr*), and the mission titles in Abydos: 'sem-priest, controller of every kilt, mouth of Nekhen, priest of Maat' (*sm, ḫrp šndyt nb(t), r(ɜ) Nḫn, ḥm-nṯr Mɜꜥt*), 'overseer of equipment in the presence of the god' (*jmy-rɜ ꜥpr(w) m-bɜḥ nṯr*)[30], 'great wab-priest of Osiris' (*wꜥbꜥɜ n Wsjr*), 'overseer of linen in the Shrine of Upper Egypt' (*jmy-rɜ sšrw m Pr-wr*), and 'great chamberlain in Abydos' (*jmy-ḫnt ꜥɜ m ȝbḏw*).

In summary, these four examples reveal that even if the transmission of status is sometimes expressed within the framework of a military expedition (example 2), or even in a council of magistrates (example 3), no wording allows us to assert that the office(s) defined by titles, sequences of titles and/or epithets, is systematically passed on from father to son. The only exception to this observation is the transmission of the title *wr mdw Šmꜥw* from Mentuhotep to his son Ameny (example 3). However, it is not a matter of direct inheritance, but a question of transmission of an office made effective by a royal decree (*wḏt*).

It is now interesting to determine if the same observation can be widened to include all the documents in which the titles of several members of the same family are known.

B. Regarding the transmission of titles/functions from father to son

Taking a very wide sample of 1,331 titles,[31] only 70 –that is to say 5.26%– are involved in a direct transmission of function and/or title(s) from father to son, and more rarely from father to son and to grandson [Table 1]. The first column gives the number of titleholders listed on this day. The second column gives the number of families in which the first one quoted from a family lineage bears the listed title in the table: for example, 10 'fathers' bear the title *ɜṯw n ṯt ḥqɜ* [1] and give the name and title(s) of their son(s). The third column gives the number of families in which the father and his son(s) bear the same title. The number of individuals involved in this succession is marked in parentheses. So, in the example [68], we suppose that a *sš n ḏɜtt* named Deduimen transmitted his title to two of his sons, Inenu and Neferet. The fourth column lists the families in which the titles borne by the father and those borne by the son(s) do not seem, at first glance, to express an identical office; and the fifth column lists the families in which the titles borne by the father and those borne by the son(s) show a link, whether by an identical title-'root' (*jmy-rɜ, ɜṯw*)[32] or by an identical function title (*sš*), or by two individuals belonging to a similar institution. Finally, the sixth column gives percentages: the example [6] shows that 47.37% of families are involved in a direct transmission of the title *jmy-rɜ pr* (that is 9 families of the 19 listed) and that only 12.8% of individuals are involved in a direct succession compared with the total number of titleholders.

[29] Wepwawet-aa presents other offices in lines 4-5 of the stela Leiden V.4. It is impossible to say whether or not the wab-priesthood was inherited from his father.
[30] Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, no. 65a.
[31] Checking on November 25th, 2014 on the database CAPÉA "Corpus et Analyses Prosopographiques en Égypte Ancienne", a program on Egyptian prosopography that I have been developing since 2007 in the Research Centre of Egyptology at Sorbonne University (Paris IV – UMR 8167 'The Orient and the Mediterranean').
[32] *Cf.* Favry, *Nehet* 1, 71-2.

	TITLE BORNE BY THE FIRST ONE QUOTED FROM A FAMILY LINEAGE	Number of titleholders	Number of families concerned by the succession of father to son	Number of families concerned by the direct succession	Number of families involved in a succession without visible links	Number of families involved in a related succession	Percentage of families involved in a direct succession compared with the number of families indicating a succession of titleholders
1	*z<u>t</u>w n <u>t</u>t ḥqz*	90	10	4 (8)	5	1	**40%** (8.89%)
2	*jmz-ʿ*	7	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (28.57%)
3	*jmy-js*	13	4	1 (2)	3	—	**25%** (15.38%)
4	*jmy-rz zḥwt*	20	4	2 (4)	2	—	**50%** (20%)
5	*jmy-rz zḥwt m Tp-rsy Tz-wr* (1)	2	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (100%)
6	*jmy-rz pr*	250	19	9 (32)	9	1	**47.37%** (12.8%)
7	*jmy-rz pr n pr-ḥḏ*	14	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (14.29%)
8	*jmy-rz pr n rm<u>t</u>*	6	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (33.33%)
9	*jmy-rz prwy-ḥḏ*	14	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (14.29%)
10	*jmy-rz mšʿ*	108	8	6 (15)	2	—	**75%** (13.89%)
11	*jmy-rz mšʿ wr n Mz-ḥḏ*	2	2	1 (2)	—	1(2)	**50%** (100%)
12	*jmy-rz mšʿ n ḫrtyw-n<u>t</u>r*	6	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (33.33%)
13	*jmy-rz njwt tzyty <u>t</u>zty szb*	5	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (40%)
14	*jmy-rz njwt <u>t</u>zty*	5	5	1 (3)	4	—	**20%** (60%)
15	*jmy-rz nbww*	5	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (40%)
16	*jmy-rz rḫtyw*	5	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (40%)
17	*jmy-rz ḫwt wrt 6* (+ other vizier's titles)	15	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (13.33%)
18	*jmy-rz ḥmw-n<u>t</u>r*	68	12	11 (26)	1(2)	—	**91.74%** (38.17%)
19	*jmy-rz ḥmw-n<u>t</u>r n St<u>t</u> nbt Ꜣbw*	3	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (66.66%)
20	*jmy-rz ḫzswt jzbtt*	4	1	1 (3)	—	—	**100%** (75%)
21	*jmy-rz ḫnww*	6	2	2 (4)	—	—	**100%** (66.66%)
22	*jmy-rz sqdw*	5	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (40%)
23	*jmy-rz šn<u>t</u> n ḫwt-n<u>t</u>r nt Jnpw*	2	1	1 (2)	1(3)	—	**100%** (100%)
24	*jmy-rz qdw = jmy-r jqdw*	9	1	1 (2 ou 3)	—	—	**100%** (22.22%)
25	*jry / r(3) Nḫn*	32	10	1 (2)	9	—	**10%** (16.67%)
26	*jry <u>t</u>ntt*	3	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (66,66%)
27	*jdnw n ḫzty-ʿ n <u>T</u>bw*	2	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (100%)
28	*ʿnḫ n njwt*	120	6	2 (4)	4	—	**33.33%** (3.33%)
29	*ʿḫzwty*	20	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (10%)
30	*wʿb n Jmn*	8	1	(?)1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (12.5%)
31	*wʿb ʿz jmy-wrt*	2	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (100%)
32	*wʿb ʿq*	3	1	1 (2)	1(3)	—	**100%** (66.67%)
33	*wr mdw Šmʿw*	214	22	12 (27)	10	—	**54.55%** (12.62%)
34	*mty n sz*	29	2	2 (4)	—	—	**100%** (13.79%)
35	*mḏḥ*	6	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (33.33%)
36	*mḏḥ nswt*	5	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (40%)
37	*nfw*	12	(?)1	(?)1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (16.67%)
38	*ḫzty-ʿ n Mnʿt-ḫwfw*	2	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (100%)
39	*ḥm-n<u>t</u>r ʿz*	3	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (66.67%)
40	*ḥm-n<u>t</u>r n Ḥr Bḥdt*	4	1	1 (3)	—	—	**100%** (66.67%)
41	*ḫry šštz*	3	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100 %** (66.67%)
42	*ḫry šštz n ḫtmw-n<u>t</u>r*	4	1	(?)1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (50%)
43	*ḫry-tp ʿz n Mz-ḥḏ*	8	2	2 (4)	—		**100%** (50%)

44	*ḥry-tp ꜥ3 n Nḫn*	2	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (100%)
45	*ḥry-tp Nḫb (+ jmy-js jry Nḫn)*	15	6	2 (4) with 1(2)	4	—	**33.33%** (26.67%)
46	*ḥrp nsty*	10	3	3 (6)	—	—	**100%** (60%)
47	*ḥrp šndyt nbt*	21	1	1 (2)	7	—	**100%** (9,52%)
48	*ḥnw n pr-ḥḏ*	2	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (100%)
49	*ḥry-ḥbt*	70	5	3 (7)	2	—	**60%** (10%)
50	*ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*	35	3	1 (2)	1	1	**33.33%** (5.71%)
51	*ḥry-ḥbt tpy (n Ḥr Bḥdt)* (4)	5	3	3 (4)	—	—	**60%** (80%)
52	*sꜣb*	20	3	2 (5)	1	—	**66.67%** (25%)
53	*sꜣb (j)r(y) Nḫn*	63	4	1 (2) (2)	3	—	**25%** (3.17%)
54	*sꜣb sḥḏ sšw*	3	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (66.67%)
55	*sḥḏ ḥmw-nṯr*	9	2	2 (4)	—	—	**100%** (44.44%)
56	*sḥḏ ḥmw-nṯr tpy n Ḥr Nḫn*	2	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (100%)
57	*sḥḏ sḫwt*	2	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (100%)
58	*sḥḏ šmsw*	40	2	1 (2)	1	—	**50%** (5%)
59	*sš ꜣḫwt* (1)	5	1	1 (3)	—	—	**100%** (60%)
60	*sš n jmy-rꜣ ḥtmt*	7	1	(?)1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (28.57%)
61	*sš (n) mšꜥ*	17	2	1 (2)	1	—	**50%** (11.76%)
62	*sš ḥwt-nṯr*	10	3	2 (4)	1	—	**66.67%** (40%)
63	*sš ḥry ḥtm*	6	3	1 (2)	1	1	**33.33%** (33.33%)
64	*sš n ḫnrt wr*	43	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (4.65%)
65	*sš spꜣt m grgt*	2	1	1 (2)	—	—	**100%** (100%)
66	*sš qdwt*	25	1	1 (2)	1(3)	—	**100%** (8%)
67	*sš n ṯmꜣ* (1)	11	2	1 (2)	—	1	**50%** (18.18%)
68	*sš n ḏꜣtt*	4	2	1 (3)	1	—	**50%** (75%)
69	*šmsw*	160	6	2 (5)	3	1	**33.33%** (3.12%)
70	*gnwty*	29	2	2 (4)	—	—	**100%** (13.79%)

(1) The case of the stela Leiden V.3 is unusual. Indeed, in the text engraved on the stela we can read a succession of titles on several generations within the same lineage. However, closer analysis of the inscription reveals that the indicated chronological time spans are too large to confirm the direct transmission of the titles (between the reign of Intef II and the reign of Senusret I). This suggests therefore that the same title was passed on 'from father to son' with the possibility that several generations could have come between this father and this son.

(2) 'Direct' transmission from father to grandson.

(3) The same family as the one involved in the direct succession = brother.

(4) All the members involved in the direct transmission of the title came from Edfu and belonged to only one long lineage. It is the reason why, even if some of them bore only the title *ḥry-ḥbt*, it is thought in reality to be an abridged version of *ḥry-ḥbt tpy n Ḥr Bḥdt*. For example, Ib presents inter-changeably the three titles, *ḥry-ḥbt* only, *ḥry-ḥbt tpy* and *ḥry-ḥbt tpy n Ḥr Bḥdt*. *Cf.* Daressy, *ASAE* 17, 237-9.

Comments:

1 – The number of titleholders involved in direct succession is often too low for us to use the statistical results. Currently, only 11 out of 70 titles are known where the son and father have the same title.[33] So, clearly it is impossible to make meaningful statistics to propose any kind of conclusions about the transmission of functions.

2 – It is noted that some titles are borne by more than two individuals and that, at the same time, all the transmissions known for these titles are direct. To conclude, all these individuals belonged necessarily to a single family and the same title was passed on either from a father to two sons, or from a father to his son and possibly his grandson. This is the way Khnumhotep I bears the title 'overseer of the eastern deserts' (*jmy-rꜣ ḫꜣswt jꜣbtt*) in the 16th Upper Egyptian nome; he passes on this title to his son Nakht I and then to his grandson Khnumhotep II who is not Nakht I's son but his nephew.[34] Thus, the current research says that three out of four titleholders belong to the provincial family of the Oryx Nome under the reign of Senusret I. The fourth titleholder Netjernakht does not give his father's name; however, he certainly must have been a member, one way or another, of the same family because he is the owner of a nearby tomb at Beni Hasan and also bears the titles 'count' (*ḥꜣty-*ꜥ)

[33] It is about the titles *jmy-rꜣ ꜣḫwt m Tp-rsy Tꜣ-wr* [5], *jmy-rꜣ šnṯ n ḫwt-nṯr nt Jnpw* [23], *jdnw n ḥꜣty-*ꜥ *n Ṯbw* [27], *wꜥb ꜥꜣ n jmy-wrt* [31], *ḥꜣty-*ꜥ*n Mnꜥt-ḫwfw* [38], *ḥry-tp ꜥꜣ n Nḫn* [44], *ḫnw n pr-ḥḏ* [48], *sḥḏ ḥmw-nṯr tpy n Ḥr Nḫn* [56] *sḥḏ sḫwt* [57], and *sš spꜣt m grgt* [65]. The eleventh title *jmy-rꜣ mšꜥ wr n Mꜣ-ḥḏ* [11] is involved once in the direct transmission from father to son; and at the time of the transmission to his grandson, the second part of the title, *wr n Mꜣ-ḥḏ*, disappeared.

[34] Khnumhotep II is the son of Neheri and Baqet, Nakhti I's sister.

and 'overseer of priests' (*jmy-rꜣ ḥmw-nṯr*) revealing his responsibility as local ruler.[35]

3 – In very rare cases, we observe that several families present a direct transfer of title from father to son when more than two individuals are known. For instance, the title 'overseer of musicians (?)' (*jmy-rꜣ ḫnww*)[36] [21] is passed down from father to son in two different families. Thus, four out of these six titleholders presently referenced are involved in a direct succession, or more than 66%. The two other references come from the same document[37] but the genealogical analysis does not establish any family link between them, or even with the owner of the stela who, with his title 'overseer of a work-group of musicians (?)' (*jmy-rꜣ sꜣ n ḫnww*), may have been their immediate superior.

The title 'controller of the Two Thrones' (*ḫrp nsty*) [46] is, for its part, more widely present in texts of the Middle Kingdom. Indeed, we know it presently for 10 titleholders, six of which are involved in the direct transmission within three separate families (that is to say 60%). However, except for Ihy under Amenemhat I, nine *ḫrp nsty* are members of the same family of overseers of the Hare Nome (90%): Neheri I passed the title on to his son Djehutynakht V; Neheri II passed it on to his two sons Amenemhat and Djehutynakht VI and to his grandson (son of his third son Kay) Djehutyhotep II; finally, Ahanakht I, Djehutynakht II and Djehutynakht III bear the title, but we do not know if their respective fathers were previous holders.

4 – The statistical analysis of the referenced titles in large numbers shows that direct transmission is very rare: 'commander of the crew of the ruler' (*ꜣṯw n ṯt ḥqꜣ*)[38] [1] is borne by 90 titleholders but only eight of them (8.9%) are involved in the direct transmission of this title within four separate families; 'steward' (*jmy-rꜣ pr*) [6] is borne by 250 titleholders of which just 16 (12.8%) passed this title on to their sons; 'overseer of troops' (*jmy-rꜣ mšʿ*) [10] is borne by 108 titleholders of which only 15 (13.9%) are involved in the direct transmission within six distinct families; and 'great of Tens of Upper Egypt' (*wr mdw Šmʿw*) [33] is passed on directly only by 27 titleholders (12.62%) of the known 214. This percentage is even lower when we study the title 'soldier of a town regiment' (*ʿnḫ n njwt*) [28] borne by 120 titleholders, because only two of them passed this title on to their sons, which represents just 3.33%; and yet the title 'guard' (*šmsw*) [69] was passed on by two fathers to three sons, that is five titleholders of 160 known bearing this title in the Middle Kingdom.

To conclude from this series of observations provided by the analysis of the statistical table, it can be observed that the direct transmission of titles is more frequent within a single family lineage when that family is well established in an area of Egypt. This is the case in particular for the title 'overseer of the eastern deserts' (*jmy-rꜣ ḫꜣswt jꜣbtt*) borne by three generations of rulers of the 16th Upper Egyptian nome, that is to say 100% of the references presently known. The observation is almost the same for the title 'controller of the Two Thrones' (*ḫrp nsty*), as nine out of ten titleholders belong to one or more lineages of local governors of the 15th Upper Egyptian nome.

Finally, a series of 'title-roots'[39] followed by geographical information, or by the name of a divinity, suggesting a certain location, seems to confirm that direct transmission is more frequent when the titleholders are well established in a region. The following titles are good examples: 'overseer of fields of the Thinite Nome in the Head of the South' (*jmy-rꜣ ꜣḫwt m Tp-rsy Tꜣ-wr*) [5], 'chief overseer of troops in the Oryx Nome' (*jmy-r mšʿ wr n Mꜣ-ḥḏ*) [11], 'overseer of priests of Satet, mistress of Elephantine' (*jmy-rꜣ ḥmw-nṯr n Stjt nbt ꜤbW*) [19], 'overseer of the eastern deserts' (*jmy-rꜣ ḫꜣswt jꜣbtt*) [20], 'overseer of the police of the temple of Anubis' (*jmy-rꜣ šnṯ n ḥwt-nṯr nt Jnpw*) [23], 'deputy of the count of Antaeopolis' (*jdnw n ḥꜣty-ʿ n Ṯbw*) [27], 'count of Menat-Khufu' (*ḥꜣty-ʿ n Mnʿt-ḫwfw*) [38], 'great chief of the Oryx Nome' (*ḥry-tp ʿꜣ n Mꜣ-ḥḏ*) [43], 'great chief of Rural-Nome' (*ḥry-tp ʿꜣ n Nḫn*) [44] and 'chief inspector of priests of Horus of Nekhen' (*sḫḏ ḥmw-nṯr tpy n Ḥr Nḫn*) [56].

C. Which systems of transmission are used for which titles?

Except for some cases where the direct transmission of a title corresponds to the transmission of a function within a defined geographical zone, it seems that no other scheme can be actually created. The analyses of some known family lines also shows that, even if the title is not directly transmitted, some links can be advanced anyway:

[35] He is the owner of Tomb 23. *Cf.* Newberry, *Beni Hasan,* vol. II, 27-9, pl. 24. This tomb is undated, but the name of Khnumhotep II on the walls of the tomb suggests the reigns of Amenemhat II and/or Senusret II.

[36] The reading *ḫnw* seems to be incorrect. *cf.* Emerit, in Goyon, Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the ninth international congress of Egyptologists*, 655-9.

[37] It is about the stela Leiden V.78: Boeser, *Beschrijving van de egyptische Verzameling,* no. 13, pl. 14.

[38] Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt*, 97.

[39] Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir*, 246: "en préfixe, un grade, une dignité, un commandement". See also above, n. 32.

1 – The transmission of titles in several families – even if these titles are not identical– shows such strong similarities that we can say with certainty that they performed their offices in the same institutional spheres. Seven examples exist [Table 2]:

Father	Son	Document(s)
Seneb: *ꜣṯw n ṯt nt* ***pr-ḥḏ***	⇨ Ankh: *jmy-rꜣ ḫꜥw n ṯt nt* ***pr-ḥḏ***	CG 20143 (son)[a]
A[men]y: *sš wr n* ***jmy-rꜣ ḫtmt***	⇨(?) Ameny: *jmy-r pr n* ***pr-ḥḏ***	CG 20691 (father)[b]
Renseneb: *jmy-rꜣ w n* ***šnwt***	⇨ Bebi: *jmy-st-ꜥ n* ***šnwt***	CG 20742[c]
Ameny: *ꜥnḫ n* ***ṯt ḥqꜣ***	⇨ Nedjesankhiu/Iu: *ꜣṯw n* ***ṯt ḥqꜣ***	CG 20394 (son)[d]
Ameny: *jmy-rꜣ ḫnwty n* ***ḫꜣ n*** *ṯꜣty*	⇨ Sasatet: *jmy-rꜣ ḫnwty n* ***ḫꜣ n*** *jmy-rꜣ ḫtmt*	Geneva D50 (father); Louvre C5 (son)[e]
Sehetepib: *ṯsw n* ***sšw qdwt***	⇨ Iufnirsen : *jmy-r wꜥrt n* ***sšw qdwt***	CG 20309 (father); CG 20039 (son); Héqaib 47; Leiden V.116[f]
Tur(?): ***ḫmty*** *n pr-ḥḏ*	⇨ Saunet: *jmy-r wꜥrt n* ***ḫmtyw***	CG 20560 (son)[g]

[a] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine,* vol. I, 168-9.
[b] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, 318-9. A[men]y is represented together with his wife to the right of register *c*; in front of him, also with his wife, we see the 'steward of the Treasury' *(jmy-rꜣ pr n pr-ḥḏ)* Nakhti, whose possible family ties with the dedicatee are not known. On the lower register, we can read "his beloved son, steward of the Treasury Ameny". The position directly under the dedicatee suggests a relationship between both homonyms and that is why we propose this filiation.
[c] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, 373-6. The dedicatee of the stela is the 'rower of the Treasury' *(ḫnw n pr-ḥḏ)* Horurra.
[d] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, 390-1.
[e] Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pls. 3-4 [ANOC 1.7 and 1.9].
[f] Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib,* 73, pl. 123; Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 21 [ANOC 12.1-3].
[g] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. II, 192-4.

In five of seven cases, we note a progression of status from father to son defined by the rank of the title-'root': from *ꜥnḫ* to *ꜣṯw*, from *ꜣṯw* to *jmy-rꜣ*, from *ṯsw* to *jmy-rꜣ*, from the craftsman's simple title (*ḫmty*) to a rank expressing the authority over the same body of craftsmen (*jmy-rꜣ wꜥrt*) and possibly from *sš wr* to *jmy-rꜣ*.

Coincidence or not, the majority of these attestations finally involve the institution of the Treasury, either by the mention of the House of Silver *(ꜣṯw n ṯt nt pr-ḥḏ*, *jmy-r ḫꜥw n ṯt nt pr-ḥḏ*, *jmy-rꜣ pr n pr-ḥḏ*, *ḫmty n pr-ḥḏ*) or by titles with *jmy-rꜣ ḫtmt* (*sš wr n jmy-rꜣ ḫtmt*, *jmy-rꜣ ḫnwty n ḫꜣ n jmy-rꜣ ḫtmt*). In addition four titles are also involved in direct transmissions (*jmy-rꜣ pr n pr-ḥḏ*, *jmy-rꜣ prwy-ḥḏ*, *ḫnw n pr-ḥḏ* and *sš n jmy-rꜣ ḫtmt*) and it can reasonably be concluded that this institution is especially represented, even if it is not yet known why.

2 – It is noted that transmissions of titles showing similarities of rank or of title-'root' are more frequent than membership in an institution [table 3]:

Father	Son(s) and grandson(s)	Document(s)
Rediuiseni: ***ꜣṯw*** *n ṯt ḥqꜣ njwt*	⇨ Senebitef: ***ꜣṯw ꜥꜣ*** *n njwt*	Moscow I.1.a 5608 (4157) (father)[a]
Ameny: ***jmy-rꜣ ḫnwty*** *n ḫꜣ n ṯꜣty*	⇨ Sasatet: ***jmy-rꜣ ḫnwty*** *n ḫꜣ n jmy-rꜣ ḫtmt*	Geneva D50 (father); Louvre C5 (son)
Sobekhotep: ***jmy-rꜣ pr***	⇨ Nebankh: ***jmy-rꜣ pr wr***	Bolton 53.02.6/1+53.02.6/2; CG 20809; Pittsburgh Acc. 4558-3 (son)
		Abydos III, 37(6); Hammamat NIR 87; Louvre C13[b]
Bebi: ***jmy-rꜣ mšꜥ*** *n pr-nswt*	⇨ Dedusobek: ***jmy-r mšꜥ***	Leiden V.88 (father)[c]
Ameny: ***jmy-rꜣ st*** *n šnꜥ ꜥꜣ*	⇨ Imbu: ***jmy-rꜣ st*** *n ꜥbꜣ ḫt*	Tübingen 459; Oxford, Q.C. 1111 (father)[d]
Mentuhotep: ***jmy-rꜣ ṯst tpy*** *ḥr-ḥꜣt jmy-rꜣ nb n ṯst*	⇨ Intef: ***jmy-rꜣ ṯst tpy*** *n mnjw nb ꜥwyt*	BM EA 1628 (son)[e]
Snefru: ***jry-ꜥt*** *n ꜥḥ*	⇨ Hori-wah: ***jry-ꜥt*** *ꜥꜣmw*	Héqaib 69 (father)[f]
		Zagreb no. 8 (son)[g]

Father	Son(s) and grandson(s)	Document(s)
Titi: ***wdpw***	⇨ Maakheru: ***wdpw*** *n ʿt jwf*	BM EA 249 (father)[h]
	⇨ Titiankh: *jry ḥnkt*	CG 20556 and CG 20666 (son)[i]
Sobekhotep: *sḥḏ* ***sšw***	⇨ Senebef: *ṯ3w n* ***sš*** *n ṯ3ty*	Rio de Janeiro 641 [2431] (son)
	⇨(?) Urenef and X : ***sš*** *n ṯmȝ*	
X: ***sš*** *3ḫwt m-ḫnw T3-wr Ȝbḏw*	⇨(?) Imsu: *jmy-r3* ***3ḫwt*** *m Tp-rsy T3-wr,* ***sš*** *n ṯmȝ*	Leiden V.3 (Intefiqer)[j]
	⇨ Ameny: *jmy-r3* ***3ḫwt*** *m Tp-rsy T3-wr, sš n ṯmȝ* + (?) ***sš*** *3ḫwt*	
	⇨ Ameny: ***sš*** *3ḫwt*	
	⇨(?) Intefiqer:***sš*** *3ḫwt m T3-wr Ȝbḏw*	
Iymeru: ***sš*** *ʿn nswt n ḫft-ḥr* (associated with the ranking title *ḫtmty-bjty*)	⇨ Iymeru: ***sš wr*** *sḏmw rmṯ*	Berlin 7288 (father)[k]
Iy-ankh(?): ***sš wr*** *n ṯ3ty*	⇨ Iy-ankh: ***sš*** *n ḫnrt wr*	Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Cat. no.16 (father)[l]
	⇨ Hotep: ***sš*** *n […]*	
	⇨ Senebsumai: ***sš*** *n ḫnrt wr*	
	⇨ Senebef: ***sš*** *n jmy-r ḫtmt*	
Dedusobek: ***sš*** *wḏwt*	⇨ Dedusobek: ***sš*** *qdwt*	CG 20059 and CG 20596 (father)[m]
Deduamen Resseneb: ***sš*** *n ṯmȝ*	⇨ Neferhotep: ***sš*** *ḥry ḫtm n wʿrt Tp-rsy*	CG 20056, CG 20240 and CG 20246; Héqaib 53 (son)[n]
	⇨ Khonsuhotep: ***sš*** *n pr-ḥḏ*	
	⇨ Ashaseneb: ***sš*** *n mšʿ*	
Senbi: ***šmsw***	⇨ Rediuiseni: *ȝṯw n ṯt ḥqȝ*	Moscow I.1.a 5608 (4157) (son)
	⇨ Ibia: *sḥḏ* ***šmsw***	
	⇨ Senebitef: *ȝṯw ʿȝ n njwt*	
	⇨ Senebi: *s3b r(3) Nḫn*	

[a] Hodjash, Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae*, 84-6, no. 38.
[b] Thomas, in Ruffle, Gaballa, Kitchen (eds.), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 20-2; Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos. Part II*, 115, no. 12, fig. 72, pl. 15; 117, fig. 80; Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres*, 101-2; Spalinger, *RdE* 32, 95-116, pl. 8; Peet, Loat, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, 37(6), fig. 18.
[c] Boeser, *Beschrijving van de egyptische Verzameling*, no. 11, pl. 10.
[d] Brunner-Traut, Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, 85-6, pl. 55; Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 84 [ANOC 63.1-2].
[e] Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts British Museum*, vol. V, pl. 1; Franke, *JEA* 93, 149-74, pl. 6.
[f] Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, 93.
[g] Monnet-Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, 22-3. Hori-wah bears also the title *jmy-r3 st n jmy-r3 ḫtmt* on stela Roanne 163, the 'overseer of sealed items' Senebsumai being also named. We may suppose that this second title was later obtained in the rank of *jry-ʿt*. *Cf.* Gabolde (ed.), *Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée Joseph Déchelette*, 35-8.
[h] Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts British Museum*, vol. III, pl. 20.
[i] Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 68 [ANOC 50.1-2].
[j] Boeser, *Beschrijving van de egyptische Verzameling*, no. 3, pl. 2. The genealogical relationships are not definitively established; therefore the proposal of the transmission of the titles concerned by the various members of the family line for at least four generations remains hypothetical.
[k] Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften Berlin*, 201; Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, pl. 6.
[l] Ledrain, *Les monuments égyptiens*, pl. 8.
[m] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. I, 73-4; vol. II, 235-6.
[n] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, 66-8, 262-3, 268-9; Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, 80-1.

Even when the title's root is identical, we can note sometimes the expression of a progression of the rank from the father to his son. For instance, Rediuiseni is only *ꜣṯw* when his son Senebitef becomes *ꜣṯw ʿꜣ*; Nebankh bears the title *jmy-rꜣ pr wr* when his father was just *jmy-rꜣ pr*[40] and Iymeru is simply 'scribe' (*sš*) when his homonymous son becomes 'chief scribe' (*sš wr*).

The case of the 'chief scribe of the vizier' (*sš wr n ṯꜣty*) Iy-ankh is a little different. Indeed, each of his sons bears a title in relation to the vizier's function, but in a lower rank (*sš* instead of *sš wr*). Here the hypothesis can be made that Iy-ankh's sons had perhaps not yet reached the peak of their careers when this stela was made.[41] The phenomenon is maybe similar on stela CG 20185 when Tetimsaf-wer, who bears the title 'chief lector' (*ḥry-tp ḥry-ḥbt*), gives the names and titles of his two sons Tetimsaf-sheri(?), who is only *ḥry-ḥbt smsw/wr n ḏbꜣt*, and Khui-en-beshet, *ḥry-ḥbt jmy rnpt*.

Finally, two of these examples could also be interpreted as direct transmissions of titles, although we do not find as before that both titles are quoted in their mutual inscriptions. Firstly, there is the matter of Titi and his son Maakheru. The father is *wdpw* only on stela BM EA 249; his other titles are hierarchically higher and more are certainly later (*šmsw nswt*, *jmy-rꜣ ḫtmty-yw*, *jmy-rꜣ ʿḥnwty n kꜣp*, and *jmy-rꜣ pr wr*) appearing only on the seven other monuments which are dedicated to him. As for the son, he bears the title *wdpw*, with the addition of *n ʿt jwf*, 'of the meat pantry'. It is in fact the same function in both cases: the location in which they exercise their offices is given by the son but not by his father. Titi's second son confirms the implication of this family in the management of goods as he bears the title *jry ḥnkt* 'keeper of linen (or 'incoming goods')'.[42] Finally, we can adapt this observation to Bebi's family: Bebi is known as *jmy-rꜣ mšʿ n pr-nswt* on stela Leiden V.88 but he proposes only the short title *jmy-rꜣ mšʿ* for his son on the same document.

Conclusion

In the first part of this study, four precise mentions of transmission of titles or functions were chosen, which follow three important schemes.

The first example (Khnumhotep I, Nakht I and Khnumhotep II of Beni Hasan) combines the mentions of the transmission of a function during three generations and marks in this way a certain shape of political stability in a precise administrative region, meaning the 16th Upper Egyptian nome, between the reigns of Amenemhat I and Senusret II. A second plan emerges from the second example (Amenemhat from the 16th Upper Egyptian nome under Senusret I) and the third example (Mentuhotep's son, Ameny) with the expression of a transmission of responsibilities within the framework of official missions (military campaigns in Nubia or expeditions to the quarries of Wadi Hammamat and on the banks of the Red Sea at Wadi Gawasis). Amenemhat's example ends with his obtaining the function of an official in charge of the Oryx Nome. However, the precise modalities of this conquest are not known. Lastly, the fourth example (Wepwawet-aa) insists more particularly on the transmission of an ancestral inheritance emanating from his forefathers rather than directly from his parent whose role Wepwawet-aa does not even indicate.

A common denominator exists, however, for all these high officials of the beginning of the Middle Kingdom: their inheritance, regardless of the type (material or social), always seems submitted to a royal appointment and confirmed by the promulgation of a royal decree (*wḏt*).

Now it remains to be determined if the absence of the mention of the transmission of a function means it really did not occur. The analysis of lineages of the local governors of the 15th Upper Egyptian nome seems to bring a clear answer to this question. Indeed, even if we are not yet able to confirm the order of succession of the leaders of this region at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, it is obvious that all belonged to only one big family, or to two branches of the same family, or perhaps to two close families.[43] None of the inscriptions from the Deir el-Bersheh necropolis nor inscriptions preserved on the walls of the alabaster quarries at Hatnub speak of a transmission of the nomarch's office from father to son following a royal appointment. In fact, it seems likely that the necessity of mentioning the direct succession between the father and his son(s) at the head of the 15th Upper Egyptian nome was not considered obligatory, this succession being self-evident. It is thought to be made clear by the juxtaposition of the names of the holders of the office in the biographical inscriptions, on at least two generations and up to four generations.[44] This phenomenon seems to be confirmed by the knowledge of at least two indications of a direct filiation between two

[40] Nebankh also bears several ranking titles (*jry-pʿt ḥꜣty-ʿ*, *ḫtmty-bjty*, *smr-wʿty* and *rḫ nswt*), which his father did not seem to bear.

[41] Stela Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 16: Iy-ankh is one of the two dedicatees of the offering on the monument, with the *sš n jmy-rꜣ ḫtmt* named Unnennefer, to whom he does not seem to be related.

[42] *Cf.* Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 72-3.

[43] See in particular the studies of Willems, *JEOL* 28, 80-102 and esp. 89, fig. 11; Willems, *Les Textes des sarcophages et la démocratie*, 87-90; and Willems, *Dayr al-Barshā*, 83-113.

[44] For example, *Kꜣy Ḏḥwty-nḫt Nḥrj ʿnḫ ḏt* (graffito 16), *Kꜣy Ḏḥwty-nḫt, Nḥrj Ḏḥwty-nḫt ʿnḫ ḏt* (graffito 17), and so on.

nomarchs: Neheri I and his son Djehutynakht V clearly tell that they were *sꜣ ḥqꜣ n Wnt* 'son of a prince of the Hare Nome'.[45] Contrary to the nearby Oryx Nome, the political stability in the 15th Upper Egyptian nome implies that explicit mentions of direct transmissions of office from one generation to the next in the nomarch's autobiographies were probably not required. It can then be imagined that, in the case of these high provincial officials, direct transmission was standard. In certain inscriptions, transmissions were compulsory; this fact invites the idea that there could have been a disruptive element making it necessary to compose a text to re-normalise this standard procedure.

It is however advisable to know if this plan developed for the local governors can be applied to all classes of Egyptian society, and primarily to the high officials attached to the central administration.

In the elite, several high-ranking officials left biographical inscriptions on the walls of their tombs or on stelae found at Abydos or in an expeditionary context. The first is the vizier Intefiqer who fulfilled his functions during the reigns of Amenemhat I and Senusret I. Seen in at least eight documents,[46] Intefiqer remains very discreet about the members of his family. We know his mother was Senet and his wife was Satsasobek. With her he possibly had a son, also named Intefiqer,[47] but for whom no ranking title or function title currently exists in the available documentation. Finally, it is also supposed that the vizier had a second wife named Senet, begotten of Dui.[48]

Another member of the elite under Senusret I left an important mark in the history of this reign, namely the general-in-chief Nesumontu who was active at the beginning of the reign. Attested in four major documents,[49] the general-in-chief provides on several occasions a narrative of his military achievements, but does not appear to grant so much importance to the transmission of his functions to a possible descendant. The genealogical analyses previously stated conclude that Nesumontu may have married someone called Menekhet, 'priestess of Hathor' (*ḥmt-nṯr Ḥwt-ḥr*), who previously had been married to a certain Hor, Mery's father, who bears the title *ḫtmw ḫry-ꜥ* on the stela Louvre C3.[50]

Finally, we have selected three examples dated from the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. The first is called Buau under Mentuhotep II. His coffin from Deir el-Bahari (CG 28027)[51] presents his complete title string: 'sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt' (*ḫtmty-bjty*), 'sole friend' (*smr-wꜥty*), 'steward in the entire land' (*jmy-rꜣ pr* and *jmy-rꜣ pr m tꜣ r-ḏr.f*), 'overseer of the double granary' (*jmy-rꜣ šnwty*), 'overseer of the double house of silver' (*jmy-rꜣ prwy-ḥḍ*), 'overseer of every census in Upper and Lower Egypt' (*jmy-rꜣ jpt nbt m Šmꜥw Tꜣ-mḥw*) and 'overseer of Horned, Hoofed, Feathered and Scaled Animals' (*jmy-rꜣ ꜥbw wḥmw šww nšmwt*). In spite of the quality of his position and the tasks he was in charge of carrying out, Buau does not supply any genealogical information. The second high-ranking official Iykherneferet fulfilled his functions during the reigns of Senusret III and Amenemhat III.[52] The observation is identical: in spite of bearing numerous high quality titles among which we find 'hereditary prince and count' (*jry-pꜥt* and *jry-pꜥt ḥꜣty-ꜥ*), 'sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt' (*ḫtmty-bjty*) and 'sole friend' (*smr-wꜥty*), 'overseer of sealed items' (*jmy-rꜣ ḫtmt*), 'overseer of all royal property' (*jmy-rꜣ ḫt nbt nt nswt*), 'chief of the entire land' (*ḥry-tp n tꜣ r-ḏr.f*), and even 'overseer of all deserts' (*jmy-rꜣ ḫꜣswt nbwt*), neither of his two listed sons 'inherited' a title borne by the father or even a title in connection with one of the institutions in which he practiced his numerous activities.[53] Finally, Senebsumai, who lived before the reign of Neferhotep Khasekhemre, owned numerous monuments[54] on which he supplies

[45] Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Gr. 16: 35-8, pl. 16 and Gr. 17: 38-41, pl. 16.

[46] Lisht, pyramid complex of Amenemhat I, mastaba No. 400 (Gautier, Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, 97-9, figs. 115-21); Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, TT60 (Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*); pReisner II, letter 3 (Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II*, pl. 7A, 8A, 10A); El-Girgawi, RILN 10A and 73 (Žaba, *The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia*, 39-43, 98-109, fig. 150-5): Wadi el-Hudi, stela no. 8 (Assuan 1473) (Fakhry, *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries*, pl. 10, fig. 21); Wadi Gawasis, stela of the herald Imeny (Sayed, *RdE* 29, 169-73, pl. 16b).

[47] He is the owner of the execration texts JE 65955 and 65956. *cf*. Posener, *Cinq figurines d'envoûtement*, 55 and Posener, in Baines *et al.* (eds.)*, Pyramid Studies*, 77.

[48] See the comments developed by Obsomer, *Sésostris Ier*, 167-70 on this subject.

[49] Stela Louvre C1 (Barbotin, *La Voix des hiéroglyphes*, 142-4); stela Berlin ÄGM 26/66 (Satzinger, *MDAIK* 25, 121-30, pl. 3b); block statue Munich, private collection (Wildung, *MDAIK* 37, 503-7, pls. 83-6) and probably the statue Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum E 16.1969 (Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 31-2, no. 21).

[50] See the summary given by Obsomer, *Sésostris Ier*, 79-80.

[51] Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, vol. II, 66-73.

[52] Stela Berlin 1204 (Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften Berlin*, 169-75); stelae CG 20038, CG 20140, CG 20310, CG 20683 (Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine,* vol. I, 46-8; 165-6; 322; vol. II; 310-1); stela Geneva D50 (Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 4) and stela BM EA 202 (Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts British Museum*, vol. III, pl. 2).

[53] The members of Iykherneferet's family are: Satkhonsou (mother), the 'deputy of the overseer of sealed items' (*jdnw n jmy-rꜣ ḫtmt*) Imeny (brother), Iykherneferet and Sasatet (sons).

[54] Stelae BM EA 215 and 252, stelae CG 20075, CG 20334,

only the names of his ancestors from two generations: his paternal grandmother, Henut and maternal grandmother, Isnebumenuun; his father, Wpwawt-hotep and his mother, Ser(u)khib; and possibly a sister, Henut. No known child bore his ranking titles of 'hereditary prince and count' (*jry-pʿt ḥ3ty-ʿ*), 'sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt' (*ḫtmty-bjty*) and 'sole friend' (*smr-wʿty*), and retained his offices of 'high steward' (*jmy-r3 pr wr*) and 'overseer of sealed items' (*jmy-r3 ḫtmt*).

These few examples cannot prove that the direct transmission of offices was not systematic in the sphere of the central administration throughout the Middle Kingdom. However, the recurrence of similar conclusions, that is to say the absence of any mention of the transmission of ranking titles and above all of function titles, allows the supposition of this fact. It is known that the process of royal appointment also existed for the highest officials of the central administration. Thus, the vizier Intefiqer writes in tomb TT 60: "my lord appointed me in front of all dignitaries as […] in the entire land, inasmuch as he liked me very much, (inasmuch as) I was doing what the lord asked who praised me" (*dj.n wj nb.j m-ḫ3t sʿḥw nb(w) m […] n t3 r-ḏr.f n-ʿ3t-n mrr.f wj wr jrr.j dbḥt(?) nb ḥs w(j)*),[55] and the general-in-chief Nesumontu indicates on stela Louvre C1, l.7-8: "He caused me to accede to this office because of the excellence of (my) ideas in his mind" (*rdj.n.f h3y.j r j3t tn n jqr n sḫr(.j) m jb.f*). However, this royal appointment is never associated with the inheritance of the function: these high officials do not indicate that they inherited these posts from their fathers nor do they indicate that they passed them on after their death. The same is true for the other three examples. The reason of this non-transmission, if reason exists, is not known. However, the analysis of Intefiqer's lineage can suggest an answer. Several indications invite us to think that damage was done with the intention of removing the name of the vizier: the majority of the artistic representations of Intefiqer underwent some destruction in the tomb of Senet (TT 60). In addition, there exists an execration text indicating a deceased Intefiqer, begotten of Satsasobek and Intefiqer. The presence of the vizier's son in this kind of text means that he was the object of discrimination, as the image of the father was the target of damage. G. Posener poses a series of questions on this matter: "*Ou serait-ce justement son importance, jugée à la longue excessive en haut lieu et ayant provoqué des conflits, qui aurait entraîné son élimination*" and "*sa destitution se serait-elle répercutée sur Antefoqer junior? Ou à l'inverse est-ce la conduite de ce dernier qui aurait rejailli sur la situation du vizir?*".[56] The absence of transmission of status or an office obviously brings an additional development to the file even if we are not able to establish a satisfactory conclusion. Moreover, these remarks about a possible disgrace of the vizier Intefiqer reflecting badly on his descendant cannot be generalised to the other proposed examples. It is simply concluded that the royal appointment was totally personal and that the sons did not inherit automatically the status of their fathers; we can even think that the elevated status reached by certain high officials of the central administration was actually too high and harmed the family interest inasmuch as, being considered too influential, they would eventually have been pushed aside at one time or another.

At a lower level of Egyptian society, one can lastly observe that the direct transmission of a function is not widespread because only 5.26% of the 1,331 selected titles are involved. Furthermore, in the great majority of cases, the number of attestations is far too low to make statistical conclusions. And, the direct transmission is rare even where the title is sufficiently referenced. In fact, it seems that a title passed on from father to son in approximately 3% of the cases proves simply that the transmission could not have been systematic (for instance, *ʿnḫ n njwt* listed 120 times and *šmsw* listed 160 times). Some families with enough influence are allowed to preserve an administrative, religious or military office. It seems to be the case, for instance, for a family of Edfu, which managed to keep the responsibility related to the title 'lector-priest' (*ḫry-ḥbt*) [49], and its long versions *ḫry-ḥbt n Ḥr Bḥdt*, *ḫry-ḥbt tpy* and *ḫry-ḥbt tpy n Ḥr Bḥdt* [51] during four generations. This example gives further proof when combined with various testimonies left by local nomarchs of the 16th Upper Egyptian nome –and in particular the analysis of their title 'overseer of the western deserts'–,[57] or those of the 15th Upper Egyptian nome – and their title 'overseer of the Two Thrones'.[58]

To sum up, surely in the highest strata of Egyptian society, a distinction must be observed between the local administration and the central administration. In the provinces, the office of local governor is hereditary but can always be cancelled by the king. On the contrary, in the central administration, the royal appointment is always personal but the office is not hereditary. Finally, this is true at all levels of society: the more a family is fixed in an area, or an institution, the more systematically the titles are transmitted to sons and grandsons.

CG 20459 and CG 20718, statues Leiden 1963/8.32, stela Leiden V.106, stela Pittsburgh Acc. 2983-6701, stela Roanne 163, stela St. Petersburg 1084, stela Turin Cat. Suppl. 1298, papyrus Kahun UC 32104, and several seals. See Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, 12-20.

[55] Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, pls. 9-10.

[56] Posener, in Baines *et al.* (eds.), *Pyramid Studies*, 77.

[57] Khnumhotep I, Nakht I, Khnumhotep II and Ameny. See Table 1, example [20].

[58] Djehutynakht II, Djehutynakht III, Neheri I, Ahanakht I, Djehutynakht V, Amenemhat, Djehutynakht VI, Neheri II and Djehutyhotep II. See Table 1, example [46].

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The stela of the Thirteenth Dynasty treasurer Senebsumai, Turin Cat. S. 1303

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Abstract

This is the publication of stela Turin Cat. S. 1303. The stela belongs to the treasurer Senebsumai and is dedicated to him by the 'master of the house for the palace' Khentikhety-hotep, an official not yet known from other sources. The stela adds another monument to the high number of objects known from the most important Thirteenth Dynasty treasurer.

Object: Stela (Fig. 1)
Location: Egyptian Museum, Turin, inv. no. S. 1303 (previously quoted in literature as S. 1298). While the number 1298 is actually written on the stela itself (see Fig. 8), nonetheless today under the inventory number S. 1298 is recorded another object.
Material/measurements: limestone, h. 42 x w. 17 cm
Owner: Khentkhety-hetep
Main person: Senebsumai
Date: Thirteenth Dynasty, about Sobekhotep II to Neferhotep I
Provenance/acquisition: the stela was purchased by Schiaparelli in Egypt in 1900-1901.
Condition: The surface on the right side of the stela is very badly worn in many points; this makes part of the inscription on that side difficult to read. The erosion starts at the top and goes down to the bottom, while the worn area becomes broader to the bottom of the stela. Often only shapeless contours of figures and hieroglyphs remain.[1]

Description

A round top stela with carved decoration and inscription, delimited by an incised border line.

The lunette is decorated with two *wedjat*-eyes and a *shen*-ring in the middle. To the left and right sides of the *wedjat*-eyes there are respectively the sign of the East (*i3bt*) and of the West (*imnt*) with a protruding arm making offerings to the eyes.

The main field is divided into three registers. In the first register, Senebsumai is sitting on a chair with leonine legs, high drums, and short backrest. He wears a shoulder-length wig that leaves his ear uncovered, a collar, and a long kilt. The right hand is extended forward above his knees, the palm facing down. The left hand, held against the breast, clutches a piece of cloth, in the same way as all the other individuals of the lower registers are represented. In front of the seated figure is a table of offerings with nine elongated loaves depicted upright. On the top of the table is represented a tray with three sealed jars of unguent (two cylindrical *mrḥt*-type on the sides; one convex at the center). To the right of the table, other offerings are depicted on a tray (possibly some round loaves and, above, a bundle of onions). Below these offerings there are some tall items, not clearly visible, perhaps vessels on stands and/or lettuce.[2] On the right end of the first register, stands the owner of the stela, Khentkhety-hetep, facing left. He has short-cropped hair and wears a long kilt secured by a knot. His right arm is bent and raised forward, with the hand stretched out and the palm up. His left arm hangs down. Eleven vertical lines of inscription –divided by incised lines– are carved above the whole scene of the first register.

Below the first register there are two registers of roughly equal size, each one divided into three compartments, showing men (upper row) and women (lower row) in the same position: seated with one knee raised, the left arm bent and the hand held against the chest, clutching a piece of cloth, the right arm is stretched downward

[1] We are indebted with the Egyptian Museum, Turin for the kind permission to publish this piece. We are grateful to Danijela Stefanović for help with some readings, especially with names, and to Simon Connor for providing us with further information on the stela.

[2] As in Vienna ÄS 110, Hein, Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. I, 4, 26.

Fig. 1 – Stele of Senebsumai, Egyptian Museum Turin, S 1303. Photo G. Miniaci © Museo Egizio, Torino

Fig. 2 – Stele of Senebsumai, Egyptian Museum Turin, S 1303. Drawing Wolfram Grajetzki

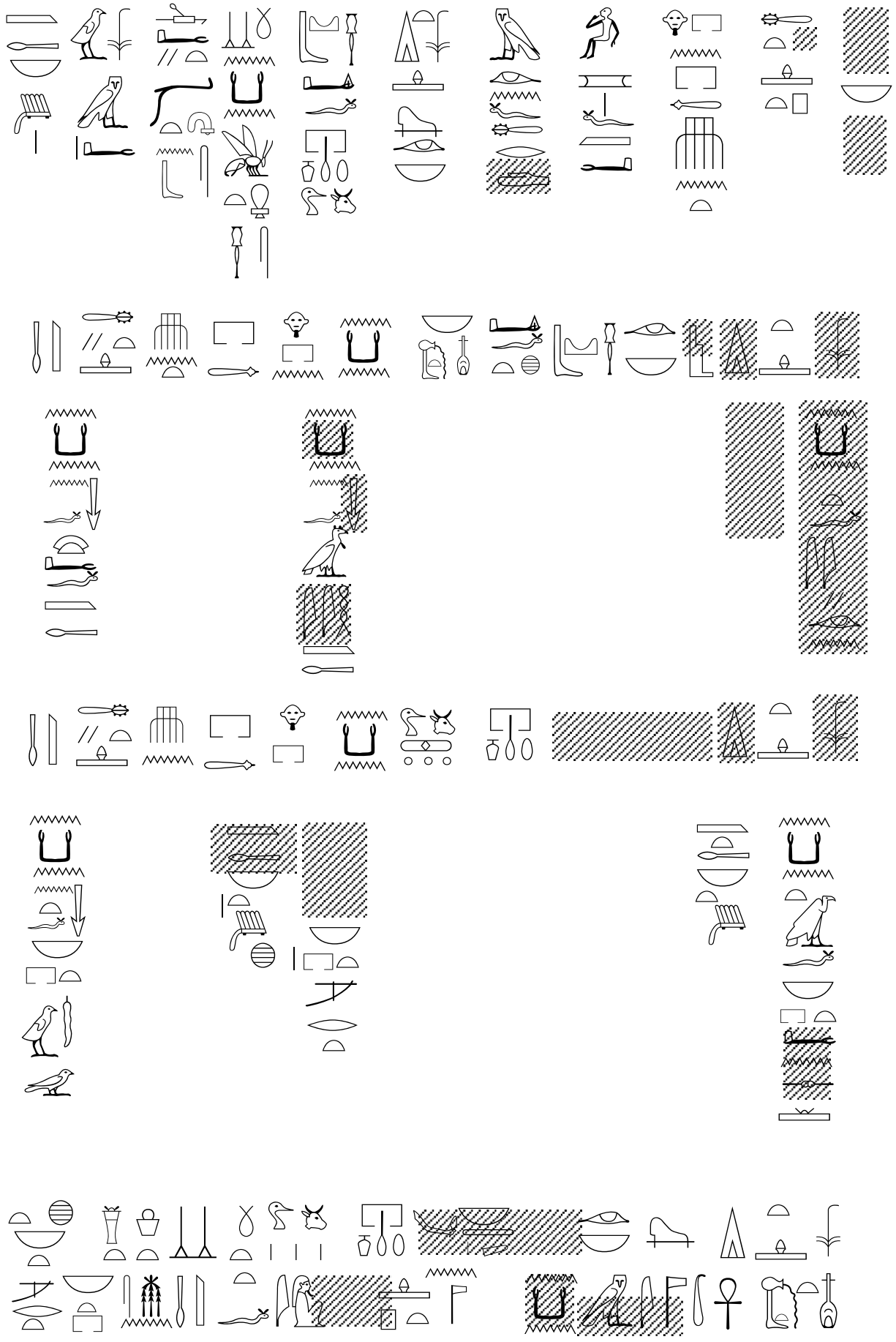

Fig. 3 – Stele of Senebsumai, Egyptian Museum Turin, S 1303. Hieroglyphic text by Wolfram Grajetzki

with the hand held just above the upright knee. Above the rows of men and women there is a horizontal line of hieroglyphs, bearing a *ḥtp-di-nswt* formula. In front of each individual is a vertical line of inscription containing the name.

Two lines of hieroglyphs with a *ḥtp-di-nswt* formula run below the base-line of the lower register.

Transliteration and translation:

First Register

ḥtp di nswt Wsir nb ȝbḏw di=f prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt iḫw ȝpdw šs mnḫt n kȝ n ḫmty bity smr wʿty imy-r ḫtmt Snb-sw-m-ʿ(.i) mȝʿ-ḫrw nb imȝḫ

A king's offering given to Osiris, lord of Abydos, may he give a voice offering consisting of beer, bread, cattle, goose, alabaster and garments, for the *ka* of the royal sealer, sole friend,[a] treasurer, Senebsumai,[b] true of voice, lord of provisions.

m ir n=f ḫrd mry=f mȝʿ ḥry-pr n pr-ʿȝ Ḫnti-ḫty-ḥtp [...] *nb imȝḫ*

As made for him by his truly beloved child,[c] the master of the house for the palace,[d] Khentikhety-hetep[e]

Second Register
Horizontal line:

[*ḥtp di nswt*] *Wsir nb ȝbḏw di=f ḫt nb<.t> nfr<.t> wʿb.t n kȝ n ḥry-pr n pr-ʿȝ Ḫnti-ḫty-ḥtp mȝʿ-ḫrw*

[A king's offering given to] Osiris, lord of Abydos, may he give all pure things for the *ka* of the master of the house for the palace, Khentkhety-hetep, true of voice

Vertical columns:

1. n kȝ n it=f ...ii (?) [... *ir.n ?* ...]

1. [For the *ka* of] his father[f] ... y (?),[g] [... begotten of ?...] (Fig. 4)

2. [*n kȝ n sn=f*] *Nḥy* (?)

2. [For the *ka* of his brother] Nehy (?),[h] true of voice (Fig. 5)

3. n kȝ n sn=f Ḫʿi.f mȝʿ-ḫrw

3. For the *ka* of his brother Khaef,[i] true of voice

Third Register
Horizontal line:

ḥtp di nswt […] *prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt iḫw ȝpdw n kȝ n ḫri-pr <n> pr-ʿȝ Ḫnti-ḫty-ḥtp*

A king's offering for […] consisting of a voice offering of bread, beer, cattle and goose, for the *ka* of the master <of> the house for the palace, Khentikhety-hetep

Vertical columns:

1. n kȝ n mw.t=f nb.t pr […] *ʿn.s mȝʿ.t-ḫrw nb.t imȝḫ*

1. For the *ka* of his mother, the lady of the house […][j], true of voice, lady of provisions (Fig. 6)

2. [*n kȝ n …*] *nb.t pr Mr.t mȝʿ.t-ḫrw nb imȝḫ*

2. [For the *ka* of] [...] the lady of the house, Meret,[k] true of voice, lady of provisions (Fig. 7)

3. n kȝ n sn.t=f nb.t pr Nḏm-šry ?

3. For the *ka* of his sister, the lady of the house Nedjem-shrey (?)[l]

Lower Horizontal Lines (Fig. 8):

ḥtp di nswt Wsir nb […] *nb tȝ ḏsr prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt iḫw ȝpdw šs mnḫt snṯr mrḥt ḫt nb.t nfr.t wʿb.t ʿnḫ*[*.t*] *nṯr im* […] *nṯr ḥtp* […] *Iti* (?) *mȝʿ ḫrw ms n nb.t pr Mr.t*

A king's offering for Osiris, lord […], lord of the sacred land, a voice offering consisting of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, cloth, incense, oil and all good and pure things on which a god lives […] god's offering [...] Iti (?),[m] true of voice, born of the lady of the house Meret[k]

Textual notes:

(a) *smr wʿty*. The treasurer is the only official of the Thirteenth Dynasty bearing regularly the ranking title 'sole friend' (Quirke, *Administration*, 69, n. 23) .
(b) *Śnbswmʿi*. Ranke, *PN* I, 312, 21. On this official, see Grajetzki, *Two treasurers*, 21-5.
(c) *ir n.f ḫrd.f mry.f*. Khentikhety-hotep labelled himself as child (*ḫrd.f*) of Senebsumai. The expression *ir n.f ḫrd.f mry.f* is attested in other two stela mentioning Senebsumai (stelae Roanne 163 and BM EA 215, see list below). However, such an expression, frequent in stelae of Thirteenth Dynasty, might refer to a position of subordination, see Franke, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 304 ff. Берлев, in Кацнельсон (ed.), *Древний Египет*, 11-14; Берлев, *Общественные отношения*, 49, 210, 317; Schmitz, *ZÄS* 108, 53-60; Grajetzki, *Two Treasures*, 74. Accordingly, Khentikhety-hotep could have been one of the officials employed under Senebsumai in the royal palace.
(d) *ḥry-pr n pr-ʿȝ*. The title was reserved for staff of the royal palace, see Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 47; Franke, Marée (ed.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, vol. I/1, 47 (5a, 9a, 18); Grajetzki, *Two treasurers*, 48; Берлев,

Общественные отношения, 129-34, 150-61; list of title holders on p. 133 (no *Ḫnti-ḫty-ḥtp* among them).
(e) *Ḫnti-ḫti-ḥtp*. Ranke, *PN* I, 273, 1.
(f) The signs of this column are hardly detectable. A '*t*', and a '*f*' signs seem to be visible. Since in the lower register at the first position, 'his mother' is mentioned, by analogy, here it is possible to assume that the group belongs to the words 'his father'.
(g) ...*ii* (?). The reading 'his father' is more a guess. The name of the person ends with *ii*; there are two long signs (Gardiner M17?) and two strokes (Gardiner Z4).
(h) *Nḥy* (?). The name starts with a bird and there are the remains of three long signs. This could be Nehy (Ranke, *PN*, 207, 19), a popular name in the Thirteenth Dynasty. The three long signs look like (from the right) a '*ḥ*' followed by two reeds.
(i) *Ḫ^{c}i.f*. Not in Ranke, *PN*.
(j) The name of the mother is hard to read. There are three horizontal lines visible, perhaps to read *ꜥn.s* (not in Ranke, *PN* , but compare Ranke, *PN,* 61, 7; 62, 13).
(k) *Mr.t*. Ranke, *PN* I, 158, 13.
(l) *nḏm-šry*. Not in Ranke, *PN,* but compare Ranke, *PN,* 216, 4-6. The name is partly destroyed. The first sign is perhaps *nḏm* (Gardiner M29), while the next sign is a bird, perhaps a '*w*'. The last sign is again a bird.
(m) *Ỉtỉ* (?). Ranke, *PN* I, 15, 13.

Fig. 4 – Detail of the first row of persons, first figure

Fig. 5 – Detail of the first row of persons, second figure

Fig. 6 – Detail of the second row of persons, first figure

Fig. 7 – Detail of the second row of persons, second figure

Fig. 8 – (below) Detail of the last two horizontal lines

Style

The stela belongs to a group with similar composition in the uppermost section, all showing two *wedjat*-eyes, a *shen*-ring in the middle, and the east and west sign making offerings to the eyes: CG 20147 (Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 32, ANOC 22.2), CG 20614 (Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denkstein*, vol. II, 253-55), Leyden AP.42 (Boeser, *Beschreibung*, vol. II, 10 [35], pl. 25 [35]), Leyden AP.35 (Boeser, *Beschreibung*, II, 8 [24], pl. 23 [24]). The Turin stela is especially close in style to Chicago Field Museum of Natural History no. 31647 (Allen, *Egyptian Stelae in Field Museum of Natural History*, 24-5, pl. 8), Zagreb no. 4 (Monnet Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, 15), and Roanne 163.[3] These four stelae share a certain number of features, but the main point of contact is given by the west and east signs with offering arms in the roundel. At least three of them belong to people related to Senebsumai; stelae Roanne 1623 and Turin S. 1303 directly represent the figure of Senebsumai, while the stela in Chicago belongs to the 'cupbearer' Iauemnut, also most likely part of the staff of the treasurer.[4] These three stela might even have been commissioned on the same occasion. The Zagreb stela is executed in a similar style, but there are no visible connections with the people on the other stelae.

Comment

The Turin stela belongs to a group of stelae showing on one side a higher official and in front of him a serving official. In these registers below the main scene six people are represented, most likely members of Khentikhety-hotep's family. Many of these stelae seem to have been set up in pairs. On one stela the serving official appears in front of the official, while the other stela of the pair shows the serving official as main person. Also several stelae that are decorated on both sides might be listed under such a type of stela. The front side is dedicated to a high official; the back side is mainly dedicated to the serving official.[5]

The stela was set up by Khentkhety-hetep, who was part of the entourage of the treasurer Senebsumai. Although he labelled himself as one of 'his children', the expression *ir n.f ḫrd.f mry.f* is regularly employed to indicate subordination in a working relation and transmits the 'sacral' relationship of father and son onto a master/servant dependence, as in the specific case of Senebsumai and Khentkhety-hetep. In this context the expression 'his child' seems to announce that Khentkhety-hetep was brought up in the house of Senebsumai, but clearly he was not one of his children.[6] Khentkhety-hetep was clearly a palace official on a middle level, mainly working within the domestic parts of the royal palace.[7] However, it seems that he grew up in the house of Senebsumai, a high official and was from there placed into the palace administration. This might show how much private households and palace administration were intermingled.

People on the stela:

The main owner of the monument is the 'master of the house for the palace' Khentikhety-hotep.[8] Khentikhety-hotep was most likely part of the entourage of Senebsumai, but to our best knowledge he seems not to be known from any other monument. Khentikhety-hotep appears three times on the stela, mentioned and represented in the top of the stela, and in the two offering formulae that head the two registers below. Detlef Franke noted that several of the lower officials in front of a higher one played the role of a *sem*-priest, a role that was normally

[3] For a more detailed stylistic comparison, see Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, 64-5.

[4] Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 128, fig. 50.

[5] Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, 69-70.

[6] Franke, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 304-8.

[7] Берлев, *Общественные отношения*, 132-58, Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 46-7.

[8] Берлев, *Общественные отношения*, 133 (list of title holders).

performed by a real son. He argues that their daily service at work was "transformed and displayed for eternity in a ritual role".[9] The officials in these scenes wear a leopard skin, best visible from the tail hanging down from the figure of the official and hold in his hand.[10] However, the figure of Khentikhety-hotep on the Turin stela is too much destroyed to confirm whether he was also holding a tail. The question must remain open whether Khentikhety-hotep appears here as *sem*-priest.

Senebsumai[11] is one of the best attested officials of the Thirteenth Dynasty and he is the official with the highest numbers of Abydos stelae known. He started his career as 'high steward' and was later appointed 'treasurer'. Two stelae and a statue attest him as 'high steward'. The statue comes perhaps from Ballas. In the Petrie Notebooks of Ballas there is a copy of the inscription of the statue[12] (Fig. 9). Eight stelae from Abydos were dedicated to the 'treasurer' Senebsumai from his subordinates and two dedicated by high-ranking officials (see Franke, Marée (ed.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, vol. I/1, 50). Other monuments of Senebsumai were found all around Egypt. They include a bronze statue[13] –perhaps from Hawara– and an inscribed fragment from Dahshur, most likely from his tomb. He is mentioned in papyri found at Lahun,[14] and he is known in more than forty seals and sealings.[15]

Fig. 9 – Copy of inscription in Petrie's Ballas notebook

Chronological and topographical settings:
Due to the presence of the well-known treasurer Senebsumai, the stela may be dated with certainty to the mid Thirteenth Dynasty. Although none of the documents known for Senebsumai are clearly linked with a king's reign, nonetheless he was contemporary of Resseneb and Iymeru, the sons of the vizier Ankhu; therefore, Senebsumai should have been in office during the time of about Sobekhotep II to Neferhotep I.

The provenance of the stela is unknown, although in several occasions the stela has been related with Abydos, sometimes also mentioned as the probable find spot. This might have been occurred because other stelae quoting Senebsumai come from Abydos. However, it must be ackowledged that on 12 occurrences of Senebsumai on stelae, only for two of them the find place can be precisely assessed (CG 20334 and CG 20718, Abydos). The other stelae remain unprovenanced, as the Turin S. 1303. The new discoveries by Josef Wegner in Abydos South shed new light on the site under the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty.[16] There is now good evidence that Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV were buried here.[17] Evidently, many officials must have been at Abydos for building work at the royal burial complex. It seems also likely that some of them were buried at Abydos, as for instance –with all probability– the 'overseer of fields' Dedtu. Blocks of a chapel were found in Abydos and most likely they belong to a tomb of that official at this place.[18]

In this context, Abydos appears as the most likely find spot form many of the stela belonging to Senbsumai, but not the only possible one. Senebsumai, in fact, was most likely buried at Dahshur, because an inscription with his titles and names were recorded there.[19] As suggested by W. K. Simpson[20] and Detlef Franke, Senebsumai could have created at Abydos an offering chapel for his household, subordinates, and associates.[21] Further excavations at the site may help solve this question and provide a clearer context for the Khentkhety-hetep stela now in Turin.

Appendix

Stelae where Senebsumai is attested:

as *imy-r pr wr*

- Cairo CG 20075 (Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. I, 89-92)
- Cairo CG 20459 (Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. II, 58-9)

[9] Franke, in Quirke, *Discovering Egypt from the Neva*, 75.
[10] *Art. cit.*, 65-7.
[11] List of objects: Franke, *Personendaten*, 391, Doss. 667; Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, 12-25.
[12] Statue, seen at Ballas (Franke, *OMRO* 68, 59-76; for Ballas as find spot: Grajetzki, *Court officials*, 191; Petrie Museum, Archives, notebook Ballas, p. 21).
[13] PM VIII [1], 371 [801-426-801].
[14] Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, 17-18, pls. 7-8; Collier, Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri*, 162-3. (UC32100B), 170-1 (UC32104).
[15] Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, 18-20.
[16] Wegner, in Miniaci, Quirke, Betrò (eds.), *Company of Images*.
[17] Wegner, Cahail, *JARCE* 51, 123-64.
[18] Cahail, *JARCE* 51, 121.
[19] Mariette, Maspero, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, 583.
[20] Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God*, 18-9, pls. 26-7 (ANOC 17), 30 (ANOC 250).
[21] Franke, Marée (ed.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, vol. I/1,50.

as *imy-r ḥtmt*

- BM EA 215 (Franke, Marée (ed.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, vol. I/1, 45-51)
- BM EA 252 (Franke, Marée (ed.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, vol. I/1, 134-7)
- Cairo CG 20334, from Abydos (Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. I, 346-7)
- Cairo CG 20718, from Abydos (Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. II, 345-6)
- Leiden 14 (AP.2) (Boeser, *Beschreibung*, II, 6 [14], pl. 15 [14])
- Pittsburgh 2983-6701 (Patch, *Reflections of greatness,* 32-3)
- Sinopoli collection (Rome) Egi06 (Roccati, in Quirke, *Discovering Egypt from the Neva,* 111-4, pl. 7)
- Roanne 163 (De Meulenaere, *CdE* 60, 75-84)
- St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1084 (Bolshakov, Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom Stelae in the Hermitage*, 53-7, pl. 11)
- Turin S. 1303 (unpublished)

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Some Remarks on the Relations between Egypt and the Levant during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period

Karin Kopetzky

Abstract

At the time of the discovery of the MBA tombs at Byblos knowledge of the material culture along the Lebanese coast was very limited. Subsequently, these tombs have been dated according to Egyptian small finds discovered in these tombs into the late Twelfth Dynasty and MB IIA period. Since then much more MBA material coming from settlements and tombs was excavated not only in Lebanon, but also at Tell el-Dab'a in Egypt. Well stratified material from these digs allows us to re-evaluate the contents of the Byblos tombs and put them and their possible owners into their rightful historical place.

The correlation of the chronologies of Egypt with the ones from the Near East during the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period is based on material culture alone. It is the site of Tell el-Dab'a, located in the northeastern Nile delta, which provided the major material means to this task. With its high percentage of imported and later locally produced Middle Bronze Age pottery (MB) in combination with contemporary Egyptian pottery this site delivers the ideal requirements for synchronizing important sites in the Levant with the Egyptian history.

For a long time only Egyptian small finds were recognized by researchers working in Levantine areas, while the presence of Egyptian pottery was completely neglected. It was such a group of small finds (an obsidian box and an ointment jar), which since their discovery fixed the Royal Tombs I and II of Byblos to the kings Amenemhat III and his successor Amenemhat IV.[1] The Egyptian pottery found inside the Tombs II and III was, although already recognized as such by Montet, ignored as well as the local MB material in all three tombs. A re-investigation of this material and its synchronization with the Tell el-Dab'a material showed clearly that a dating into the early MB IIB, contemporary with the Phases E/3 and E/2 of Tell el-Dab'a seems appropriate for the Tombs I and II.[2] Shifting these tombs changes subsequently the succession of the rulers of Byblos and gives the opportunity to re-evaluate known synchronism between Egypt and the Near East from the late Twelfth till the early Eighteenth Dynasties.

The Sehotepibre cylinder seal

One object, where such a synchronism was detected is a cylindrical lapis lazuli seal (MMA 26.7.21)[3] which mentions on one side an Egyptian king Sehoptepibre, written in hieroglyphs and on its other side a Byblian ruler with the name of Yakin-Ilu, as a cuneiform inscription (Fig. 1). A second piece important for synchronization is a large relief block whose inscription names a certain Yantin as ruler of Byblos and the Egyptian king Neferhotep I (Fig. 2).[4] Concerning the identity of a king who carries the *njśwt bitj* name of Sehotepibre, two likely candidates are available in Egyptian history. One is king Amenemhat I, for whom no contacts to the MB culture are attested so far and the other a king Sehotepibre Sewesekhtawy, who according to K. Ryholt's new arrangement of the Turin king list (Fig. 3), is the 10th king of the Thirteenth Dynasty.[5] Since the arrival of the first MB pottery[6] and weapons[7] to Egypt seems to have happened after the reign of king Amenemhat I and the fact that his throne name was hardly ever written with an addition-

[1] Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, 202.

[2] Kopetzky, *Stratigraphie compare*; Kopetzky, *Who was dealing with whom?*; Kopetzky, in Kopetzky (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Relative Chronologies*.

[3] Known also as the Carnarvon seal, it was purchased by the Metropolitain Museum in 1926.

[4] Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, 197 f.

[5] Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, fig. 10.

[6] Bagh, in Bietak (ed.), *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant*, 89-101.

[7] Bietak, *Ä&L* 3, 29-37.

Fig. 1 – Cylinder seal naming king Sehotepibre and Yakin-Ilu of Byblos (Eduard S. Harkness Gift, 1926 (26.7.21), photo with the courtesy of the Metropolitain Museum of Arts)

al -sign after the -sign, which was usually the case for Sehotepibre Sewesekhtawy, it is highly likely that the king mentioned on the cylinder seal is indeed this king of the Thirteenth Dynasty. According to Ryholt there are, by dead-reckoning, a minimum of 17.5[8] and a maximum of 20.5 years[9] for the beginning of the reign of king Sehotepibre Sewesekhtawy after the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, while king Neferhotep I reign should have started about a minimum of 46[10] and a maximum of 58 years after the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. Kitchen gives for this king a distance of 49 years for the same period.[11]. In terms of the Tell el-Dab'a stratigraphy this would mean that Sehotepibre Sewesekhtawy ruled during Phase G/4 and Neferhotep I during the second half of Phase G/1-3 (Fig. 4).

[8] Counting 1 regnal year for each king in the Turin Papyrus, whose length of reign is not attested.
[9] Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 197.
[10] See above.
[11] Kitchen, in Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations*, 49.

The Neferhotep block (Fig. 2)

In 1939 Dunand published a large sandstone relief naming in an inscription the Egyptian king Neferhotep I and a *ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kpnj* Yantin *jrj n ḥ3ty-ʿ* *Rjn*,[12] a reading, which was six years later corrected by Albright to *jrj n ḥ3ty-ʿ* *Ykn*, whom he identified as Yakin-Ilu.[13] Martin then published in 1969 a scarab of an *ḥ3ty-ʿ n Kpn* *Rjntj*[14] (Fig. 2) which he dated into the Hyksos period. A dating Ben-Tor changed in 2007[15] based on scarabs produced at Tell el-Dab'a.[16] At this site, scarabs with this type of head, back and legs as the Rjntj-scarab appear mainly from the Phases G/1-3 till E/3[17] and thus would allow an identification of Dunand's reading of from the relief block with the diminutive from the scarab, filling the space between Yakin-Ilu and Yantin (Fig. 4). However if Albright's reading of the Neferhotep I block is correct, one is confronted with rather long reigns for both mentioned rulers of Byblos (Fig. 5). Following the Tell el-Dab'a stratigraphy this would require a minimum of est. 27 regnal years for Yakin-Ilu and of est. 36 regnal years for Yantin to meet also the requirement of the latter being identical with a Yantin-ammu mentioned as a ruler of Byblos in a cuneiform text from Mari dated into the 9th regnal year of Zimri-Lim.[18]

The dating of Yantin into the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty is corroborated by his scarabs of which four secure[19] and a possible fifth[20] exist. One of those scarabs[21] belongs again to a group of scarabs well attested at Tell el-Dab'a during the Phases F till E/2[22] (Fig. 6), while the others fall into Ben-Tor's late Middle Kingdom group[23] and show the same features as scarabs from king Neferhotep I (Fig. 7). The fifth and possible Yantin scarab was

[12] Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, 197 f.
[13] Albright, *BASOR* 99, 11.
[14] Martin, *Berytus* 18, 81-3.
[15] Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al.*, *Bilder als Quellen*, 180.
[16] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 116-20.
[17] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, fig. 15.
[18] Dossin, *Syria* 20, 111; Limet, *Textes administratifs*, 16 f.
[19] Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, nos. 261-3; Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al.* (eds.), *Bilder als Quellen*, pl. XXIII.1.
[20] Martin reads the name on this scarab as *K3in*, while Ben-Tor sees it as *In*, a short version of *Intn* – Yantin; see Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, no. 1689; Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al.* (eds.), *Bilder als Quellen*, pl. XXIII.2.
[21] Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al.* (eds.), *Bilder als Quellen*, pl. XXIII.3.
[22] Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 121 f.
[23] Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al.* (eds.), *Bilder als Quellen*, 178.

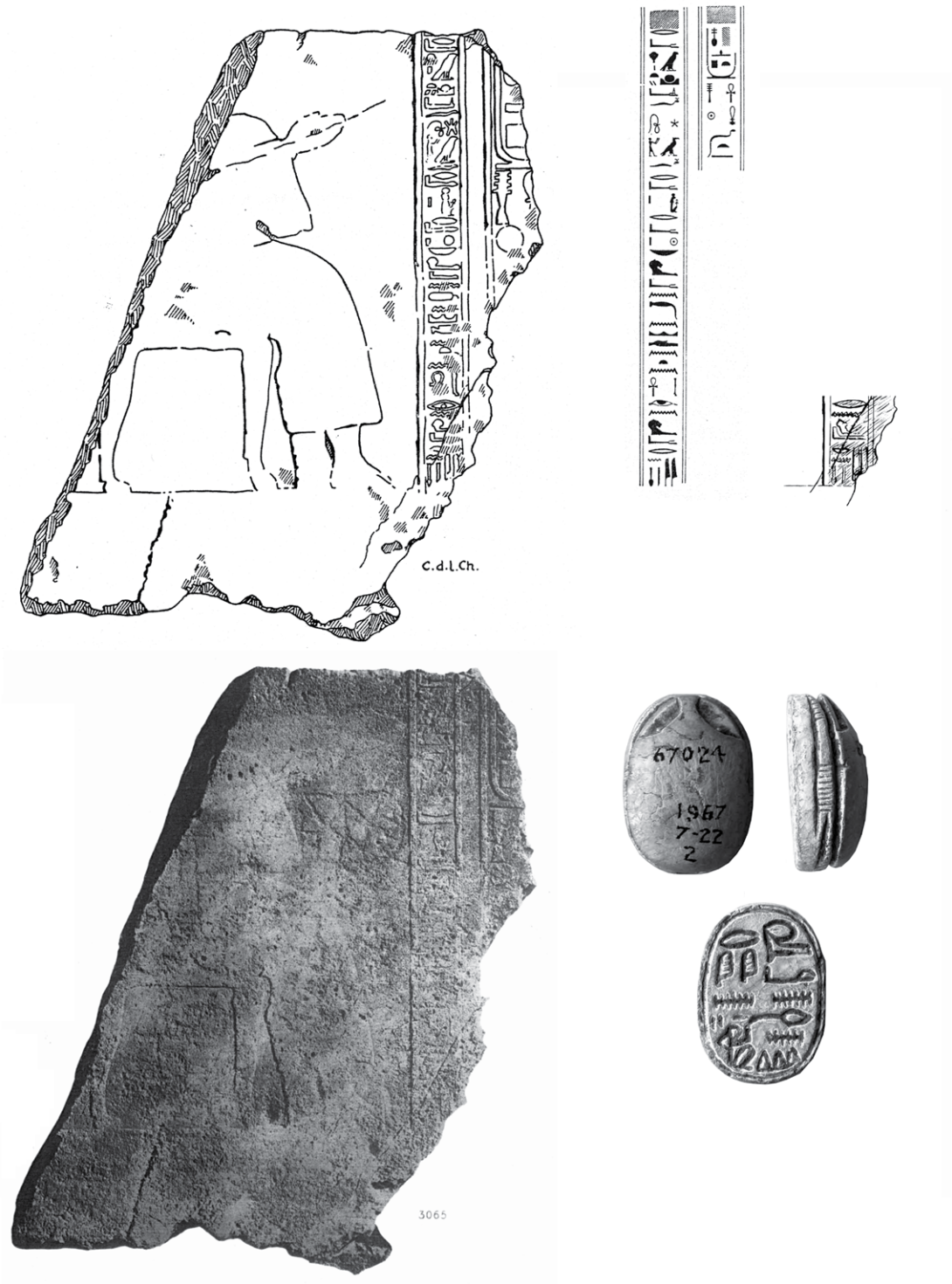

Fig. 2 – (left and middle): Relief block from Byblos with an inscription mentioning king Neferhotep I (after Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, 183, 198); (upper right): Reconstructed lower part of inscription after Albright (Albright, *BASOR* 176, fig. 1b); (lower right): Scarab of Rjntj (after Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al.*, *Bilder als Quellen*, pl. XXIII/4)

dated by C. Mlinar into the Phase F of Tell el-Dab'a,[24] a period were this ruler would date according to the here presented succession of rulers.

Albright suggested that Yantin was also the owner of Tomb IV of Byblos based on an inscription on a stone jar found inside this tomb.[25] The name of the owner on this jar was unfortunately damaged and Albright reconstructed the name only from the published photo. A reading which can neither be confirmed nor denied without checking the original. His reading was later challenged

[24] I thank C. Mlinar for this information.

[25] Albright, *BASOR* 176, 39 f.

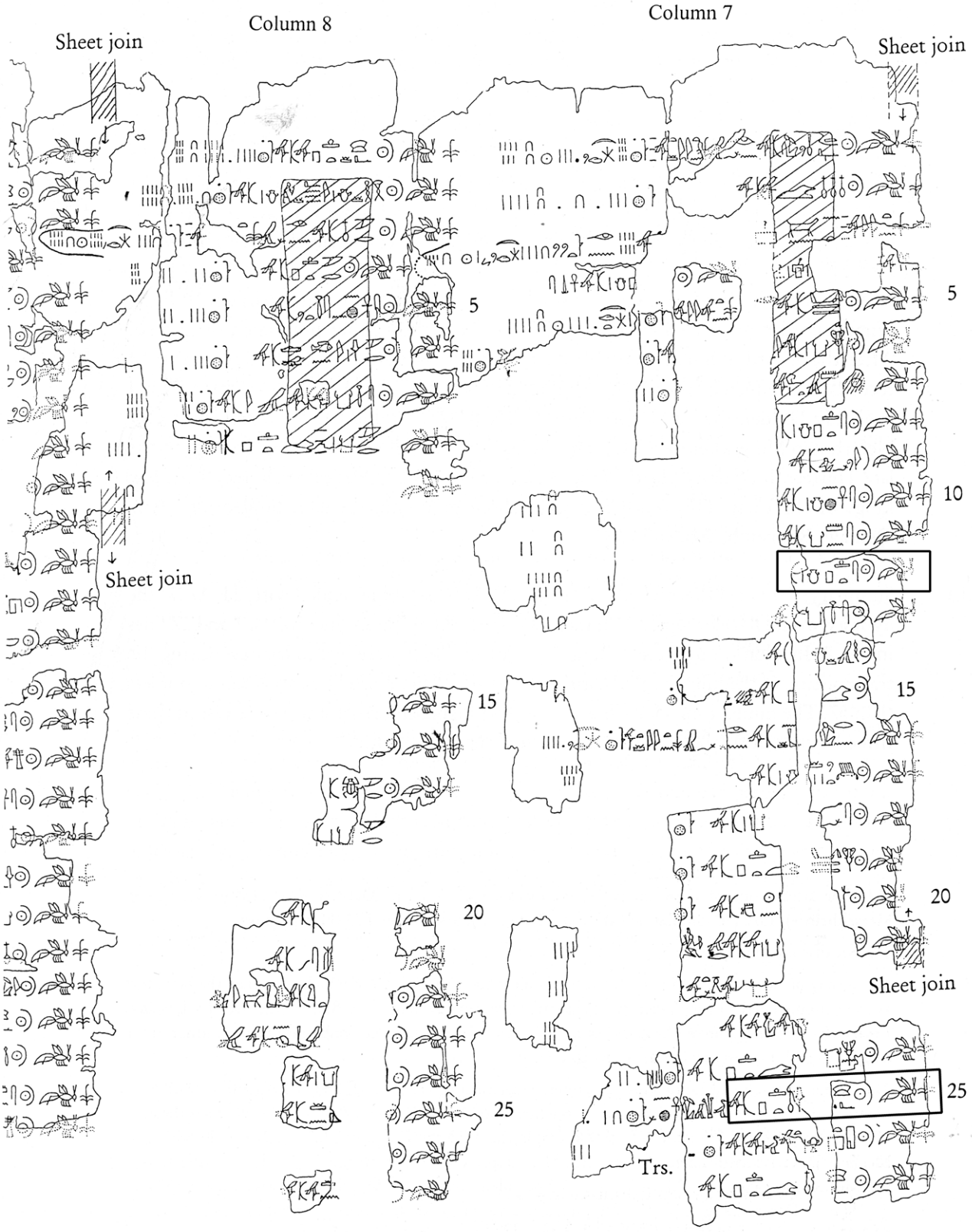

Fig. 3 – Fragments of the Turin King-list showing the positions of the kings Sehotepibre Sewesekhtawy and Neferhotep I Khasekhemre (after RYHOLT, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, fig. 10)

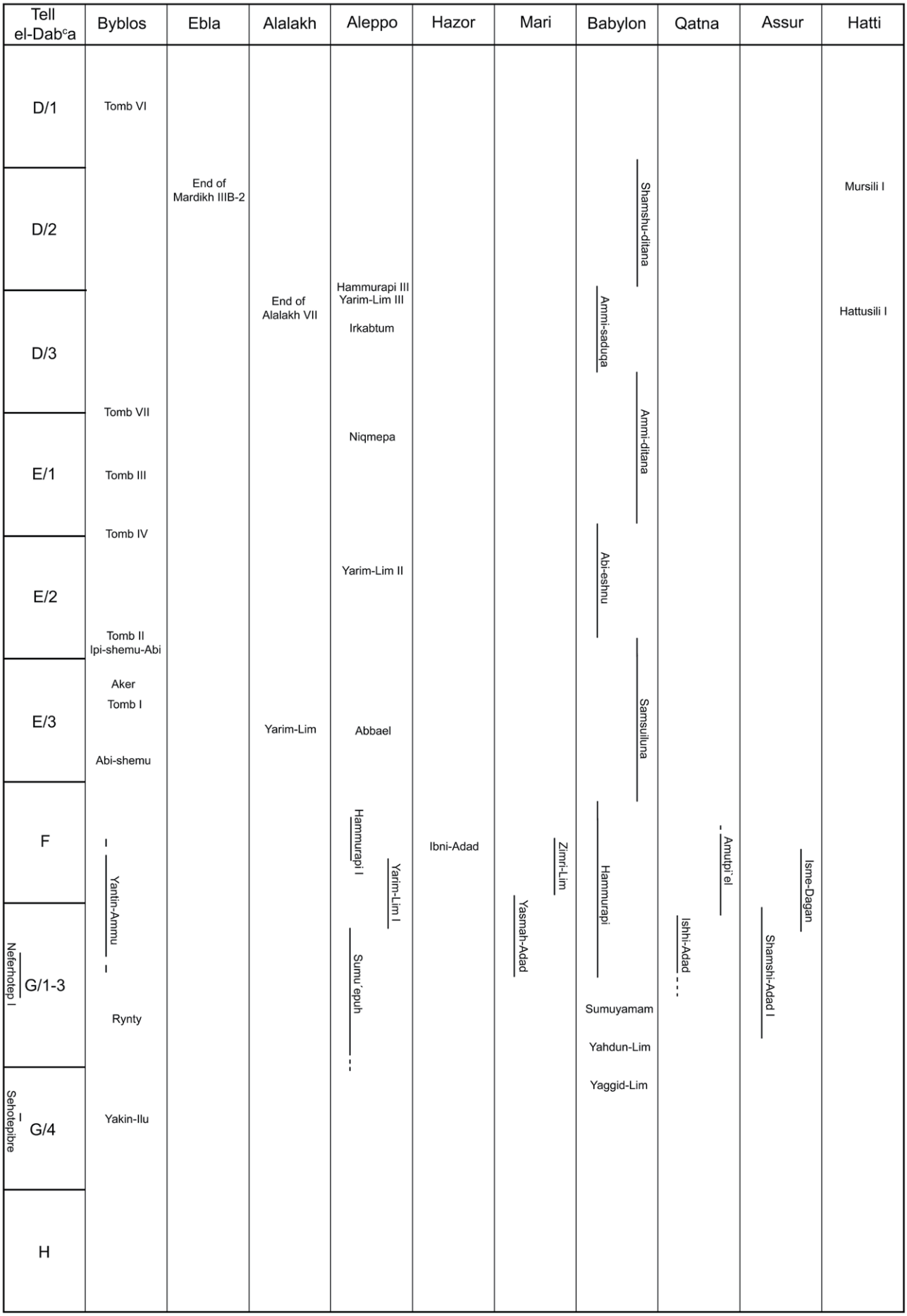

Fig. 4 – Line of succession of Rulers of Byblos – model A

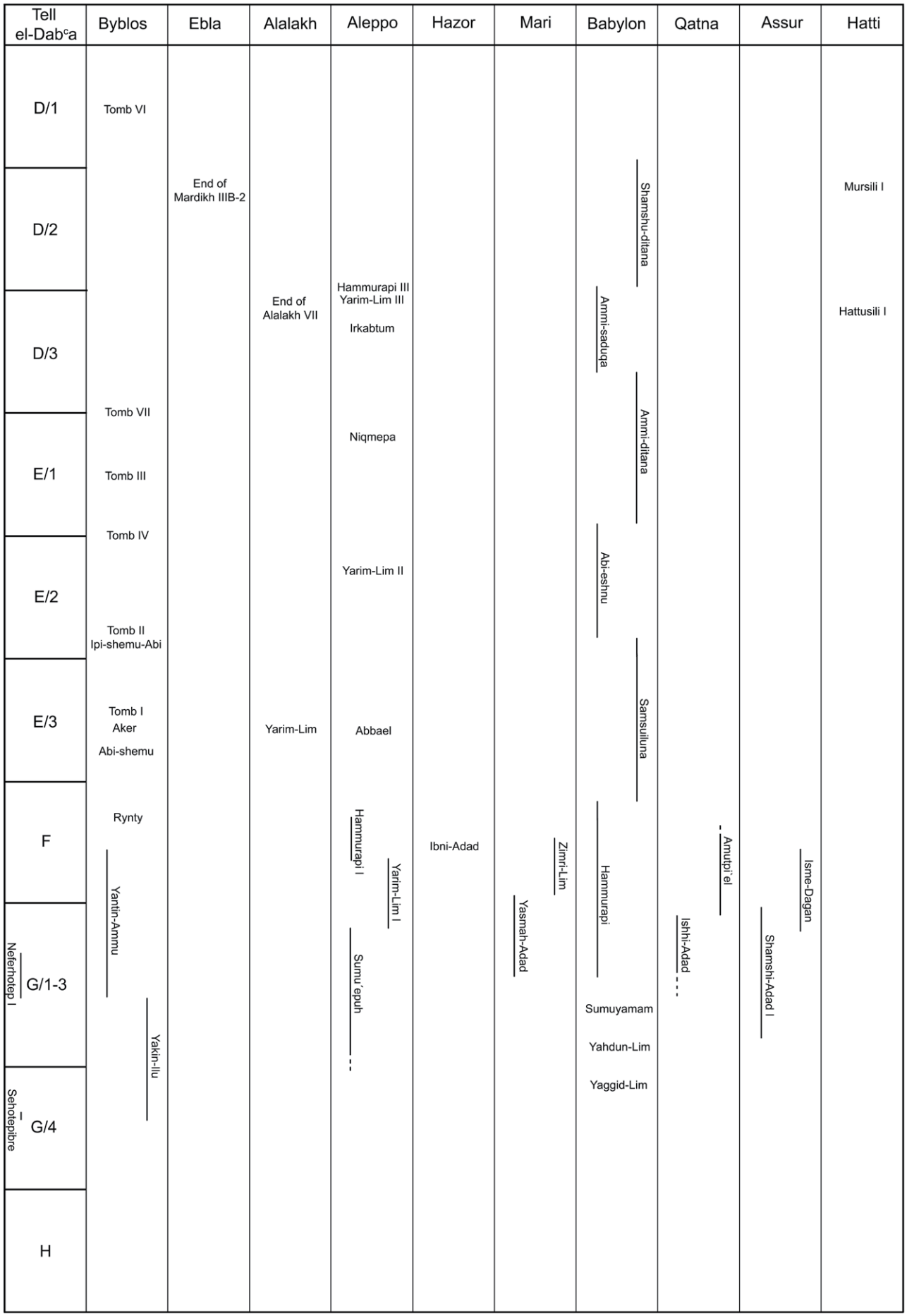

Fig. 5 – Line of succession of Rulers of Byblos – model B

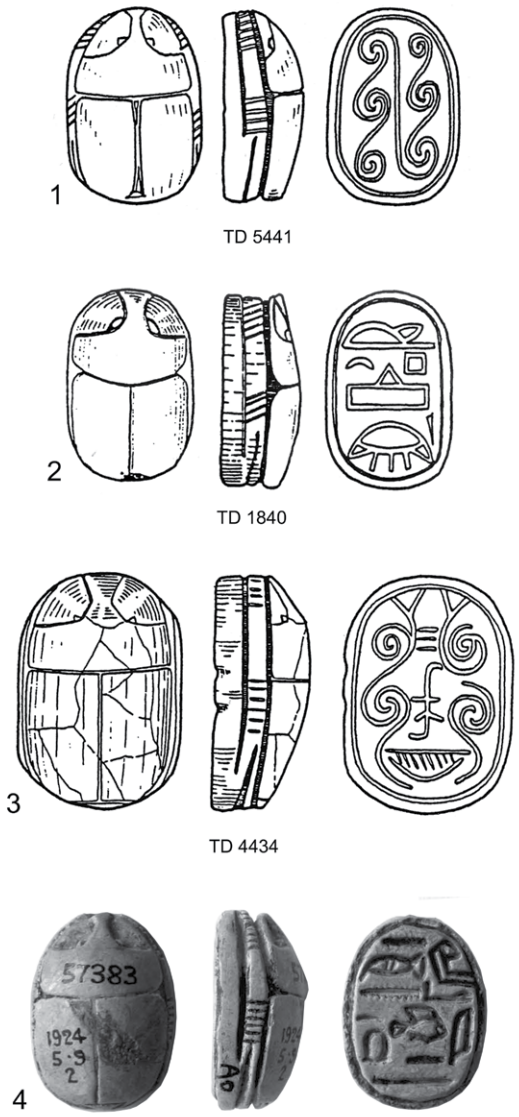

Fig. 6 – (1-3): Scarabs from Tell el-Dab'a workshop group IIIb from Ph. F and E/3; (4): Scarab of Yantin (after Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al*. (eds.), *Bilder als Quellen*, pl. XXIII.3)

by Ward[26] and Montet[27] who read the name on the stone jar as . At the time the Antiquities Authority started to work on the tombs at Byblos Tomb IV was already robbed and not much was left for the archaeologists.[28] Beside some small finds (mainly various metal foils, faience inlays and vessels) Tomb IV contained unburnished dipper juglets.[29] According to Montet fragments of a brown burnished spouted jug, also known as a 'Byblos jug',[30] were found inside this tomb. Such jugs are well known from tomb III, a burial which should date into the first half of the Hyksos period.[31] Finally, a large tankard with a figurative decoration[32] was retrieved from this tomb (Fig. 8.1), for which Lilyquist has suggested a date into the New Kingdom[33] based on the fact that there are no figurative paintings on pottery in Egypt before this period. There these paintings seem to appear not before the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the country was once more one of the main players in the international trade along the Eastern Mediterranean.

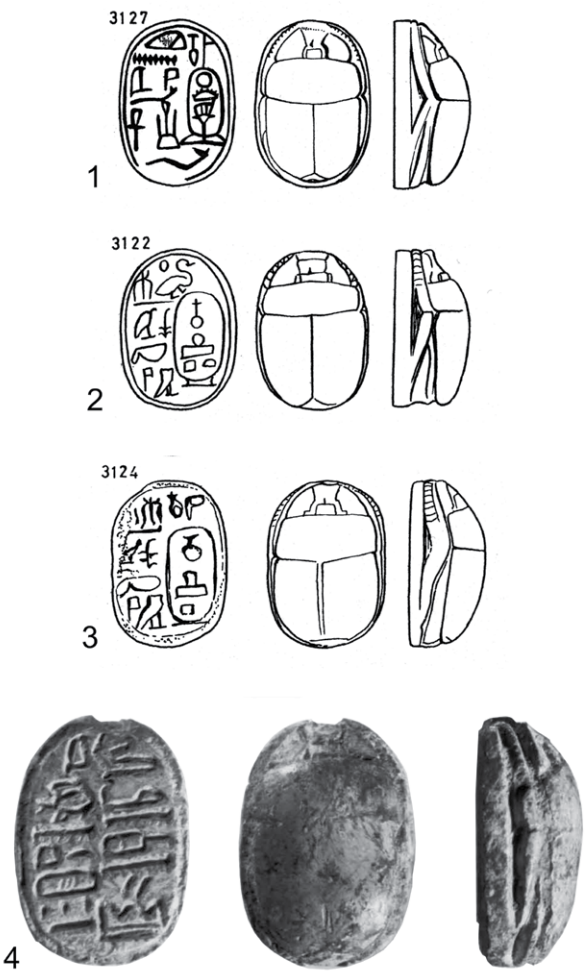

Fig. 7 – (1-3): Scarabs of Neferhotep I (after Tufnell, *Studies*, pl. LIV/3127, 3122, 3124); (4): Scarab of Yantin (after Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al*. (eds.), *Bilder als Quellen*, pl. XXIII.1)

[26] Ward, *AJA* 91, 528 f.
[27] Montet, *Kêmi* 16, 96.
[28] Chehab (see Chehab, *BMB* 1, 21) suggested that a treasure, which was smuggled in the 1920s to Palestine and was then restituted to Lebanon by the Palestinian Antiquities Authority in 1930, might have originated from Byblos. Montet suggested later that the treasure was stolen from Tomb IV, see Montet, *Kêmi* 17.
[29] Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, no. 801; Tufnell, *Berytus 18,* fig. 4. Unfortunately our knowledge about the development of this vessel type in the Levant is still at the beginning, but hopefully the excavations of Sidon and Tell Fadous will help to clarify this picture.
[30] Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, no. 810.
[31] Kopetzky, in Kopetzky (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Relative Chronologies*.
[32] Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, no. 815.
[33] Lilyquist, *BASOR* 290-291, 44.

Our knowledge about MB pottery in the Byblos area is unfortunately very limited, with its settlement pottery nearly unknown. The shape of this vessel with its height of 21 cm is very rare. There exists a comparative example from L 5043 in Megiddo Str. XII (Fig. 8.2), which seems to be an earlier version of this vessel type.[34] Its height and surface treatment is similar to the Byblos piece, but it still has a wider base and a more rounded body shape, whereas an example from Phase E in Tell Beit Mirsim

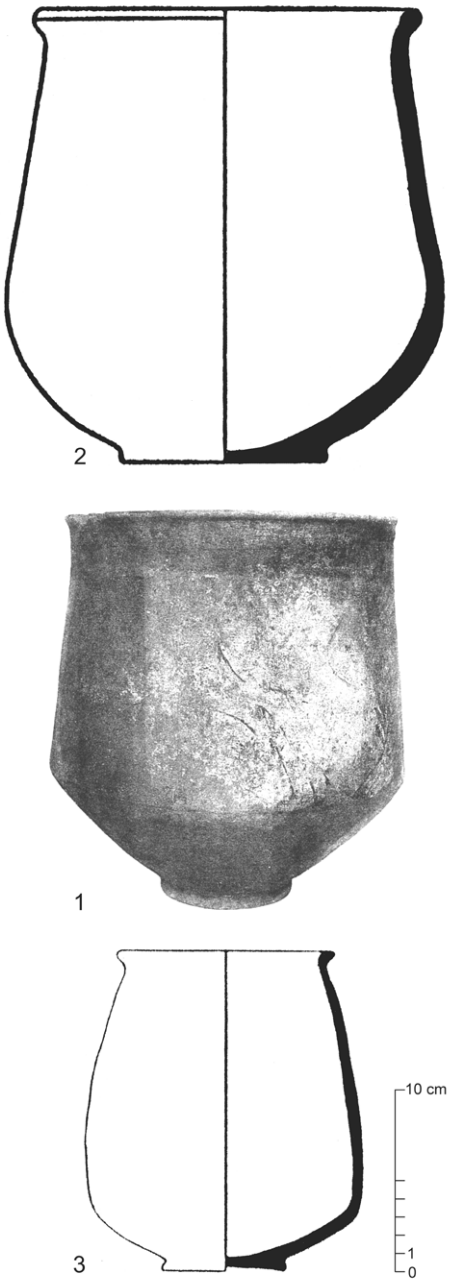

Fig. 8 – (1): Tankard from Tomb IV (after Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, pl. CXVII.815); (2): Tankard from Megiddo (after Loud, *Megiddo II*, pl. 26.18); (3): Tankard from Tell Beit Mirsim (after Albright, *BASOR* 176, pl. X./1)

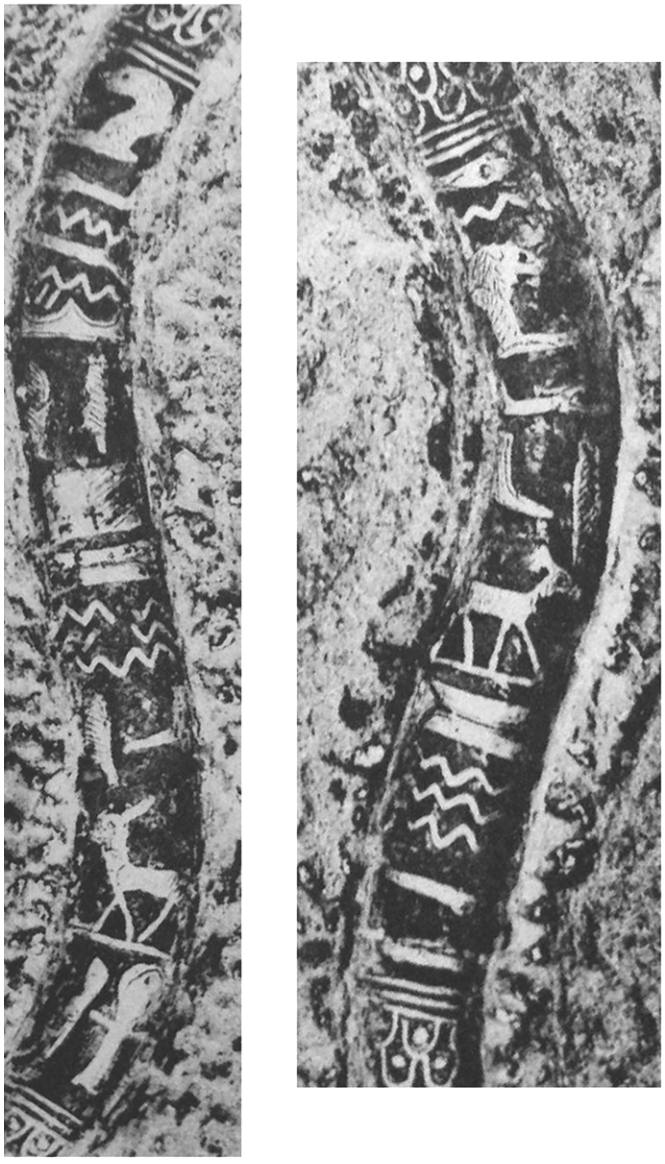

Fig. 9 – Inscription on sickle sword from Tomb II (after Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, pl. C.653)

[34] Loud, *Megiddo II*, pl. 26.18. This vessel seems to belong into the early MB IIB period.

(Fig. 8.3) with nearly the same height shows already a much lower carination[35]. However, Phase E from Tell Beit Mirsim covers the whole MB IIB period and last till the middle of the Hyksos period. Considering the above mentioned comparisons it is possible that tomb IV dates between tomb II and tomb III to the beginning of the Hyksos period.

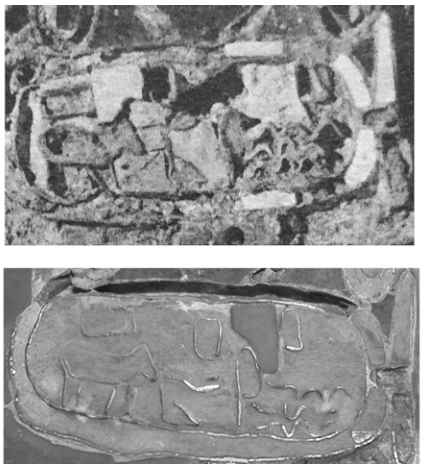

Fig. 10 – (top): Shell pendant directly after excavations (after Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, pl. XCVII.618 right); (bottom): Shell pendant after restoration (photo with the courtesy of the National Museum Beirut)

The owner of Tomb I

Tomb I was assigned by Pierre Montet to a *ḥ3tj-ʿ* Abi-shemu based on the fact that a sickle sword was found inside Tomb II (Fig. 9) naming its owner a *ḥ3tj-ʿ n Kpnj* Yapi-shemu-abi, son of Abi-shemu[36] and that Tomb I and II are connected via a winding passage. However, inside of tomb I its owner was not mentioned on any artefact. The very likely owner of tomb II is mentioned not only on the above mentioned sickle sword but also on an inlayed shell pendant found inside Tomb II, where his name is written into a cartouche. Montet published this object in two picture,[37] one showing the pendant after its restoration and one taken directly after the excavation (Fig. 10). On the latter one can see on the right upper corner of the cartouche the -sign, which was positioned above the right edge of the triple water line , followed by a free space and then a broken out part in the inlay, where the edges of a second -sign were still visible. Montet then reproduced these positions nearly exactly in his text volume, where he put the second -sign in brackets.[38] Obviously during restoration the position of the first -sign was shifted towards the middle of the triple waterline and by adding a different inlay left of it, the second, once existing -sign, got lost. Another sign, visible on the original and on the restored object, is an -sign below the -sign thus making the owner of this shell pendant to a Yapaᶜ-shemu-abi, whose diminutive was most likely the Yapi-shemu-abi version from the above mentioned sickle sword.

A Yapaᶜ-shemu-abi is known from an inscription found in Byblos which was published by Montet several years later.[39] There he is also mentioned as a son of an Abi-Shemu. This inscription and the different writing of Yapi-shemu-abi's name on the restored shell pendant lead Kitchen to the assumption of a second pair of 'father and son' rulers, which he named Abi-Shemu II and Yapaᶜ-shemu-abi II[40]. It seems however in the light of the above mentioned restoration error that the latter are identical with the ones mentioned on the two objects found in tomb II.

During the work in the Obelisk temple of Byblos a small obelisk was found, which names also an Abi-shemu (Fig. 12).[41] Albright pointed out that the syllabic spelling of the obelisk's inscription is close to the one in Papyrus Bulaq 18,[42] a papyrus which Ryholt dates into the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty and shortly after the reign of king Khendjer, who reigned shortly before king Neferhotep I.[43]

From an Abi-shemu exists also a scarab, whose origin is unfortunately unknown.[44] This scarab is carved with its head in the form of a human face and its back and legs in an open work technique[45] (Fig. 13). According to Keel human faces as heads of scarabs are not to be found before the MB IIB period in Palestine[46] and the Thirteenth Dynasty in Egypt.[47] The way the face is moulded can be

[35] Albright, *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim,* pl. X.1
[36] Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, 174 f.
[37] *Op. cit.*, pl. XCVII.618.
[38] *Op. cit.*, 165.
[39] Montet, *Kêmi* 17, fig. 5.
[40] Kitchen, *Orientalia* 36, 41.
[41] Montet, *Kêmi* 16, fig. 5.
[42] Albright, *BASOR* 176, 43.
[43] Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 193.
[44] Newberry mentioned that the scarab was in the Blanchard collection in Cairo.
[45] Newberry, *JEA* 19, pl. 10.
[46] Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, 72 f.
[47] At Kerma in tomb K XX a scarab with a human head was found, which was dated by Markowitz into the Middle Kingdom, see Markowitz, in Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos*, 83 f. However, this unique scarab was found inside the disturbed burial chamber of a tomb dating into the Kerma classique period, which starts in the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty and last into the Eighteenth Dynasty. The way the outer contours of the head are cut is very similar to the Byblos piece. Parallels for the unusual back of the Kerma piece are dated by Keel into the late Thirteenth or Fifteenth Dynasty, see Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, 61.

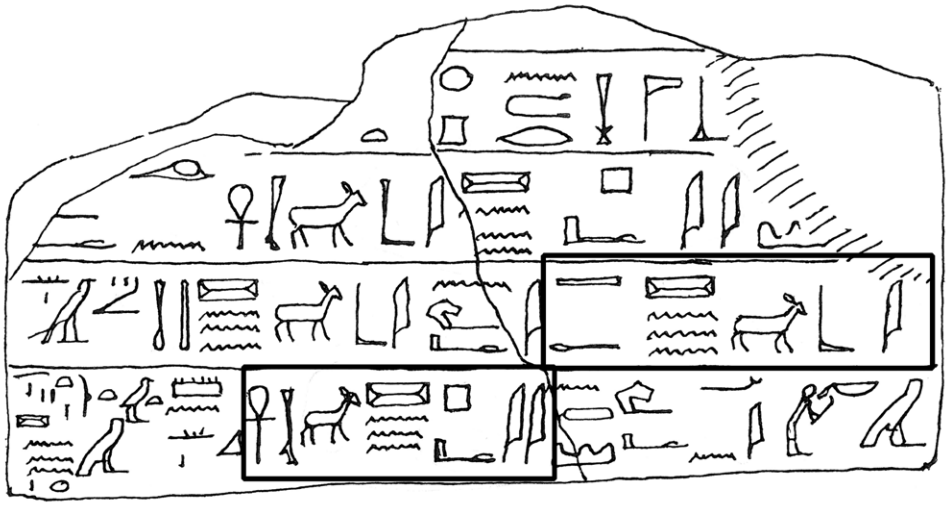

Fig. 11 – Inscription from a limestone fragment from Byblos (after Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, fig. 5)

Fig. 12 – (left): Inscription from an obelisk from the Obelisk temple (after Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, fig. 5)
Fig. 13 – (top right): Scarab of Abi-shemu (after Newberry, *JEA* 19, pl. 10); (bottom right): figurine from MB II layers at Sidon (after Doumet-Serhal, *AHL* 34-35, fig. 4)

compared to a face of a statue found in an MB IIB layer at Sidon (Fig. 13).[48] The Sidon piece shows the same triangular face and moulding of the connected eyebrows and nose as the head of Abi-shemu's scarab. Even its mouth, eyes and ears bear strong similarities to the scarab. The palaeography of the inscription on the base of the scarab can be found also on one of the Yantin scarabs[49] (Fig. 7.4). On both scarabs the writing of the -sign is very similar carved, looking nearly like branches, while the -sign is written like a rectangle and the -sign shows a second line at the base in both cases. This Yantin scarab has been dated by Ben-Tor to her late Middle Kingdom group[50] and by Mlinar into the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty.[51] Therefore a dating of the Abi-shemu scarab into the early MB IIB period should be considered.

Finally, inside the heavy plundered Tomb IX at Byblos a body and a lid of a blue *ḥs*-vase were published by Montet[52] (Fig. 14), which named also an Abi-shemu, although only his short name was written in a cartouche on the lid. It seems highly likely that lid and body once belong together composing thus the complete version of his name . Probably from the same Tomb IX come several tall ellipsoid calcite jars with everted stepped rims and raised or ring bases.[53] So far, these vessels are without parallels and seemed to have been of local production.[54] They were found in the tombs VIII and IX with the larger fragments coming from the shaft of tomb IX and the matching pieces found inside the chamber of tomb VIII. Two broken and possible reworked pieces[55] came from tomb V,[56] which might have been heirlooms to this burial. All three tombs were connected by a robber's tunnel. Montet assigned these vessels to Tomb IX based on the fact that the largest pieces were found there. Unfortunately, today's knowledge allows us neither to ascertain their origin nor their date. Although an origin in tomb VIII is more likely due to the fact that the fragments there came from the burial chamber. For the time being it seems that these calcite jars do not exclude a contemporaneity of these jars with the other above mentioned early MB IIB evidences for Abi-shemu, father of Yapi/Yapaᶜ-shemu-abi. Thus leaving open the possibility that tomb IX originally belonged to this ruler of Byblos, which leads to the question, who else could have been buried in Tomb I?

Beside Abi-shemu there might be another candidate for the ownership of Tomb I. On a stone block from Byblos a *ḥ3ty-ʿn Kpny* Aker/ᶜEgel is mentioned (Fig. 15),[57] who is possible another son of Abi-shemu. He is named the son of a *ḥ3ty-ʿ n Kpny* whose name was partly destroyed but cautiously reconstructed by Montet to *Y[b]šmw,*[58] a reading which was accepted by Albright[59] and Kitchen.[60] Aker/ᶜEgel would then be a brother of Yapi/Yapaᶜ-shemu-abi and thus a possible candidate for being buried in Tomb I, whose tomb material is slightly older than that of Tomb II. The fact that Tomb I and II are the only tombs at Byblos which are connected by a passageway hints to a possible close relationship of their owners. This might have been father and son in the case of Abi-shemu and Yapi/Yapaᶜ-shemu-abi or of brothers in the case of Aker and Yapi/Yapaᶜ-shemu-abi. Whether Aker/ᶜEgel is identical with another *ḥ3ty-ʿ n Kpny* named Akay/ᶜEgliya as suggested by Montet[61] and then accepted by Albright[62] but rather doubted by Kitchen[63] is still a matter of debate.

Fig. 14 – *Ḥs*-vase from Tomb IX (after Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, pl. CXXIII.852, 853)

[48] Doumet-Serhal, *AHL* 34-35, fig. 4.
[49] Ben-Tor, in Bickel *et al.* (eds.), *Bilder als Quellen*, pl. XXIII.1.
[50] *Art. cit.*, 178.
[51] I thank C. Mlinar for this information.
[52] Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, pl. CXXIII.852, 853
[53] *Op. cit.*, pl. CXXII.846, 847.
[54] Lilyquist compares them to a similar large alabaster jar found in Chamber 2 of a cave near Neby Rubin, see Lilyquist, *BASOR* 290-291, 43. This piece is not as slender as the Byblos examples and lacks their base, see Mayer, *PMB* 2, pl. II.S-944. The content of the cave seem to date into the first half of the MB IIB period.
[55] Montet mentions that the rim is corroded and their surface is lustreless.
[56] Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, pl. CXXII.889.
[57] Montet, *Kêmi* 17, fig. 2.
[58] *Art. cit.*, 65.
[59] Albright, *BASOR* 179, 42.
[60] Kitchen, *Orientalia* 36, 41.
[61] Montet, *Kêmi* 17, 65.
[62] Albright, *BASOR* 179, 40.
[63] Kitchen, *Orientalia* 36, 42.

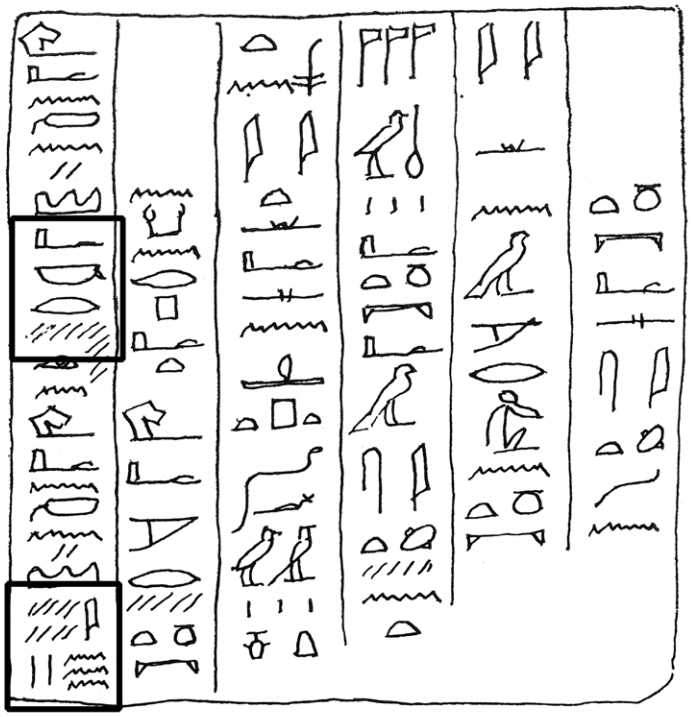

Fig. 15 – Inscription of sandstone block from Byblos (after Montet, *Kêmi* 17 (1964), fig. 2)

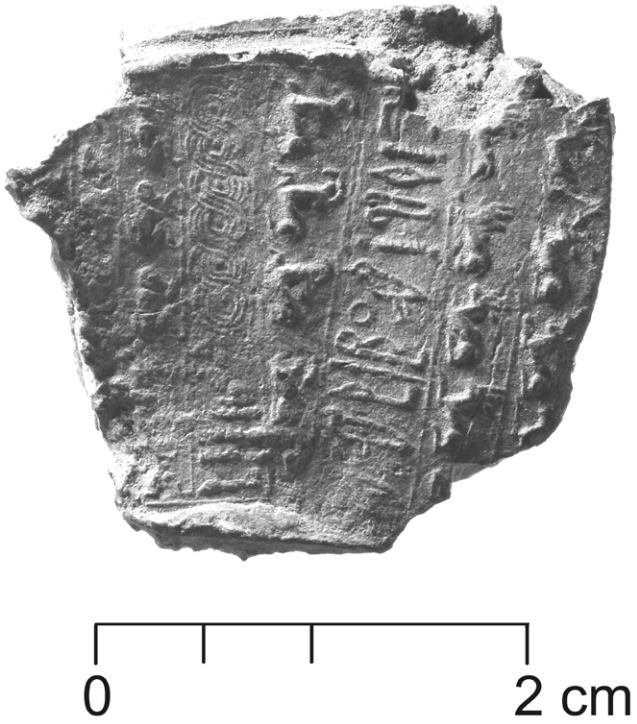

Fig. 16 – Seal impression from older palace of Area F/II from Tell el-Dab‘a (after Bietak, *EA* 38, 41)

The owner of Tomb II as already established by Montet was in all likelihood, Yapi/Yapa^{c}-shemu-abi. Albright suggested an identification of this ruler of Byblos with a *Yapaḫ-sumu-abi*, ugula *Hana*,[64] who is mentioned together with the ruler Abba-el of Aleppo on a tablet[65] found in Alalakh level VII.[66] Although a synchronisation between these two rulers might be possible, Roulaut made clear that this ruler of Khana must be identified with a *Yapah-Sumu-abu,* king of Terqa.[67]

During the last ten years a huge palace was excavated in area F/II at Tell el-Dab‘a dating into the Hyksos period.[68] Directly below this building another palace was discovered, which was destroyed by a massive fire. From this destruction layer comes a seal impression, which according to Collon belongs to the so called ‘Green Jasper Workshop’ (Fig. 16), a group of sealing which she localizes in the Byblos area.[69] A preliminary examination of the pottery found in this destruction layer suggests that this conflagration happened sometimes during the Phases E/3-early E/2 of Tell el-Dab‘a, the late Thirteenth to early Fifteenth Dynasties. The impression shows rows of animals and two vertical lines with a hieroglyphic inscription,[70] which mentions a *ḥq3 n Rṯnw* named Yapi-shemu. It is possible that the owner of Tomb II and the Yapi-shemu mentioned on the seal impression are two different ruler of Byblos. However it would be a very unusual coincidence that the *ḥq3 n Rṯnw* Yapi-shemu and the *ḥ3ty-*^{ʿ} *n Kpny* Yapi-shemu date into the same period, since the pottery found inside Tomb II dates also into this time span.[71] Of course one has to keep in mind that seals might have a longer period of circulation and the seal used for the impression at Tell el-Dab‘a might have come from an earlier, yet unknown ruler with the same name. But since this group of seals date according to Collon not before the Eighteenth Century BC[72] there seems to be no space for this ruler other than the proposed position.

Tomb III dates into the first half of the Hyksos period,[73] very likely followed in the sequence by tomb VII, which was also severely robbed. According to Montet this tomb contained again fragments of a brown burnished Byblos jug.[74] From its chamber came further a tripartite handle fragment of a black burnished jug which

[64] Albright, *BASOR* 179, 40.
[65] ATT/39/161, BM 131472.
[66] Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, 48, no. 56, pl. 15.
[67] Rouault, *Terqa Final Reports no. 1*, 5.
[68] Bietak *et. al.*, *Ä&L* 22-23, 17-53.
[69] Collon, *Near Eastern Seals*, 36 f.
[70] Bietak, *EA*, 41.
[71] Kopetzky, in Kopetzky (ed.), *The Synchronisation of Relative Chronologies*.
[72] Collon refers to the Middle Chronology of the Near East.
[73] *Op. cit.*
[74] Montet, *Byblos et l’Égypte*, no. 824.

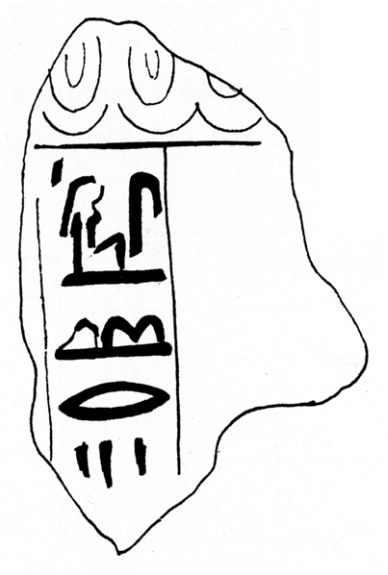

Fig. 17 – Inscription of *ḥs*-vase of Tomb VII (after Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, fig. 94)

had a twisted coil laid over a double handle[75] and the fragment of a *ḥs*-vase. Montet compared the jug fragment to the brown burnished Byblos jugs.[76] However a comparison with jugs with twisted handles known from T. 2145[77] and T. 2130[78] at Megiddo seems more appropriate. There, the first mentioned tomb falls into the earlier MB IIB, while the second dates later into the same period. Another example with a twisted handle comes from a tomb in Tell Farᶜah North,[79] which probably dates into the middle of the MB IIB period. Into this group of jugs, though with a single round handle and a biconical body belongs also a jug from Tomb III.[80] These jugs are all burnished with a trefoil rim, a cordon at the neck, a broad ring base and have a height of about 30 cm.

The *ḥs*-vase fragment was inscribed with cursive hieroglyphs, which Montet read as *ḥq3 ḫ3śwt*, ruler of the foreign countries (Fig. 17),[81] but his published copy of the inscription shows behind the *ḥq3*-sign a seating woman -sign instead of a seating king -sign and below the -sign a -sign instead of a -sign. However, if his copy was depicted not exactly as the original on the vase and his reading of *ḥq3 ḫ3śwt* is indeed correct, it would only corroborate a dating of this tomb into the Hyksos period for it seems that this title (singular for king and plural for foreign country) does not appear before the Fifteenth Dynasty.[82] The fact that this tomb contained also fragments of bone and faience inlays, which came from a coffin, supports its belonging to the group Tombs I-IV, where such inlays were amongst the tombs goods.

Finally, Tomb VI, also looted, contained according to Montet "une jarred à bord évase et fond arrondi (pl. CXXIV)",[83] which was found inside the tomb chamber. If one checks the mentioned plate, the only vessel (Fig. 18) which fits this description and is not already ascribed to another tomb is a large storage vessel,[84] called zir, of a type which appears in Upper Egypt in Mostagedda[85] and in Mayana[86] in contexts dated to the late Second Intermediate Period or early Eighteenth Dynasty. While in the Nile delta this type is not attested before the early Eighteenth Dynasty.[87] Through analysis of Lower Egyptian settlement material[88] it became obvious that the trade between the Delta and Upper Egypt ceased during the Hyksos period and only revived after the conquest of Avaris. Such a heavy vessel filled with commodity could only be transported by ship to the Levant, which indicates a transport through or from the Nile delta, where this vessels type is not attested before the early New Kingdom. From the floor of the shaft of this tomb comes the fragment of a painted jug or crater,[89] which according to Montet has it decoration drawn on a yellowish clay. Such a description would fit either for a vessel of the so-called Chocolate-on-White ware or Cypriot White Painted V or White Painted Wheel-made Wares.[90] As the photo (Fig. 19) indicates the surface of this piece seems to have been covered with a thin wash and its decoration and handle are very similar to a Chocolate-on-White jug found at Pella in tomb 62 (Fig. 19).[91] The latter is dated by the excavators into the MB IIC till LB I period. From inside the burial chamber of tomb VI comes also a large calcite jar with corrugated neck and a small flat base.[92] It seems that the flat base for this type of stone vessel appears only late in the Middle Bronze Age. A dating for tomb VI into the late MB IIC/early Eighteenth Dynasty is suggested.

According to Montet Tomb VIII was severely disturbed by tomb robbers. Its chamber was not in line with its shaft,

[75] *Op. cit.*, no. 827.
[76] *Op. cit.*, no. 827.
[77] Loud, *Megiddo II*, pl. 25.8.
[78] *Op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV.11.
[79] Mallet, *RB* 81, fig. 2.3
[80] Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, no. 799.
[81] *Op. cit.*, 208, no. 826.
[82] All earlier versions name either a *ḥq3 ḫ3st* (see Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 28) or *ḥq3w ḫ3swt* like in Sinuhe B98 (see Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke*, 11).
[83] Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, no. 822.
[84] *Op. cit.*, pl. 124, upper row, third jar from left.
[85] Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. LXXV.3.
[86] Petrie, Brunton, *Sedment I*, pl. XLV.42.
[87] For the rim types of these vessels and their diachronic typology see Kopetzky, *Tell el-Dabʿa XX*, 162, fig. 49.
[88] Bader, *Tell el-Dabʿa XIX: Auaris und Memphis*; Kopetzky, *Tell el-Dabʿa* XX.
[89] Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, no. 817.
[90] For a comparison, though not as convincing as the Chocolate-on-White piece see Åström, *The Late Cypriote Bronze Age*, fig. LXXIII.3.
[91] Donnelly, *Chocolate-on-White ware*, pl. XII.1.
[92] Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, no. 820.

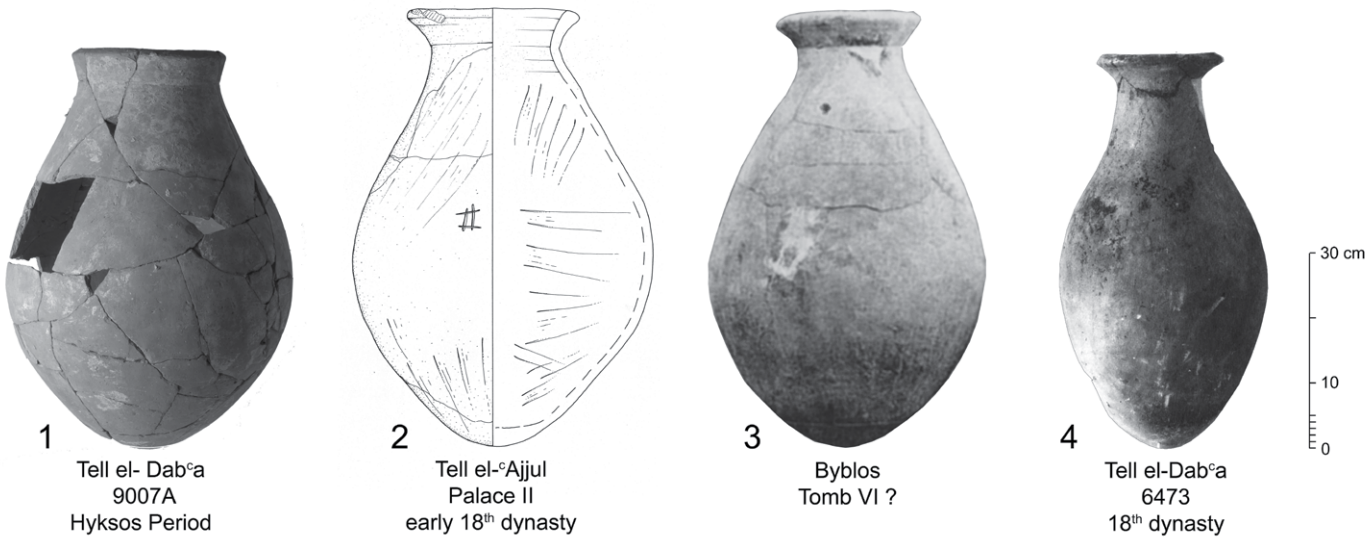

Fig. 18 – Egyptian storage jars. (1, 4); Tell el-Dab'a (after Hein, Jánosi, *Tell el-Dab'a XI*, pl. 36.A); (2): Tell el-Ajjul (after Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III,* pl. XXXIII.31Y20); (3): Byblos Tomb VI (?) (Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, pl. 124)

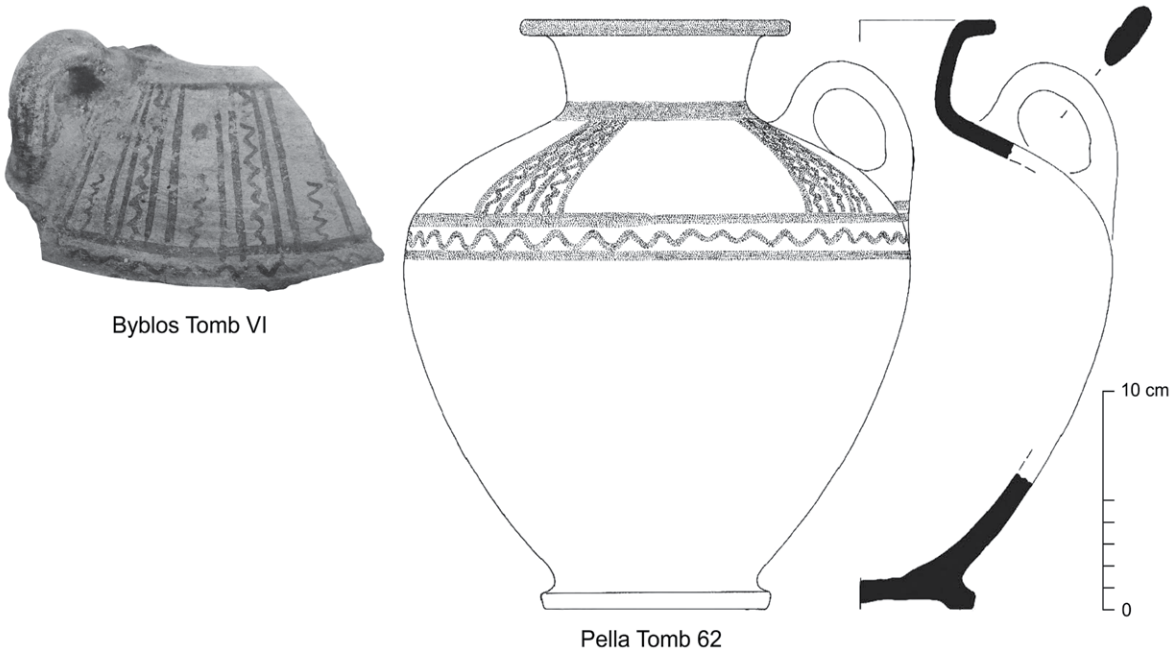

Fig. 19 – (left): Possible CoW-jug from Byblos Tombs VI (after Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, pl. CXXIII.817); (right): CoW-jug from Pella tomb 62 (after Donnelly, *Chocolate-on-White ware*, pl. XII.1)

but slightly shifted to the north and either by accident or by an error of the stone masons the rock between shaft Tomb VI and Tomb VIII was penetrated.[93] It seems thus, that during the construction of tomb VIII the stone masons hit an already existing Tomb VI, which forced them to move the burial chamber of Tomb VIII further to the north to avoid further collisions with tomb VI. If this scenario is correct it implicates that Tomb VIII was constructed sometimes after tomb VI. Montet depicts amongst the finds of this tomb two dome-shaped middle-sized platter bowls, six bag-shaped jars with everted rims as well as similar ones with a pinched rim and the above mentioned calcite jars with stepped rims and ring bases.[94] He also mentions in his text a platter bowl with ring base and a cup or chalice with two handles made of blue faience or more likely blue frit.[95]

[93] Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, 210.

[94] *Op. cit.*, pls. 122, 124.

[95] *Op. cit.*, nos. 840, 843.

The calcite jars,[96] of which fragments came from the burial chamber, the faience/frit vessel and the bowl with the ring base as well as the stratigraphic position of the tomb itself indicate a date into the LB period for this tomb.

The proposed sequence of the known rulers of Byblos and of the tombs excavated by the French Mission in the twenties of the last century, offers a new possibility to re-interpret the political and economic position of Byblos during the first half of the second millennium BC. The earliest MB IIA imports to Egypt are jugs of the *Levantine Painted Ware*[97] found in the court yard of the temple in ᶜEzbet Rushdi dating into the reign of king Amenemhat II.[98] According to petrographic analyses, they origin in the area of the northern Levant.[99] The first people carrying weapons of the MB IIA culture are depicted in Egyptian tombs dating between the reigns of Senwosret I and Senwosret II.[100] Byblos is then mentioned on execration texts dated to the later Twelfth Dynasty[101] and again in a historical inscription from the tomb of the vizier Khnumhotep III who served his king from Senwosret II until his death under Amenemhet III.[102] In this inscription the ruler of Byblos carries the title *m3kj*, which Allen interprets as the Semitic *malku* 'king' and reasons that Byblos was ruled by a king at least until the voyage Khnumhotep describes in this inscription. On the relief block of Neferhotep I Yantin carries the title *ḥ3tj-ᶜ*, 'governor' of Byblos and so does his father, who was either as suggested by Albright, *Ykn,* or as by Montet, *Rynty*. From the latter we have additionally the title preserved on his scarab, while Yakin's title on the cylinder seal is broken off. It seems that the change of the titles took place either in the later Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasties and might have been connected with a change in the political system of Byblos as Ryholt has already suggested.[103] Its possible that Byblos was during this period politically dependent on Egypt.

A large percentage of the imported Canaanite jars at Tell el-Dab'a come from the Lebanese coast during the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, with a large bulk from the regions around Byblos.[104] The rulers of Byblos kept the *ḥ3tj-ᶜ* title during the whole Thirteenth Dynasty. However, it seems that with the collapse of the Middle Kingdom sometimes during the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the Egyptian sovereignty over Byblos ceased and the city became one of the profiteers of Egypt's decline as the richness of the Royal Tombs suggests. The contents of these tombs show that the connections to Egypt were still intact although very likely in a different way. The Egyptian objects found inside the tombs of the Byblian rulers seemed to have been loot coming from the now un- or only scarcely protected cemeteries of the Middle Kingdom.[105] Evidences for such a systematically robbery is to be found in burials of this period.[106]

It seems to the author that the city of Avaris, which is at its economic peak during this period, played an intermediary role in this connections. Being a harbour town it very likely served as a transhipment-centre for these stolen goods. Some of the Egyptian objects found in the Royal Tombs of Byblos (*i.e.* the scarabs) show signs of alterations (*i.e.* erasing of original inscriptions, new framing of the scarabs), which might have taken place either in Tell el-Dab'a or in Byblos. We are still lacking the tombs of the rulers of Byblos from the MB IIA and thus do not know if the process of 'Egyptianisation' already started during this period or only after the collapse of the Middle Kingdom. It seems that the MB IIB rulers of Byblos wanted to legitimize themselves as the heirs of the Egyptian Kingdom not only by keeping their title of a *ḥ3tj-ᶜ*, which they carried since the later Middle Kingdom but also by claiming to fill the territorial void left by the Egyptians by naming themselves *ḥq3 n Rṯnw*, as on the Tell el-Dab'a seal impression. Furthermore they adapt Egyptian burial traditions and produce locally the essential Egyptian objects necessary for a royal funeral.[107] It is likely, that beside the jewellery they also locally manufactured Egyptian pottery, but of a style which is known in Egypt from the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasties (*i.e.* open cups and round based bowls with flaring rims) (Tufnell, *Berytus* 18, figs. 2.3,4 and 3.29-31).[108] It seems that even by imitating this older pot-

[96] These jars seem to be a local development of the well known, although much smaller bag shaped jars with corrugated rims from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, see: Sparks, *Stone vessels in the Levant*, nos. 153-67.

[97] Bagh, in Bietak (ed.), *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant*, fig. 2.

[98] Czerny, *Tell el-Dab'a: 'Der Mund der beiden Wege'*, 444.

[99] Cohen-Weinberger, Goren, *Ä&L* 14, tab. 1.

[100] Bietak, *Ä&L* 3, 32-6.

[101] Posener, *Princes at Pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, 94.

[102] Allen, *BASOR* 352, 29-39.

[103] Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 87.

[104] The bulk of the IV-1 fabric group of Tell el-Dab'a origins in this area, see Kopetzky, *Tell el-Dab'a XX*, fig. 66.

[105] The author mentioned this possibility already during her lectures in 2004 at the 4th ICAANE in Berlin and in 2012 at the ASOR conference in Chicago. It has been accepted by Ahrens in his recent article on the 'Hyksos connections' (2011).

[106] At Tell el-Dab'a objects of the Twelfth Dynasty appear in burials of Ph. F onwards (*i.e.* Forstner-Müller, *Tell el-Dab'a XVI: Die Gräber des Areals A/II* , figs. 97a.7, 8; 97b.10).

[107] Schiestl, *Ä&L* 17, 265-71; Kopetzky, *BAAL Hors Série 10*, 393-412.

[108] The author has never seen the originals, but based on her experience with imported and imitated Egyptian pottery at Sidon during this period (Forstner-Müller, Kopetzky, Doumet-Serhal, *BAAL Hors Série* 6, 10, fig. 8), she highly suspects that these vessels were made in Lebanon. Especially

tery types the Byblians wanted to connect themselves to the heydays of the Egyptian Empire.[109] Obviously with the beginning of the Hyksos period in Egypt the rulers of Byblos resume the title *ḥq3 ḫ3swt*, either underlining a close connection to the ruling Hyksos in the Nile delta or to strengthen their claim as heirs of the Middle Kingdom, a role they might have seen themselves in.

It seems that the moment Egypt comes back as a major political and economic player to the international banquet under the rule of Eighteenth Dynasty, the power of Byblos expired.

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since the round based bowls with flaring rims, which are made in Egypt of Nile C-2 fabric, were fired with low temperatures and thus break easily and would not survive a longer journey.

[109] Another though not so plausible explanation for the appearance of these older forms in the Royal Tombs would have been that also this pottery of the late Middle Kingdom reached Byblos as goods stolen from the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties tombs.

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Female Burials in the Funerary Complexes of the Twelfth Dynasty: An Architectonic Approach

Ingrid Melandri

Abstract

This is a comparative analysis of architectural features of female and male royal tombs from the first to the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty placed in a historical perspective. When compared to each other, the royal female burials seem to achieve a degree of standardisation along with a conscious use of models and a clear distinct destination for queens and princesses. Comparison of the male burials, especially the later ones, shows the intention to create a symbolically equal spatial system for the females, in particular those of the kings' wives. Since the burial customs are favoured markers of social dynamics, the results show an increase in importance related to court women. Such upgrading will continue through the New Kingdom.

Introduction

This synthesis focuses on female burials in the funerary complexes of the Twelfth Dynasty located at Lisht, Dahshur, Lahun and Hawara. In fact, the tombs of queens and princesses of the late Middle Kingdom, accommodated in the same architectural project of pharaohs' tombs, have until now received less interest than those of the males.

To fill this gap, the starting point of this study is an article by Aidan M. Dodson (1988) concerning the tombs of the queens of the Middle Kingdom. Here the author attempts a preliminary, cursory survey and assessment of their morphological and spatial characteristics. Now we want to enlarge the object of the study to include princesses' burials, investigate architectural features, and update archaeological data. This is possible especially due to the investigations undertaken by Dieter Arnold who worked in Dahshur and Lisht a century after the de Morgan and Gautier excavations.

Recently, Grajetzki reconsidered female burials of this period, presenting a picture of funerary customs as well as paying special attention to grave goods and some other markers of social status.[1] Therefore, in light of the recent interest, the aim of this article is to provide a further contribution to the studies.

The Twelfth Dynasty and its Genealogical Relations

Amenemhat I started the Twelfth Dynasty and founded a new residence at Lisht (*Itjtawy*), about fifty kilometres south of Memphis. It was here that the funerary complexes for him and his successor, Senusret I were built.

The kings of the Middle Kingdom invested fewer resources in royal funerary complexes; they are modest in dimensions and mixed in technique.

Amenemhat II, the third king of the dynasty, chose Dahshur as the new site for his pyramid. After a short coregency, Senusret II succeeded his father and he chose Lahun, at the entrance of the Fayum, as a site for his funerary complex. Following his reign, major changes in the political landscape of ancient Egypt took place. Senusret III still used Dahshur as the royal necropolis. His foreign politics strengthened Egyptian supremacy over Nubia and the Near East. The successor Amenemhat III, the last great king of the dynasty, built two pyramids: one in Dahshur, near that of his father, and the other at Hawara, south of the Fayum.

In the following table, we present a reconstruction of the family relationships between female members of the Twelfth Dynasty[2] (Table 1).

We do not aim to solve the historical debate on this period, but to provide a functional background for the monuments here described. The names of those from known burials are in bold; in italics are the names of the prin-

[1] Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*.

[2] For further information see: Dodson, *ZÄS* 115, 123-36; Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*; Sabbahy in Grimal, Kamel, May-Sheikholeslami (eds.), *Hommages à Fayza Haikal*, 239-44; Dodson, Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families*; Grajetzki, *Ancient Egyptian Queens*; Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*; Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*.

cesses, to make a clear distinction from the queens.[3] The names with * are known, not from the discovery or identification of the burial, but from other sources of information (statues, funerary objects, papyri, offering tables).

We can notice that the funerary complexes usually accommodate the burials of royal wives and daughters, and not those of the 'kings' mothers'. Thus, it is possible that the tombs of 'kings' wives' not yet found should

	Father	Mother	Sisters	Wives	Daughters
Amenemhat I	Senusret	Neferet I*		Neferitatenent*	**Neferu IV**
Senusret I	Amenemhat I	Neferitatenent	**Neferu IV**	**Neferu IV**	Neferu V (?) ***Itakayt*** *Sebat** *Neferusobek** *Neferuptah I**
Amenemhat II	Senusret I	**Neferu IV**	Neferu V (?) ***Itakayt*** *Sebat* *Neferusobek* *Neferuptah I*	Neferu V (?)	***Ita*** ***Khnumit*** ***Itaweret*** **Weret II (?)**
Senusret II	Amenemhat II	Neferu V (?)	***Ita*** ***Khnumit*** ***Itaweret***	**Weret I**	***Sithathoriunet*** **Itakayt II (?)** *Nefret II**
Senusret III	Senusret II	**Weret I**	***Sithathoriunet*** **Itakayt II (?)** *Nefret II*	**Weret II** **Nefret-Henut** **Itakayt II** Sherit*	***Senet-Senebtisi*** ***Menet*** ***Sithathor*** ***Mereret***
Amenemhat III	Senusret III	(?)	***Senet-Senebtisi*** ***Menet*** ***Sithathor*** ***Mereret***	**Aat** **Khnemetneferhedjet** Hetepti* (?)	Neferusobek II ***Neferuptah II***
Amenemhat IV	Amenemhat III	Hetepti (?)	Neferusobek II ***Neferuptah II***	(?)	(?)

Table 1 – Family relations between female members of the Twelfth Dynasty

The Distribution of Female Burials in the Four Royal Necropoles of the Middle Kingdom

In Table 2 we summarise the distribution of female burials or cenotaphs in the four royal necropoles of the Middle Kingdom.

be sought within the complexes of their husbands. According to this, Dodson proposed just a hypothetical identification and attribution, based on collected data, of additional burials of queens and princesses, reported in Table 3.[4]

Lisht

The complex of Amenemhat I, unfortunately, did not return useful information on the attribution of female burials.

In the complex of Senusret I, because of the considerable plundering, it was possible to identify the owners of just two pyramids: queen Neferu for pyramid 1 and Princess Itakayt for pyramid 2 (Fig. 1).

[3] There are several problems in working with the evidence for these royal women. The titularies of the queen and the princess were not clearly distinguished in the Middle Kingdom as they had been in the Old Kingdom. In the Twelfth Dynasty, some royal women seem to have a 'mixed titulary'. Sabbahy proposed that the mixed titulary, which used the main title 'king's daughter', along with queen's titles from the Old Kingdom, distinguished the woman who was wife of the younger co-regent from the older reigning queen of her father. The institution of coregency would explain this distinctive feature of royal female titulary, which appears only in the Twelfth Dynasty (Sabbahy in Grimal, Kamel, May-Sheikholeslami (eds.), *Hommages à Fajza Haikal*, 243-44).

[4] Dodson, *ZÄS* 115, 129-30.

LISHT	Amenemhat I	
	Senusret I	Neferu IV, *Itakayt*
DAHSHUR	Amenemhat II	*Ita, Khnumit, Itaweret*
	Senusret III	Nefret-Henut, [Weret I], Weret II, Itakayt II, *Mereret, Senet-Senebtisi, Menet, Sithathor*
	Amenemhat III	Aat, Khnemetneferhedjet
LAHUN	Senusret II	*Sithathoriunet*
HAWARA	Amenemhat III	*Neferuptah*

Table 2 – Distribution of female burials or cenotaphs in the royal necropoles of the Twelfth Dynasty

LISHT	Amenemhat I	Neferitatenent	*Inside structure 493, probably a pyramid*
	Senusret I	*Nefrusobek, Neferuptah I*	*Two of the seven remaining secondary pyramids (3-9)*
DAHSHUR	Amenemhat II	Neferu V (?)	*Within the north structure, just outside the enclosure*
	Senusret III	Sherit	*In pyramid 1 (usurped) or 4 (belonging to a princess become queen as it stated an inscription without the name)*
LAHUN	Senusret II	Weret I	*In the only subsidiary pyramid perhaps connected to tomb 621, at north within the enclosure*

Table 3 – Attempt to identify and allocate further female burials within some complexes of the Twelfth Dynasty, as suggested by Dodson, *ZÄS* 115, 129-30

Pyramid 1 and its funerary apartments were excavated by Gautier between 1894 and 1895.[5] The expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1917-1918 tried to identify new funerary shafts at the north side of the pyramid without results. Later, the investigations of Dieter Arnold in 1986-1987 were limited to the northern part of the pyramid and to the southern deposits.[6]

Superstructure of pyramid 1

Pyramid 1 and its enclosure differ greatly in dimensions and appearance from the other eight secondary pyramids in the complex. It was surrounded by a stone paved courtyard delimited by an enclosure wall, probably made of stone. Because of the pyramid's location in the southwestern area of the court, the unidentified funerary chapels were located east and north of the structure. The foundations of the pyramid lay on a platform cut into the bedrock. The underpinnings of the pyramid and of the court are made of small irregular limestone slabs. The core of the pyramid is composed of small local limestone blocks, originally lined by huge Tura limestone blocks. It had an original base of 40 x 40 cubits (21 metres), a height of 36 cubits (18.90 metres) and 62.5° of inclination.

Substructure

Gautier originally excavated pyramid 1 and unearthed an empty tomb. The burial was then reopened in 1986 for further investigation. The entrance shaft is 14 metres

[5] Gautier, Jéquier, *Memoire sur les fouilles de Licht*.
[6] Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*.

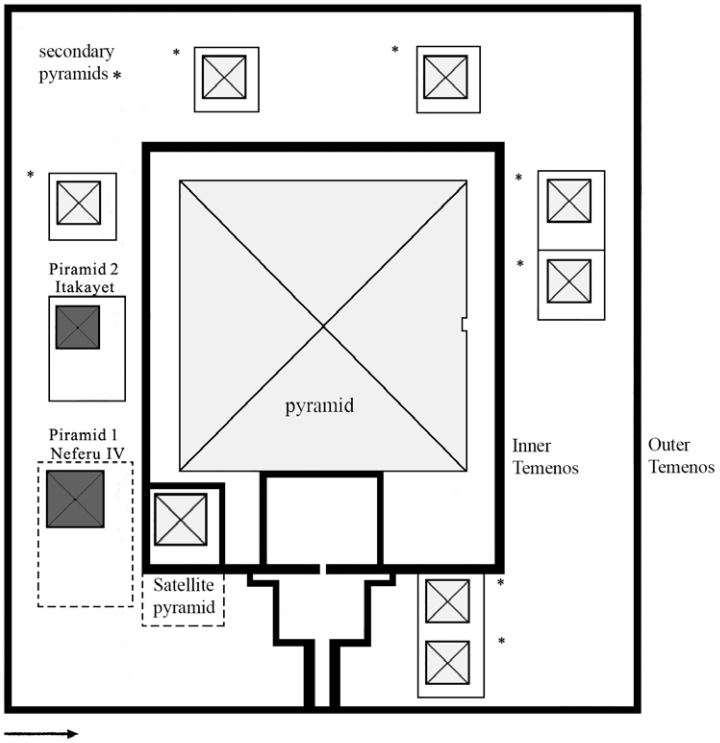

Fig. 1 – General plan of the Pyramid Complex of Senusret I at Lisht (after Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, pl. 114)

deep and opens in front of the pyramid, in the middle of its northern side. From the bottom of the shaft, a corridor leads to funerary apartments, slightly sloped and covered with stone along its final part. The limestone lined funerary chamber is 3 x 4 metres. The low ceiling is carved into the rock. A rectangular pit in the floor was made for holding a sarcophagus, with an uncompleted canopic niche in the north wall (Fig. 2).

Attribution

No inscriptions for an identification of the owner's name were recovered inside the enclosure of pyramid 1. However, three granite inscribed fragments recovered outside of the enclosure in the southeast corner suggest that the pyramid belonged to the 'king's daughter, king's mother, and wife of the king of Lower and Upper Egypt Neferu'. Anyway, it could be possible that pyramid 1 was just a cenotaph and not the real burial of the queen because it was unfinished and no traces of the sarcophagus were found.[7] The identification of the queen's actual tomb between the necropolis of Lisht and Dahshur remains dubious.

The French expedition recognised pyramid 2 as a *mastaba* and dug just the funerary shafts in the southern part of the enclosure. During 1933-1934, the expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavated the entire enclosure with funerary chamber and offering chapel included.

[7] Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, 20.

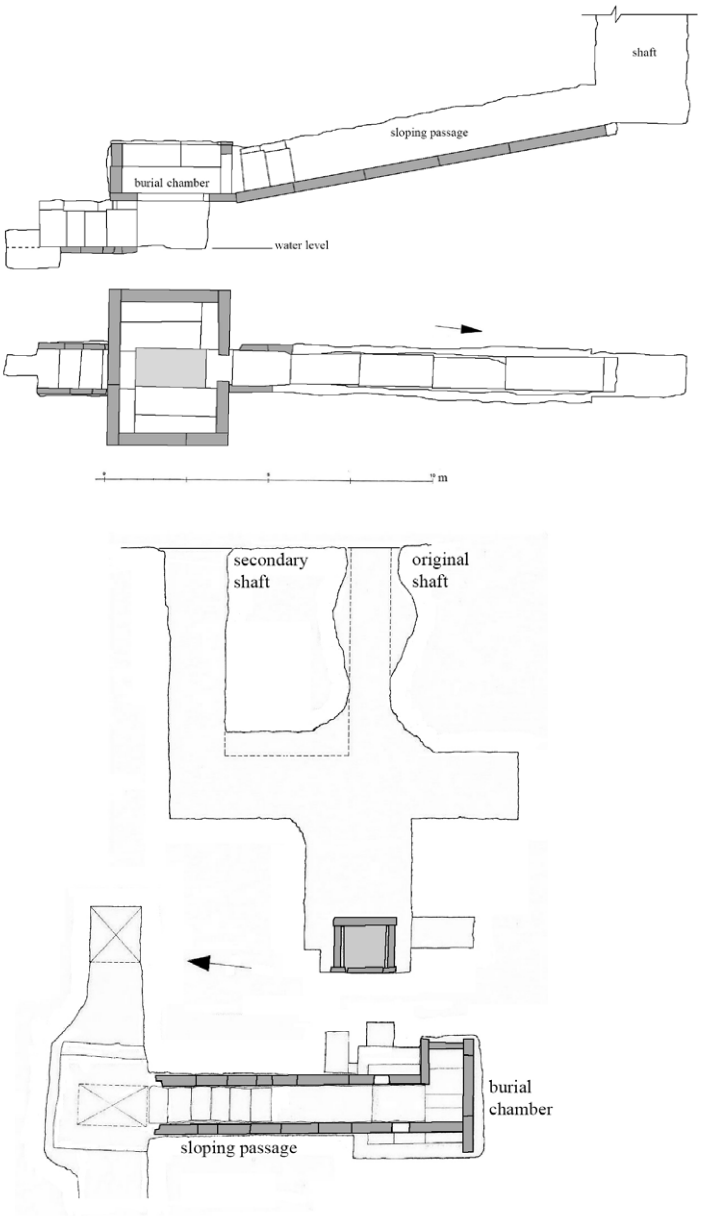

Fig. 2 – (above) Section and plan of the substructure of pyramid 1 from the Pyramid Complex of Senusret I at Lisht (after Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, pl. 15)

Fig. 3 – (below) Section and plan of the substructure of pyramid 2 from the Pyramid Complex of Senusret I at Lisht (after Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, pl. 16)

Superstructure of pyramid 2

Originally surrounding the pyramid was an enclosure 2 cubits thick, built on a foundation made of large slabs held together by dovetail cramps. The core of the pyramid consists of roughly carved stones lined with limestone blocks upon foundation trenches three metres wide. The original structure was 32 x 32 cubits (16.80 x 16.80 metres). Thanks to the recognition of

the inclination of the casing blocks (63.6°), the pyramid's height was calculated at 32 cubits. Because of its southwestern position inside the enclosure, the cult chapels should be to the north and east. In front of the northern side of the pyramid a foundation trench was identified which belonged to an 8 x 7 cubits chapel. No traces were found on the east side so the presence of a second chapel for offerings remains uncertain.

Substructure

There were two entrance shafts, but just the western one was the original primary entrance. It was used during construction activities and abandoned when the chapel was erected upon it. The second east shaft was probably excavated to complete the substructure and to bury the dead.

At the end of the main shaft a corridor-chamber opens, slightly sloped and stone-paved, sealed with three horizontal slabs. After this, a room of equal width is located, with flat ceiling and floor. A huge canopic niche is situated in the eastern wall. It seems that a bigger chamber was intended in the original project but a change of plans led to the construction of the corridor-chamber. These simplifications can be charged to an unexpected death. Another clue of this can be the lack of a stone sarcophagus and canopic chest (Fig. 3).

Attribution

According to the inscriptions present in the chapel, the pyramid belonged to the 'king's daughter, hereditary princess and countess Itakayt'. The absence of a sarcophagus and canopic chest, already mentioned, could indicate another burial place for the dead. Moreover, the substructure's typology did not find comparisons in the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, but rather in the second half. A later dating of the tomb or the use by Itakayt of an uncompleted and unoccupied grave cannot be excluded.

Dahshur

In the Dahshur region the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, Amenemhat II, Senusret III and Amenemhat III, built their funerary complexes at the edge of the plateau east of the two Old Kingdom pyramids of king Snefru.

Jacques Jean-Marie de Morgan excavated the site in 1894-1895 undertaking first the exploration of the Senusret III pyramid (northern), digging inside the enclosure wall in the northwest corner (Fig. 8); in the second season he undertook the excavation of the Amenemhat III pyramid (southern) revealing two burials that belong to the Thirteenth Dynasty.[8] During this season the French

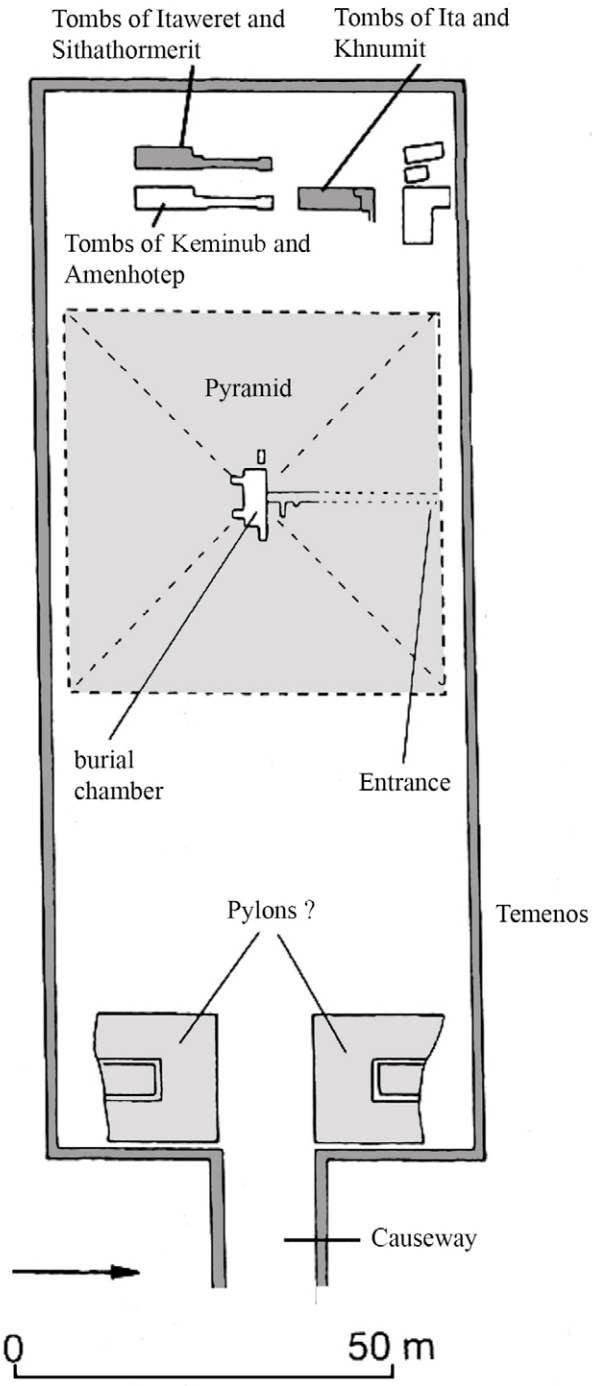

Fig. 4 – Overall plan of the Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat II at Dahshur (after Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, 174)

mission also excavated at the pyramid of Senusret III, finding the tombs of royal women. The researches at the Amenemhat II pyramid, inside the enclosure wall, led to the discovery of the tombs of Ita and Khnumit, Itaweret and Sithathormerit (three of them are king's daughters) and the burials of queen Keminub and of 'treasurer' Amenhotep (Thirteenth Dynasty)[9] (Fig. 4).

[8] de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour (Mars-Juin 1894).*

[9] de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895,* 68-71.

Between 1900 and 1999 the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations, directed by Dieter Arnold in the pyramid complex of Senusret III, were intended to identify new elements as well as clarify some architectural features. During the fourth season, they found the tomb of queen Khnemetneferhedjet Weret II (pyramid 9) with a small cache of jewels. During the sixth season, they found the eastern chapels of pyramid 3 (queen Itakayt II) and 8 (queen Khnemetneferhedjet Weret I); the investigations around pyramid 7 revealed that it lacked an eastern chapel.[10]

On the western side of the pyramid of Amenemhat II are six burials arranged in pairs, accommodating four female members of the royal family. Many elements, primarily the style of the burials and the evidence of pottery in the tombs, suggest that these tombs are not contemporary to Amenemhat II, but were made after his death, even during the reign of Amenemhat III in the latter part of the Twelfth Dynasty. Although many scholars have considered the time frame too long,[11] it is plausible that his daughters died long after the end of their father's reign and were buried in his complex.[12]

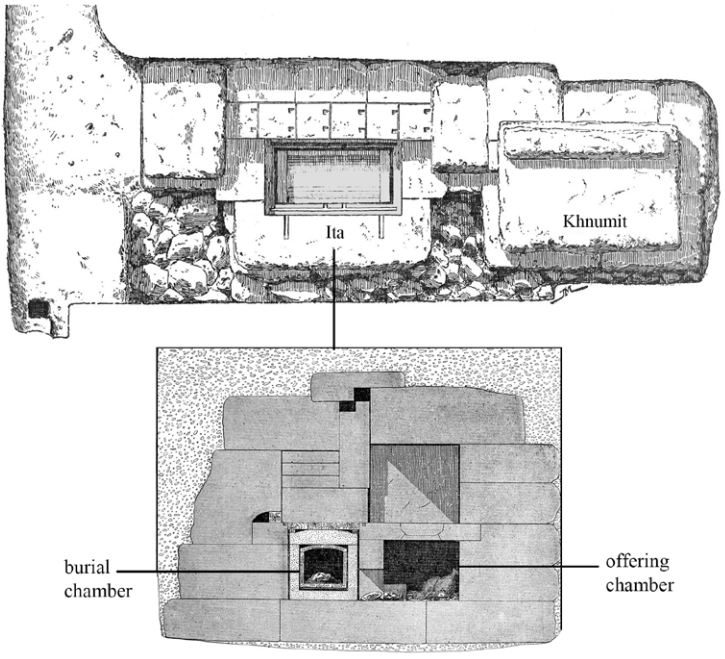

Fig. 5 – A view from above of the tombs of Ita and Khnumit, and a cross section of Ita's burial, from the Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat II at Dahshur (from de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895*, figs. 96-7)

The Burials of Ita and Khnumit

This is a new type of burial. Each structure was built in masonry inside a pit dug into the rock, with a passage connecting the two niches for the sarcophagi. Along the western side were the offering/canopic chambers. Stone slabs blocked by a vertical 'key' secured the locking system. The first tomb de Morgan opened was that of Princess Ita, close to that of Princess Khnumit.[13] Here, in the floor of her offering chamber, a cache of jewels was discovered (Fig. 5).

Attributions

The fortunate discovery of intact burials has enabled a precise attribution. Names and titles of the owners, both daughters of Amenemhat II, were painted inside the wooden coffin.

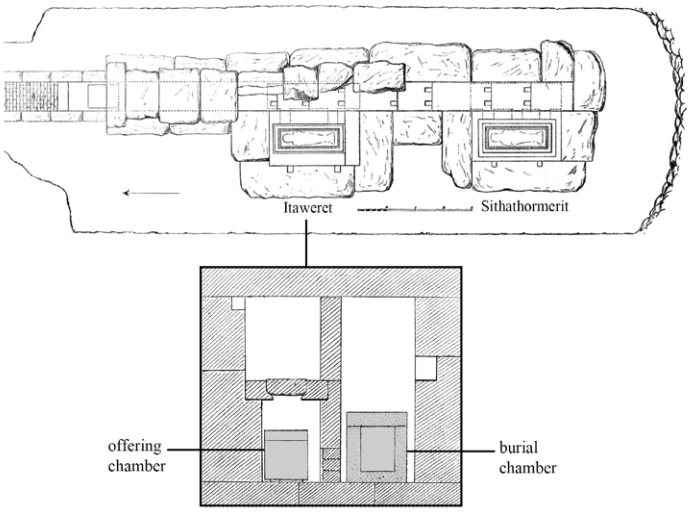

Fig. 6 – A view from above of the tombs of Itaweret and Sithathormerit, and a cross section of Itaweret's burial, from the Pyramid Complex of Amenemhat II at Dahshur (from de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895*, figs. 118-9)

[10] Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, 17.
[11] Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx*, 47.
[12] Sabbahy in Grimal, Kamel, May-Sheikholeslami (eds.), *Hommages à Fajza Haikal*, 242-43; Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 49.
[13] de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895,* 50-68.

The Burial of Itaweret

Southwest of the previous structure, this double tomb is similar from the constructive point of view to it. They lie on the same north-south axis, with entrances located at the same level[14] (Fig. 6).

Attributions

The same fortunate discovery of intact burials once again has enabled a precise attribution. The tombs belonged to the king's daughter Itaweret and a woman called Sithathormerit.

Along the north side of the pyramid of Senusret III, a gallery with twenty interconnected chambers were realised to accommodate the female members of the royal family[15] (Fig. 7). Because of the recurrence of the name of Amenemhat III upon jewellery and pottery from these tombs, it is possible that some burials were built during a coregency between Senusret III and his son, Amenemhat III.

The entrance shaft (1.58 x 3.18 metres, 12.70 metres deep) is located in the northeast corner of the inner court. At its bottom a sloping corridor lined with stone leads to a limestone chamber and the secondary gallery.

This gallery, initially 200 cubits long (105 metres), 1.30-1.35 metres wide and 1.80-2.10 metres high, is straight and level with a slightly vaulted ceiling. Later, the corridor was extended to the west for a total length of 112 metres, probably for further burials never built.

The groups of crypts were arranged in a particular way, with three tombs in the north and one in the south, and two corridors connecting to them. It is probable that tombs 7 and 10 on the south side were added later. The galleries were 1.80-1.95 metres wide and, originally, about 2 metres high. The eight crypts are shallow chambers, large enough to contain the sarcophagus. With just two exceptions (tombs 6-7), no separate canopic niches are provided. The owners of tomb 5 and tombs 10-12 remain unknown.

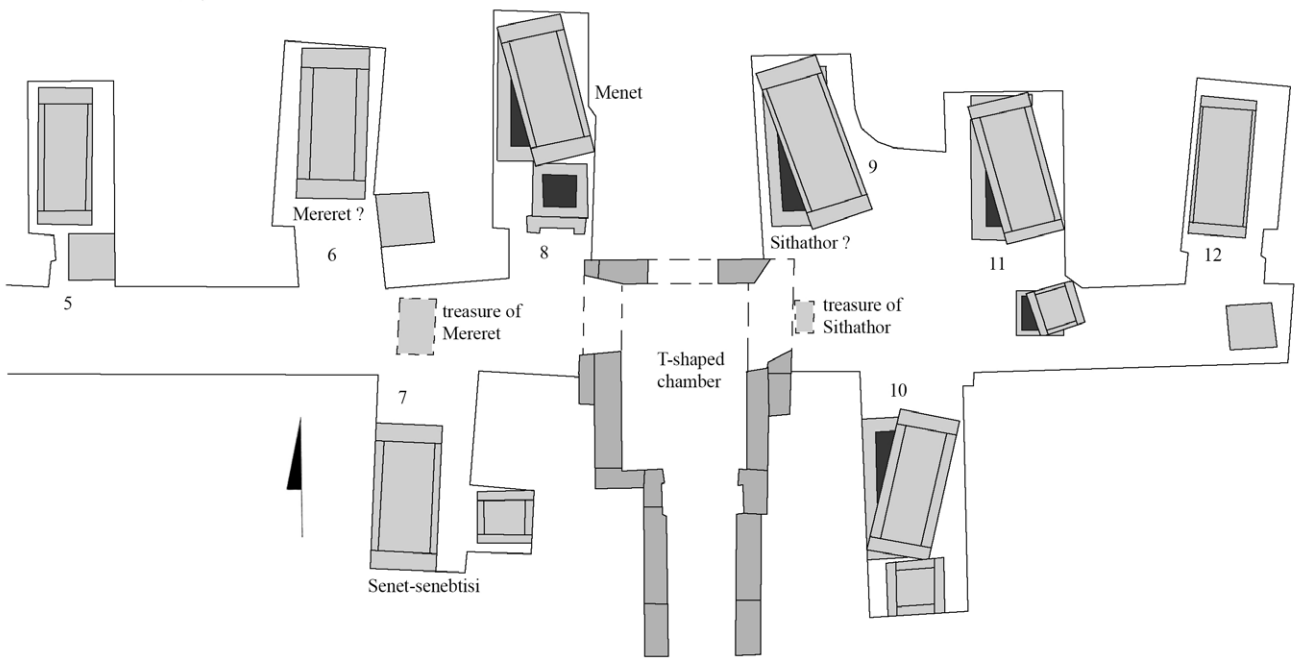

Fig. 7 – Plan of the lower gallery of the princesses from the Pyramid Complex of Senusret III at Dahshur (after Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pl. 69)

Tomb 6 of Princess Mereret (?)

This is the second tomb in the west corridor. The chamber has a vaulted ceiling, plastered with gypsum mortar. In the east wall, near the entrance, a niche was cut to host the limestone canopic chest.

Attribution

The attribution of crypt 6 to Princess Mereret is only based on the discovery of the cache of jewels just outside the tomb. Even if it is incorrect, we have an indication that the princess probably rested in one of the tombs in the gallery.[16]

[14] de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895,* 52-77.

[15] de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour (Mars-Juin 1894)*, 54-72; Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, 55-74.

[16] As Grajetzki noted, Mereret appears as queen in Egyptological literature, but the title 'king's wife' is never connected with

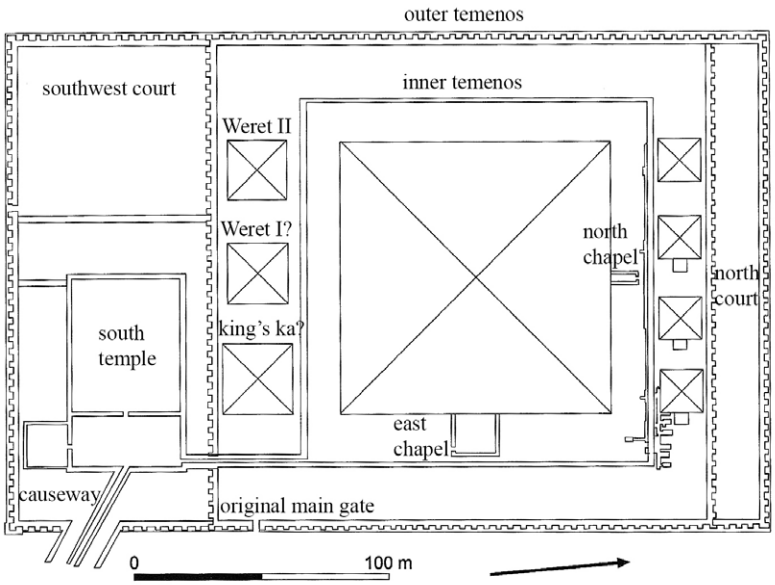

Fig. 8 – Overall plan of the Pyramid Complex of Senusret III at Dahshur (after Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pl. I)

Tomb 7 of Princess Senet-Senebtisi

This tomb is situated on the south side of the same corridor. The ceiling, not well preserved, is shallow and flat, still plastered. The sarcophagus sits in a low depression cut into the rock and surrounded by a floor made of small limestone slabs covering the lower portion of its panel decoration. Similarities in the type and style of the inscriptions suggest, according to Arnold, that the sarcophagi of tombs 7 and 8 were made in the same workshop and that the burials were roughly contemporary.[17] This tomb is the only one with a separate canopic niche in the usual place at the south end of the east side.

Attribution
Thanks to the inscription on the side of sarcophagus we can trace the identity of the owner, the 'king's daughter' Senet-Senebtisi.

Tomb 8 of Princess Menet

This tomb consists of an elongated niche on the north side of the west corridor. The shallow, vaulted ceiling once was plastered. The limestone sarcophagus sits in a low depression surrounded by a floor made of limestone slabs. The canopic chest was located against the east wall, in front of the sarcophagus.

Attribution
Even in this case, thanks to the inscription on the side of the sarcophagus we can trace the identity of the owner, the 'king's daughter' Menet.

Tomb 9 of Princess Sithathor (?)

This is the first tomb on the north side of the east gallery. The original ceiling has collapsed. The limestone sarcophagus stands directly on the rock. The absence of a canopic chest in de Morgan's reports can be explicated because of its reuse in another burial; it also could have been stolen by robbers or transferred to the Egyptian Museum without being recorded.[18]

Attribution
The attribution of crypt 9 to Princess Sithathor, as well as that of tomb 6 to Princess Mereret, is uncertain. It is only based on the discovery of a second jewel cache just outside the tomb. Even if it is incorrect, we have an indication that this princess probably rested in one of the tombs in the gallery.

Pyramids 7, 8 and 9 lay to the south of the king's pyramid and form a separate group, belonging to the original plan of the complex. In fact, the construction shaft of pyramid 9 was later covered by the king's pyramid. Pyramids 7 and 8 do not seem to have actual burial chambers, so it is possible to identify them as cenotaphs.[19] Pyramid 7, the larger in the complex, has been interpreted as the *ka* pyramid of the king, while pyramids 8 and 9 are the same size and actually form a unit.

Superstructure of pyramid 9

The American investigations demonstrate that de Morgan miscalculated the location of this pyramid.[20] In fact, it is about 8 metres farther to the east and its west side aligns with the west side of the king's pyramid.[21]

her name. In fact, on two scarabs from her treasure only the titles of a queen appear, not her name. So, this item more likely belongs to the 'king's wife' Khnemetneferhedjet (Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 93). Moreover, this new interpretation as 'king's daughter' better agrees with the location of his burial in the subsidiary gallery of princesses.

[17] Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, 72.

[18] Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, 73.

[19] *Op. cit.*, 75.

[20] De Morgan did not include pyramid 9 in the publication, probably because he was not able to identify the funerary shaft and consequently its underground apartments.

[21] *Op. cit.*, 76.

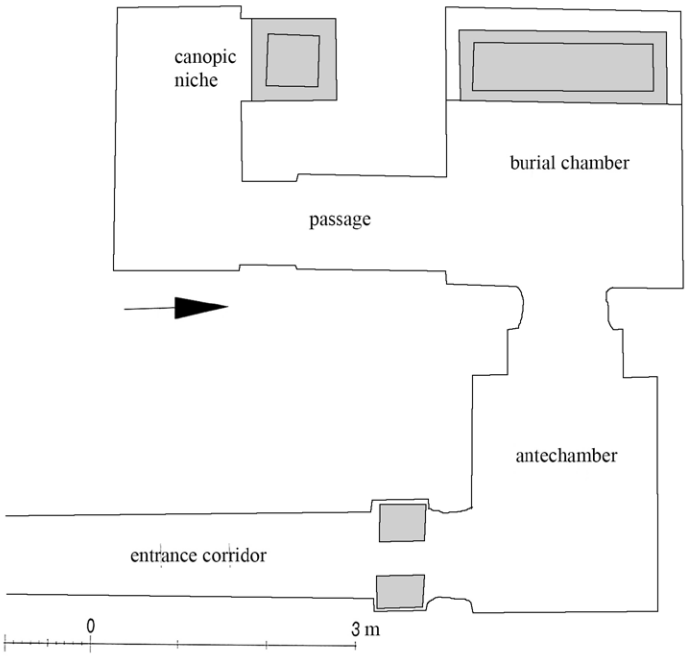

Fig. 9 – Plan of the substructure of pyramid 9 from the Pyramid Complex of Senusret III at Dahshur (after Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pl. 57)

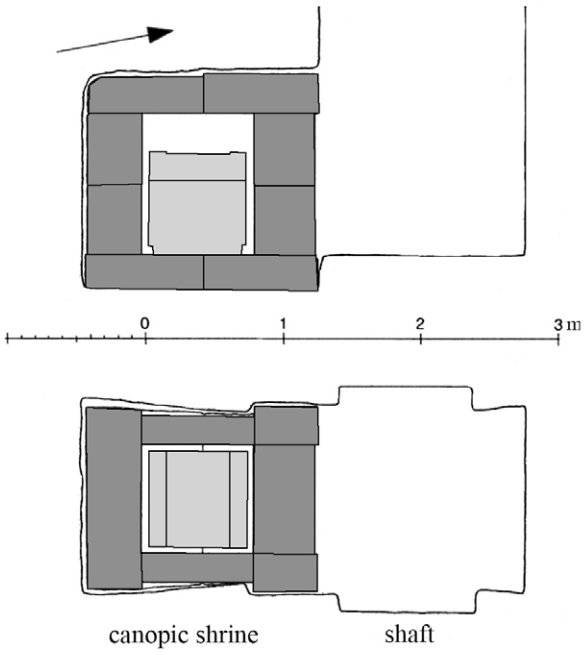

Fig. 10 – Section and plan of the shaft and canopic shrine of pyramid 8 from the Pyramid Complex of Senusret III at Dahshur. Reconstruction of the shrine as found in 1894 (after Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, fig. 27)

A foundation trench 2.8 metres wide and 0.50-0.80 metres deep was dug along the four sides and was filled with between one to three brick sub-foundation courses 2.6 metres wide. These bricks sustained the 2.5-3.2 metres wide limestone foundation of the casing. The pyramid's core (22.65 x 22.75 metres) consisted of bricks closely connected to the irregular rear sides of the limestone casing blocks. The original size of the structure, as calculated by Arnold, might have been 42 x 42 cubits (22.05 metres). Because of the inclination of the casing blocks of 60-61°, the original height may have been 22.05 metres, equal to the width. The MMA explorations demonstrate the presence of north and east chapels.

Substructure of pyramid 9 (Fig. 9)

At the bottom of a shaft, two passages open: the southern still partially filled with ancient brick masonry; the northern one, similarly partially blocked. An opening in the centre of the east wall contained a small jewel cache. The first shallow-vaulted corridor, 1.05 metres wide and 1.82 metres high, opens to the south of the shaft and is unlined. At a distance of 16.3 metres from the entrance, the corridor enlarges to an unlined chamber, 1.40 metres wide and 2.40 metres long, with a shallow-vaulted ceiling. From here, the passage turns to the west and goes on for 12 metres.

At the south side of the west end of the corridor is a limestone shrine (or 'south tomb'). This structure consists of an antechamber 1.67 metres high, 1.20 metres wide and 1.05 metres deep, that leads to a small chamber 1.37 metres wide, 1.60 metres deep and 1.65 metres high.

A second corridor opens on the north side of the shaft that leads to the queen's burial chamber, just below the pyramid of the king. The direction of this passage (22.5 metres long, 0.80-1.15 metres wide and 1.75-2.23 metres high) was slightly modified in order to reach the chambers, which were built by means of a secondary construction shaft. The northernmost section, nearest to the funerary apartments, is lined with two courses of limestone blocks. The antechamber is 2.08 metres x 2.63 metres and 3.06 metres high (about 4 x 5 x 6 cubits). It is built with three courses of limestone blocks, carrying three slightly vaulted ceiling beams. The huge floor slabs are set obliquely to the walls, suggesting a correction under construction due to an attempt to connect the chambers with the entrance corridor.[22] In the west wall of the antechamber, a passage opens to the burial chamber, dom-

[22] Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, 79.

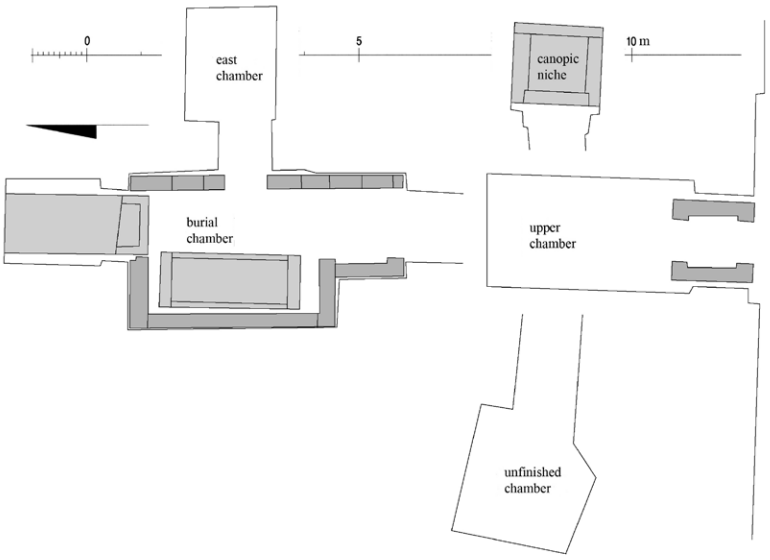

Fig. 11 – Plan of Tomb 2 from the Pyramid Complex of Senusret III at Dahshur (after Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pl. 96)

inated by a granite sarcophagus. The limestone paved crypt (about 5 x 6 x 6 cubits) is built of three courses of blocks, which support four roof beams carved from below to form a vault. In the south wall, an opening leads to a passage that reaches the separate canopic chamber. Here, the canopic limestone chest occupies the canopic niche in the north wall.

Attribution

The name of the owner, 'king's wife' Khnemetneferhedjet Weret II, was found on a partially preserved canopic jar.[23] Another object with a precious black hieratic inscription

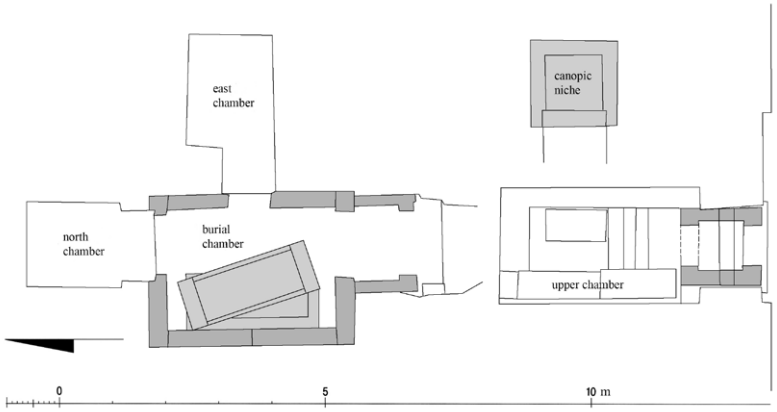

Fig. 12 – Plan of Tomb 3 from the Pyramid Complex of Senusret III at Dahshur (after Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, pl. 92)

was a decayed wood board, which was found in the antechamber of the 'south tomb'. Moreover, one fragment of an inscription bearing part of Weret's name was discovered in the east chapel.

Superstructure of pyramid 8

Pyramid 8 is the same size as pyramid 9. It has a brick core, still partially preserved, and was covered with limestone. The now-missing foundation blocks sat on three courses of sub-foundation bricks, which suggests that the foundation was about 2.10 metres wide. Some large fragments of the casing have the inclination of 63° thus indicating for the pyramid a height equal to its base.

As in the case of pyramid 9, the MMA explorations demonstrated even here the presence of north and east chapels.

Substructure of pyramid 8 (Fig. 10)

De Morgan found a shaft in the centre of the pyramid that was 1.3 x 1.5 metres and 11 metres deep. On the south side of its bottom was a limestone canopic shrine, still sealed. The burial chamber was never found, but this negative result might not be definitive. Anyway, it can be considered that the queen was possibly buried elsewhere.

Attribution

According to several inscribed fragments found around the east and north chapels, the owner of pyramid 8 was the 'princess, wife and mother of the king' Khnemetneferhedjet Weret I. Due to the presence of only a canopic chest, the queen might not be buried in this complex but perhaps in that of her husband. A relief fragment with her name found in the pyramid temple of Senusret II, along with other evidence, supports the assumption that she was the wife of Senusret II and would probably have been buried at Lahun.[24]

That the four north pyramids (1-4) were added to the original complex, perhaps at different times, is suggested by the reduced sizes of the court and by the reuse of a pre-existing structure as their entrance.[25] They represented the superstructures for tombs 1-4, which are each connected to the east-west upper gallery under the monuments. On the north side of this corridor, limestone gates open into four tombs of queens and perhaps other high-ranking members of the royal family. They all follow about the same plan and are arranged on two levels.

Superstructure of pyramid 2 of queen Nefret-Henut

[23] Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, 81.

[24] Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, 82.

[25] *Op. cit.*, 59.

The base of the pyramid should be 32 cubits (16.80 metres), the same as pyramid 3. Casing fragments found demonstrate that the pyramid had a slope of about 62°. The brick sub-foundation of the east chapel is the only evidence still preserved of such a structure.

Substructure
The entrance passage to the tomb was enlarged twice probably to introduce large-size objects such as sarcophagi. The vaulted upper chamber was carefully cut from the rock and paved with limestone slabs. In the east wall, a passage leads to the canopic shrine. The north chamber was completely filled with a second sarcophagus. It is undecorated and uninscribed, thus impossible to trace it back to the owner, probably a close relative of the queen[26] (Fig. 11).

Attribution
Thanks to the inscription on her sarcophagus and relief fragments from the east chapel, we know the identity of the owner of pyramid 2: 'the king's wife, hereditary princess' Nefret-Henut.

Superstructure of pyramid 3 of queen Itakayt II

The base of this pyramid measured 32 cubits north-south (16.80 metres). From the base length of the structure and several huge casing blocks with slopes of 61-63°, the height of the pyramid has been calculated as 32 cubits (16.80 metres).[27] Remains of the east chapel were discovered.

Substructure
At the end of the corridor, the upper chamber was vaulted and limestone paved. A staircase partially cut in the rock leads to the lower level. De Morgan found the canopic shrine completely preserved along with its contents. It was constructed with three pavements slabs, three courses of wall blocks, and three ceiling slabs. The vaulted burial chamber was carefully finished and housed a red granite sarcophagus without decorations or inscriptions. The east chamber ('treasure') was well cut in the rock and has a flat ceiling; its entrance was originally closed with a wooden door (Fig. 12).

Attribution
The name and titles of the owner of pyramid 3 are preserved on a tympanum block, probably located under the ceiling of the chapel's vaulted offering chamber: she is the 'king's daughter' and 'king's wife' Itakayt II. Some disproved evidence indicated this lady may have been a daughter of Senusret II and a sister or half-sister of Senusret III.[28] She was most likely a wife of Senusret III.[29]

The pyramid complex that Amenemhat III built at Dahshur was the subject of research by de Morgan at the end of the nineteenth century,[30] and by the mission of the German Archaeological Institute under the direction of Arnold and Stadelmann, from 1976 to 1983.[31] Amenemhat III introduced in his complex a further location for female burials: inside the king's pyramid. The two female complexes are, basically, a reduced copy of the king's tomb. Therefore, the superstructure is not individual but coincides with the large pyramidal building that also houses the remains of the king. The funerary apartments were linked but they had separate entrances: the king's entrance on the east side, and the entrance of his queens on the west (Fig. 13).

Tomb of queen Aat

The western stairway leads to the two complexes of passages and chambers for the queens, located under the southwest quadrant of the pyramid. The first one ends in a canopic niche for queen Aat situated in the east wall and, as in the arrangement for the king, placed above a staircase that leads to the burial chamber with a granite sarcophagus inside. Like the king, Aat had her own *ka* chapel, reached by a passage southward.[32]

Attribution
Thanks to objects left by the thieves in the funerary apartments, it was possible to identify the owner of the western burial: queen Aat, the wife of Amenemhat III.

Tomb of queen Khnemetneferhedjet

The burial of queen Khnemetneferhedjet is analogous to the previous one, located farther east. It also had her own *ka* chapel under the east edge of the pyramid. Here, Arnold discovered the ruins of a stone shrine originally gilded with a *ka* statue inside and remains of a wig, along with a canopic cache. The burial chamber housed a granite sarcophagus without inscriptions.
Attribution

[26] Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III*, 61.
[27] *Op. cit.*, 65.
[28] *Op. cit.*, 64.
[29] Grajetzki, in Morfoisse, Andreu-Lanoë (eds.), *Sésostris III,* 48-57.
[30] de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895*, 87-117.
[31] Arnold, *MDAIK* 36, 15-21; Arnold, *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhet III*.
[32] Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, 180.

The second woman buried inside the pyramid of Amenemhat III can be identified only thanks to the inscription on an alabaster jar from her funerary equipment. Arnold misinterpreted the proper name of the queen, Khnemetneferhedjet, as a title.[33] Since there is no further name after this title, it seems likely that this was indeed used as a name.[34]

Lahun (Fig. 14)

Senusret II chose this site for his pyramid complex, reflecting the growing importance of the Fayum during the Middle Kingdom.

The second expedition of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, directed by Petrie in 1914, was focused on the southern sector of the court, removing debris in order to identify possible royal tombs. Here, in the south area between the enclosure wall and the pyramid, four shaft tombs (7-10) for royal women were found.[35] The name of the owner was identified only for one of these burials (tomb 8).

Tomb 8 of Princess Sithathoriunet

This is the smallest and least refined of the four tombs. The 6.60 metre deep shaft, of the usual type with a rectangular plan to lower the sarcophagus, is shorter than the other ones. At the bottom, an antechamber opens on the north side, with crudely worked rough rock walls in the upper part. At floor level, on the west side, a small recess with a jewel cache was found undisturbed. On the same axis was the stone lined crypt, almost entirely occupied by the granite sarcophagus. On the east wall a canopic niche opens and, beyond, the offering chamber (Fig. 15).

Attribution

The owner of tomb 8 was the 'king's daughter' Sithathoriunet. She was the daughter of Senusret II, but she still lived under the reign of her brother Senusret III and the subsequent reign of her nephew, Amenemhat III.

Indeed, the royal cartouches on her jewels provided precious information about her life. None of her surviving belongings give her a higher title than that of princess, and had she been the queen of either of her father's successors, we might expect that she would have been buried beside her husband's pyramid rather than her father's.[36]

Hawara

Amenemhat III built a second pyramid at Hawara, in the Fayum region, and he was probably buried there.[37]

With a reduction of the rooms below the pyramid, it would seem reasonable that the daughter had been buried with him in his funerary chamber.[38] However, as noted by Arnold,[39] the pyramid has a corridor almost corresponding to that which at Dahshur connects the king's apartment with those of his wives.[40]

In 1955 Nagib Farag, who was Inspector of Antiquities in the Fayum, 2 km southeast of the complex, identified seven huge limestone blocks belonging to a pyramid of the Twelfth Dynasty. The blocks in the middle of the ruins of mud-brick covered the funerary chamber. The excavation undertaken revealed that this site was the undisturbed tomb of Neferuptah, the daughter of Amenemhat III.[41]

Superstructure of the Tomb of Neferuptah (Fig. 16)

The superstructure has almost completely disappeared. It is possible to reconstruct its pyramidal shape from the traces covering a square area. Except for the central area, the soil has been stabilised partly with limestone blocks and splinters and partly with mud-bricks. Upon this, the core of the structure was erected in mud-brick masonry. The foundations of the casing were made by limestone blocks or slabs arranged in one or more courses according to necessity. Around the pyramid, the foundation formed a sort of 3 cubits wide pavement.[42]

Substructure

The peculiarity of this burial is the absence of external access.[43] A rectangular pit (5.22 metres x 1.85 metres, 2.40 metres high) was dug, lined with small limestone blocks and closed by seven huge limestone blocks, serving as a roof. The chamber was half full of water at the time of the discovery. At 0.88 metres from the north wall there was a separating wall made by a single huge limestone block. So the space was divided into two

[33] Arnold, *MDAIK* 36, 20.

[34] Roth, *Die Königsmütter des Alten Ägypten*, 440. For notes and comments on the title 'Khnemetneferhedjet' see: Perdu, *RdE* 29, 68-85; Callender, *SAK* 22, 43-6; Sabbahy, *ZÄS* 23, 349-52.

[35] Brunton, *Lahun I: the Treasure*, 35.

[36] Winlock, *The Treasure of el Lahun*, 3-4.

[37] Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, 16-7.

[38] Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, 183.

[39] Arnold, *MDAIK* 36, 20-1.

[40] In light of the discoveries at Dahshur, the funerary apartments at Hawara would require further exploration (Dodson, *ZÄS* 115, 135).

[41] Farag, Iskander, *The Discovery of Neferwptah*; Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *Orientalia* 42, 357-69; Dodson, *KMT* 11/4, 40-7.

[42] In the north and east, other foundations were unearthed, perhaps belonging to an enclosure wall and a cult chapel (Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *Orientalia* 42, 358).

[43] This element seems to promote the hypothesis of a secondary burial of the princess in this place. The superstructure would have been built after the burial of the body (Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *Orientalia* 42, 359).

parts: the northern one for the offerings, the southern for the burial (with a 0.30 metre wide entrance between the east wall and the separating wall). Inside the burial chamber, there was the huge red granite sarcophagus of Neferuptah.

Attribution

The sarcophagus bore a short inscription mentioning the titles and the name of the 'king's daughter' Neferuptah. The tomb near Hawara was interpreted as a secondary burial of the princess.

In 1892 Petrie also found objects with the name of the 'king's daughter' Neferuptah in the funerary chamber of Amenemhat III. One such item was an alabaster offering table. The second sarcophagus in the chamber is generally ascribed to Neferuptah because she is the only other person besides the king mentioned in the inscriptions of the tomb chamber.

Evidently two burials were arranged for Neferhuptah, one within the father's pyramid, the other about two kilometres away. There are two accredited hypotheses to explain this: the king died before her and there was no chance to open the tomb again after its closing.[44] When Neferuptah died, later, she was buried in her own tomb. The second option is that there were two daughters with the same name, one buried with the king, the other buried elsewhere. After much speculation by scholars, the question remains unclear.[45]

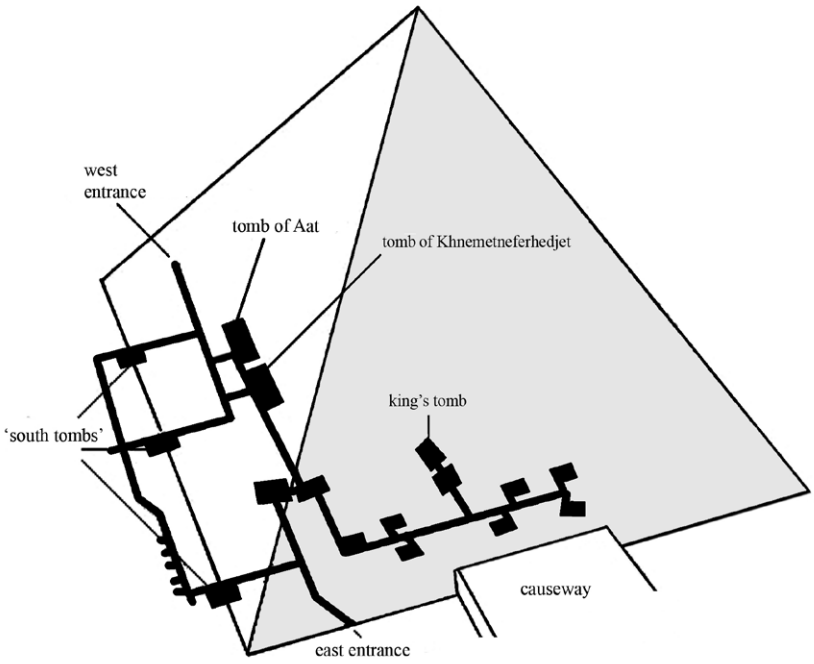

Fig. 13 – Axonometric view of the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Dahshur (after Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, 179)

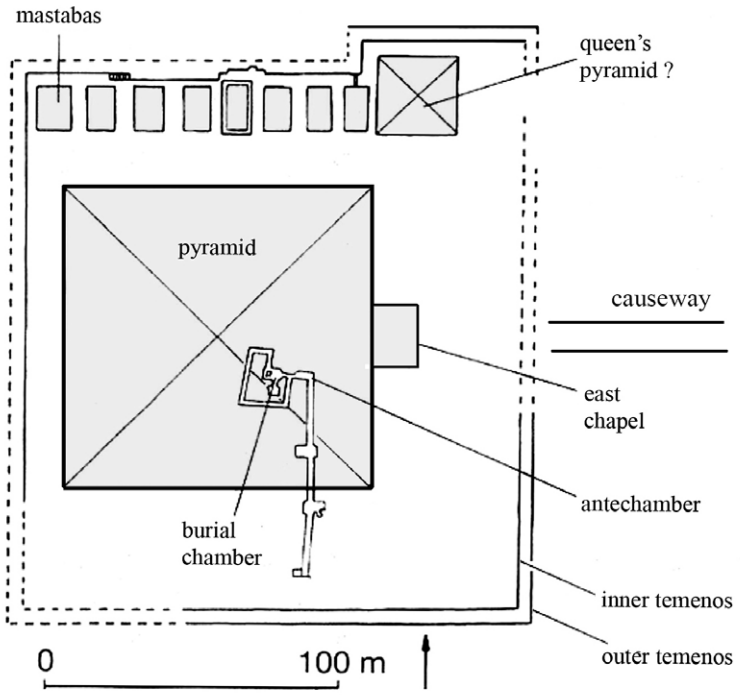

Fig. 14 – Overall plan of the Pyramid Complex of Senusret II at Lahun (after Petrie, Brunton, Murray, *Lahun II*, pl. 8)

The Funerary Architecture of the Twelfth Dynasty: a Comparative Analysis

Common features of king's pyramid complexes

Comparing the plans of the Twelfth Dynasty's funerary complexes, it is possible to identify some common features. The most interesting element is the revival of the

[44] Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, 241.
[45] Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 68-71.

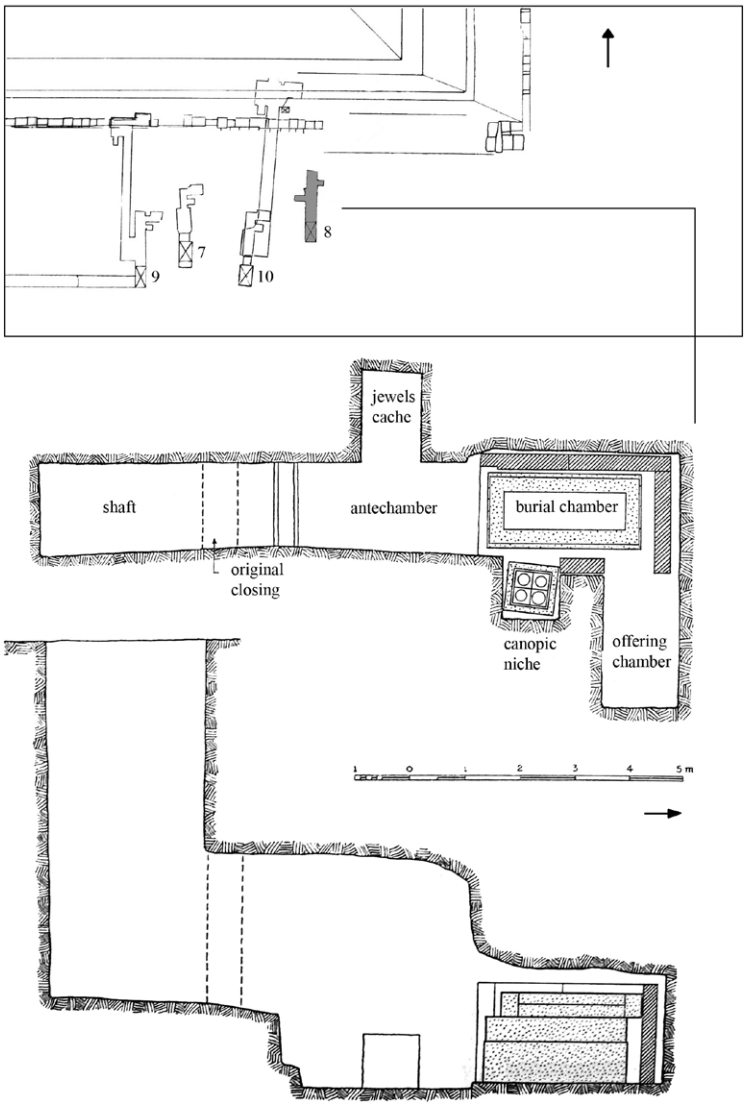

Fig. 15 – Detail of the southeast corner of the Pyramid Complex of Senusret II at Lahun with the location of the shaft tombs (from Brunton, *Lahun I*, pl. 23); plan and section of tomb 8 from the pyramid complex of Senusret II at Lahun (after Winlock, *The Treasure*, fig. 1)

pyramid as a superstructure. This visual symbol of the pharaohs' tombs had its origin and development in the Old Kingdom but was abandoned during the First Intermediate Period. In the choice to bring back the royal cemeteries to the Memphite area, and in the renewing of a recognisable element of previous glory such as the pyramid, we can see a clear politically ideological attempt to legitimate themselves through the reintegration in the tradition. Resized and mixed in techniques with less expenditure of economic and human resources, these buildings started from Old Kingdom's models to undertake a development process that we can follow step by step to its completion (Table 4).

First, by making a comparison between the superstructures, it is possible to detect a standardisation in dimensions that is almost the same for all the pyramids. It is interesting to note that the second pyramid of Amenemhat III has a lower slope than the first one, probably to avoid static problems.

Second, the traditional northern entrance was abandoned in an attempt to dissimulate its position and make it difficult to find.

At the end, the more elaborate projects providing an increased development of funerary apartments create some technical problems related to the association with the pyramidal structure. Later, these projects will undertake their own unrestricted development in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom (Table 5).

Despite the peculiarities of each complex, their arrangement was established in the Old Kingdom and was suitable for performing ceremonies and maintaining the funerary cult. A valley temple is linked through a causeway to the funerary temple, which remains the 'public' part of the tomb. Otherwise, the substructure is where the actual tomb is situated. This 'afterlife place' is reserved for the dead and is no longer accessible after the burial.

The presence of secondary pyramids and/or shaft tombs inside royal complexes shows the king's desire to be surrounded by his family members, especially wives and daughters.[46]

The double temenos has a dual purpose: not for defence, but to show the power of the king in its inner arrangement and to reproduce the water of chaos from which emerged the primordial mound in its outer arrangement. It is possible to summarise the common features of the funerary complexes of the Twelfth Dynasty as follows:

A double wall encircles them. The inner limestone wall is characterized by projections and recesses, decorated sometimes with the king's name and titles. The outer wall is built with mud bricks.

The Old Kingdom's Memphite sequence of 'valley temple, processional causeway, funerary temple' characterises them.Tura limestone still covers the pyramidal superstructures, but the core is made of mud bricks. The northern entrance is gradually abandoned for an east or

[46] This seems to be a significant feature of many Old and all Middle Kingdom pyramid complexes. See in general: Jánosi, *Die Pyramidanlagen der Königinnen*. In the Middle Kingdom, only women were placed around the king; in fact, it seems that the royal women around the king were in some way connected with Hathor (Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 180-4).

south location. The substructures are increasingly more elaborate. The funerary chambers are small and lined with limestone or granite. They generally accommodate the burials of kings' wives and kings' daughters.

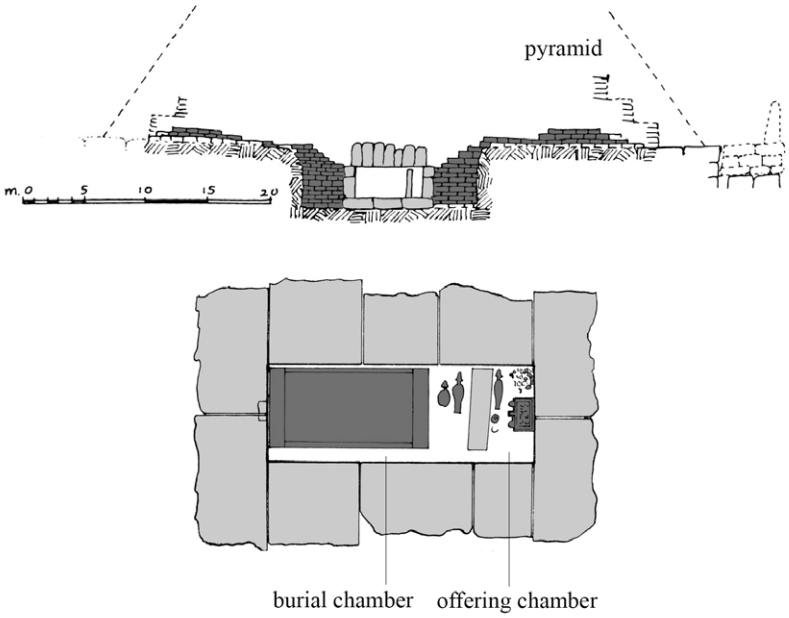

Fig. 16 – North-south section of the pyramid of Neferuptah, near Hawara. (after Maragioglio, Rinaldi, *Orientalia* 42, 368). Plan of the burial chamber of Neferuptah with a reconstruction of the inner content (after Farag, Iskander, *The Discovery of Neferwptah*, fig. 6)

First and second developmental phases

Amenemhat I and Senusret I, although incorporating new architectural and artistic elements inherited from the Theban experience, tried to relive the Memphite tradition of pyramid complexes of the late Old Kingdom.

Previous models inspired the square temenos plan, the location of the pyramid with its northern entrance and many other details, thus making it possible to reconstruct some elements thanks to these valuable comparisons.

Amenemhat II abandoned this custom and started, as defined by Arnold, a second phase in the Middle Kingdom's pyramid development.

From the first complexes of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties, and those of the late Old Kingdom and even further back in time to the Third Dynasty, traditional elements are borrowed and combined with experimentation to create new forms in the pyramids of the second part of the Middle Kingdom.

The most typical experimentalism with the provincial art of the First Intermediate Period, autonomous by the canons of the art of the court, certainly encouraged these innovations.

The attempt to make the burials of the king and his family safer seems to have driven the architects in their works. Again, the First Intermediate Period's experience demonstrated the unreliability of the great complexes. Along with technical devices to prevent looting, two innovations mark a turning point from the previous period. Put in a diachronic perspective, the dislocation of the entrance before and the separation of substructure from superstructure later led to the further step made in the New Kingdom: the distinct spatial separation between the great buildings for the funerary cult and the burial places, the latter deeply hidden in the heart of the Theban mountain.

Archaic Elements

In the funerary complexes of the Twelfth Dynasty, both of the first and second phase, it is possible to identify the presence of archaic elements. In the search of models, as well as a specific political and ideological intention, the typical Egyptian inclination to recover the heritage of previous ages and its ability in making an always-new 'Renaissance' should be recognised.

In the first phase, the reference to the past is manifested in two ways: in the complex of Amenemhat I original elements taken from the funerary monuments of the Old Kingdom at Giza and Saqqara were reused.[47] In the complex of Senusret I the general outline follows that of the complexes of the Fifth-Sixth Dynasties.

In the second phase, in particular from Senusret III onward, the clear and frequent references to an even more remote past, the Third Dynasty's Djoser complex at Saqqara, are visible.

Some archaisms are reproduced in the complex of Senusret III at Dahshur.[48]

The outer and inner enclosure walls were characterised by projections and recesses. The upper part of the stone inner wall was decorated in relief with a 'window' pattern. The complex, after enlargement, had a clear north-south orientation. At the south end of the east side of the outer wall, an entrance gate was

[47] The debate on the reasons for it still oscillates between symbolic interpretations or purely utilitarian views.
[48] Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III,* 121-2.

	LENGHT	*HEIGHT*	*ANGLE*	*ENTRANCE*	*ROOMS*
Amenemhat I	84	55	54°	N	2
Senusret I	105	57.9	49°	N	1?
Amenemhat II	80.77	47.24	?	N	2
Senusret II	105.88	48.65	42°	S (2)	3
Senusret III	105	65	51°	O	1
Amenemhat III *Dahshur*	105	75	5° 20’	E	1 + 7 vestibules
Amenemhat III *Hawara*	105	58	48° 45’	S	1 + 5 vestibules

Table 4 – Comparison between the pyramids of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty

	A	**B**	**C**	**D**	**E**	**F**	**G**
Amenemhat I	•	•	•	•	•	•	2
Senusret I	•	10	•	•	•		2
Amenemhat II	•	•	•	•	?		•
Senusret II	•	•	•	•		•	2
Senusret III	•	7	•	•	•		2
Amenemhat III *Dahshur*	•		•	•			2
Amenemhat III *Hawara*	•		•	•	?		?

Table 5 – Comparison of the attested components in the funerary complexes of the Twelfth Dynasty

located. The tree-trunk ceiling pattern in the entrance passage and in the T-shaped chamber follows examples from the Djoser complex or other Old Kingdom prototypes.

Spaces and Functions

From a comparison of hypogeum chambers between the complex of Amenemhat III at Dahshur and the complexes of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, an increase in the interior rooms can be noted.

In the Old Kingdom examples, the planimetrical scheme of the king’s tomb provided the presence of an antechamber, a chamber for the sarcophagus and canopic chest, and some chapels (*serdab*); the queen and noble’s tombs were limited to a single burial chamber, sometimes with a canopic niche.

In the Twelfth Dynasty, further rooms were added, identified as *ka* chapels, ‘treasures’ and offering chambers.

In the *ka* chapel of queen Khnemetneferhedjet some fragments of a gilded shrine and *ka* statues were discovered, together with an alabaster canopic box for the queen’s *ka*. In the series of six small rooms, situated in the northern part of the king’s funerary apartments, and again located in the southern sector (identified as south tomb or tomb for the king’s *ka*), it is possible to recognise the series of chapels (*serdab*) in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty complexes. Their duplication shows the importance attributed to them both in the actual burial and in the *ka* tomb.[49] When satellite pyramids do not surround the tombs of the kings, the *ka* tomb should be searched for inside the main pyramid.

The Female Royal Burials: Typologies and Models

The wide range of female burials, without apparent standardisation in localisation or arrangement of the structures, seems to make the identification of types difficult. We can trace the models which inspired these tombs in the Old Kingdom royal funerary architecture (especially for the first part of the dynasty), in the contemporary kings’ burials (especially for the second part of the dynasty), and also in the private funerary architecture.

Here we produce a synthesis of the female royal bur-

[49] Arnold, *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhet III*, 99.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
LISHT	Senusret I	Neferu IV	S	•	•	•	•	N	•	•
		Itakayt	S	•	•	•	•	O	•	
DAHSHUR	Amenemhat II	*Ita*	O		•			N	•	•
		Khnumit	O		•			N	•	•
		Itaweret	O		•			N	•	•
	Senusret III	Nefret-Henut	N	•	•		•	S	•	•
		Itakayt II	N	•	•		•	S	•	•
		Mereret	N		•			S	•	•
		Senet-Senebtisi	N		•			S	•	•
		Menet	N		•			S	•	
		Sithathor	N		•			S	•	
		Weret II	S	•	•		•	S	•	•
		[Weret I]	S	•	•		•	S	?	•
	Amenemhat III	Aat	S	*	•			O	•	•
		Khnemetneferhedjet	S	*	•			O	•	•
LAHUN	Senusret II	*Sithathoriunet*	S		•			S	•	•
HAWARA	Amenemhat III	*Neferuptah*		•	•				•	

Table 6 – Comparison between the female burials within the funerary complexes of the Twelfth Dynasty.
1) site 2) complex 3) owner 4) location 5) superstructure 6) substructure 7) temenos 8) funerary chapel 9) entrance 10) burial chamber 11) canopic niche/chamber

ials of the Twelfth Dynasty with their architectonic features. This will be useful for making some notes (Table 6).

The location of the female tombs in the royal funerary complexes changes through the Twelfth Dynasty. In the older complex, that of Senusret I at Lisht, they both lie to the south, but with different entrances (to the north for pyramid 1 of Neferu IV, to the west for pyramid 2 of Itakayt). In the following complex of Amenemhat II at Dahshur, all the female burials are located to the west, with the entrance to the north. Then, Senusret III changes the disposition and puts the female tombs to the north in his funerary complex, now with the entrance to the south. An exception is that of two smaller pyramids to the south of the king's pyramid. One of these belongs to his wife, Weret II (P 9), while the other (P8) is probably just a cenotaph for his mother Weret I and not the real burial (no identified burial chamber, just a canopic chest). Amenemhat III introduces a further change, incorporating the tombs of his wives under his own pyramid. The 'complexes' of the queens Aat and Khnemetneferhedjet III are, essentially, a reduced copy of the king's burial. They both possess a *ka* chapel under the southern side of the pyramid, just as in the male complex. At Lahun, the tomb of Sithathoriunet lies, along with the others, to the south of the Senusret II pyramid and has a south entrance.

The female burials are little funerary complexes inside the bigger royal complex at Lisht. Here, the secondary pyramids are located around the pyramid of Senusret I. Each one has its own temenos, funerary chapel, pyramid and underground rooms, as in the late Old Kingdom prototypes.

In the complex of Amenemhat II, female burials (probably built in the latter part of the Twelfth Dynasty) lack the superstructure and are distinguished by a connecting corridor, linking two tombs together (in the 'Gallery of the queens' at Dahshur more tombs are linked together by a passage).

In the complex of Senusret III, we can see three different solutions for funerary apartments, already recognised by Dieter Arnold.[50] They are also the result of changes from the original plan.

'Double Level': This type, anticipated by shaft-tombs in the complex of Senusret II at Lahun, is resumed for the tombs under the four north pyramids. The Lahun tombs have an axial plan with a shaft, an antechamber and a crypt. Near the antechamber, which

[50] Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III,* 120-2.

is on a slightly higher level, there is a canopic niche and a niche or small chamber, called 'treasure'. An 'offering chamber' is situated behind the sarcophagus, near the crypt.

In the complex of Senusret III, we find a different planimetrical arrangement of the subsidiary chambers. Here the canopic niches became separate chapels located under the upper chambers, near the entrance corridors. The treasures are now accessible from the crypts.

In the later complex of Amenemhat III at Dahshur, further developments can be traced. The canopic niches moved to the upper floor. The antechamber is now on the same lower level of the crypt. The 'treasure' and the 'offering chamber' have been suppressed. A 'south tomb' is the new element, probably derived by satellite pyramids of the Old Kingdom. According to Arnold, this is an evolution for *ka* chapels.[51]

'Male Model': The tomb of Weret II (pyramid 9) at Dahshur is an individual type, clearly influenced in its planimetric development by the king's tomb.

It is set on a unique level with a true antechamber, a vaulted crypt with a granite sarcophagus and a separate chamber for the canopic chest. These three rooms are set at a right angle instead of aligned on a central axis. In the queen's tomb, south of the real burial, there is also a sort of cenotaph. Its purpose is still unknown. Also in the king's funerary apartments under the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Dahshur, six small chapels are present, perhaps with some connection to six chambers located along the corridor that lead to the king's chamber.[52] The addition of a south tomb, or underground statue shrine is an important element of royal burials, both male and female, of the late Twelfth Dynasty. With its south placement and distance quite far from the main burial, this element is supposed to have an ideological link to Abydos. Thus, the shared destiny of the king and of Osiris will be accomplished.[53]

The queen's tombs in the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Dahshur also belong to this 'male model'. As previously noted, they are designed with the clear intention of making a reduced copy of the king's tomb.

In the application of the same model and the spatial link between these male and female burials, we can see the will of a common destiny and, perhaps, an evolution in power relations and social dynamics inside the royal family.

'Niche-Type': A simpler typology is that of eight crypts (tombs 5-12) for princesses built on a lower level of the 'Gallery of the Queens'. Each tomb consists of a chamber with a flat, uncoated roof, large enough to contain a sarcophagus. In most cases, due to the lack of space, the canopic chests lie in the corridor just outside the chamber. Next to the sarcophagus are the funerary offerings that, in the double level-type, are put in the east chamber.

Because of the clear architectonic distinction between the upper gallery with real tombs and the lower gallery with just niches for sarcophagi, and because of their attribution, Dodson hypothesises that this is a reflection of family relationships, with a clear distinction between the king's wives (buried in the upper gallery) and the king's daughters (inhumed in the lower corridor).

Reflecting on all considered burials, despite the single declination, it is possible to single out just two distinct kinds of female burials for the late Middle Kingdom:

The 'Male Model' seems to be applied to the tombs of the queens, as in the case of Weret II (Senusret III), Khnemetneferhedjet and Aat (Amenemhat III). In the latter case, the queens do not have their own pyramid as a superstructure but are incorporated in that of the king.

The 'Niche-Type' seems to be adopted for the tombs of the princesses, as identified in the late burials within the complex of Amenemhat II and the crypts in the subsidiary gallery at Dahshur. In all these cases, in fact, more tombs consisting of a burial chamber (with a separate offering chamber first, and without later) are linked by a passage. In addition, the tomb of Neferuptah near Hawara can be assigned to this type, despite the exceptional presence of its own pyramid. As in the tombs of Ita and Khnumit and those of Itaweret and Sithathormerit, it consists of a pit with a massive stone structure inside. Here, the burial chamber and the offering chamber form a single bipartite space.

Conclusion

In the history of Egyptian architecture, the Middle Kingdom and more precisely the Twelfth Dynasty is a transition point. It represents the link between the elaboration of the royal building of the Old Kingdom, the provincial art of the First Intermediate Period, and what would be realised in the New Kingdom.

The complexes analysed show the great skill of the ancient Egyptians in taking elements from previous periods and merging them together, repurposing them in an innovative form.

The rational and efficient application of structural science allowed for the substitution of construction methods employing huge stone blocks with those more suitable for the poorest materials.

A comparison of royal female burials, reveals a degree of standardisation along with a conscious use of

[51] Arnold, *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhet III*, 99-103, pl. 72.
[52] *Op. cit.*, plan I.
[53] *Op. cit.,* 121.

models and a clear distinct destination for queens and princesses.

The comparison with male burials, especially the later ones, shows the intention to create a symbolically equal spatial system for the females, in particular those of the kings' wives. This evidence is a reflection, from a historical point of view, of the increasing importance of court women. Such upgrading will continue through the New Kingdom.

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Diachronic questions of form and function: falcon-head utensils in Middle Kingdom contexts

Stephen Quirke

Abstract
Discussion of the date and function of a distinctive utensil or holder, identified by Guy Brunton as elongated 'imitation shells', in related to other object types and to the range of sources for afterlife, mortal life, and, as the transition between the two, embalming and burial.

I. Guy Brunton on 'imitation shells'

In his excavation report on third millennium BC sites near Qau, Guy Brunton published the following comments on one find apparently from the later part of that timespan (1927, 66):[1]

> The imitation shell in ivory, [pl. 40, no.] I, has been inscribed with a regular funerary formula. This, rather inexplicably, has been almost worn away by use. Similar shells are one of wood with titles, from Kahun, xiith dyn. (Petrie and Brunton, *Lahun II*, p. 41, pl. lii, 7), of ebony from Ekhmim at University College (Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, pl. xxiii, 14), and another in ivory with a hawk's head from Mayana, xvith dyn. (*Sedment I*, p. 18, pl. xlii, 6)

The distinctive form raises issues of date and function: section II below opens this enquiry from the last example cited by Brunton, a remarkable combination of 'imitation shell' form with falcon head, with a close parallel from Abydos. In section III, I list all examples known to me of utensils with comparable single ridge and elongated form, without falcon head preserved. Broadening the base for comparison, sections IV-V contain select examples of 'imitation' and natural shell forms without such pronounced elongation, and sections VI-VII examples of other falcon-headed utensils. For considering the use of utensils within sets, section VIII provides a summary from the Brunton listing of contents of boxes and bags in late third millennium BC burials from Qau to Matmar.

[1] Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, vol. I, 66.

II. Utensils with one lengthways ridge, curving up at centre, and with falcon-head terminal

Item 1. From locus 1300, Sidmant: UC18835 (Fig. 1)
Online database description:[2] Ivory spatula in form of a shell with hawk's head (copper eyes) at one end; incomplete, with 2 fragments, pieces missing since publication
Online database dimensions: length 16.7 cm, width 1.9 cm

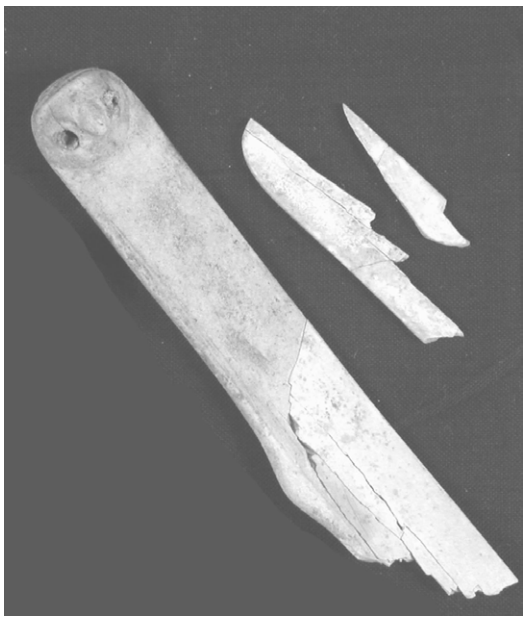

Fig. 1 – Falcon-headed utensil from Sidmant 1300, UC18835 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

[2] Entries on all cited Petrie Museum items at <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/>, accessed 20.2.2016.

This utensil is from a deposit of objects, without associated human or animal burial, near ring-grave Nubian nomad huts and burials in the low desert near Sidmant al-Gabal in northern Upper Egypt,[3] and its remarkable varied contents have been assessed by Christine Lilyquist with particular focus on connections to Nubia and Syria-Palestine.[4] The description on the Petrie Museum online collection database, cited above, derives from the handwritten museum register entry by post-war curator Anthony Arkell. In addition to the falcon head, this 'spatula' has a distinctive, elongated form, with flat edge along the side along proper left of the falcon, and low ridge along proper right; towards the broken end, the low ridge is interrupted by a shallow outward curving ridge. The falcon head is carved in one piece with the extended main body of this utensil.

It is not known whether the group is the result of one or multiple acts of deposition, but its contents seem consistent with a general late Middle Kingdom date; no clearly earlier or New Kingdom objects are present, in the Lilyquist review. Among the finds, the most sensitive chronological indicator is the pair of thin-walled Nile silt hemispherical cups (UC18813-4); from the profile drawings by Will Schenck, these seem closest to Group 5 in the pottery corpus by Robert Schiestl and Anne Seiler, with a date-range from the reign of Amenemhat III to the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[5]

The finds include a range of bone or ivory inlays and wood boards from small boxes, as well as faience and stone vases, and Levantine juglets.[6] Of these, the 1.9 cm utensil end could have been used, if that was its function, in the extraction of material from calcite (Egyptian alabaster) *bas*-vases UC18823 (width 5.3 cm), 18824 (5.9 cm), 18825 with constricted neck and duck-head handle (internal diameter of neck ca. 3 cm), and faience vase 18827 (ca. 4 cm).

Item 2. From tomb 486, Abydos (Garstang 1908): JE39764 Record from Garstang documentation, after Steven Snape:[7] long wooden 'spoon', the hawk head at one end having a bronze beak and carnelian and gold eyes

This close parallel to the Sidmant 1300 item was found by the John Garstang 1908 expedition across the Abydos North cemeteries. The 'spoon' has a falcon head with lappets at one end, and rounded asymmetrical end at the other end of the body, better preserved than in the Sidmant example. The slight outward curve along the ridge is here located about two-thirds along one long side, closer to the falcon head end. The eyes are again inlaid, but in semi-precious stone and precious metal, and the beak is identified as bronze. Along the shallow concave interior, between the parallel ridged and flat edges, a hieroglyphic inscription starts *mry mꜣʿ nb.f* "truly beloved of his lord" and ends with title and name *ỉmy-r pr rn.f-snb* "estate overseer Renefseneb" with determinative of man seated on a chair with low cushion and no chair-back. The presence of an inscription is a significant third variable, to be added to the elongated single-ridged form and the falcon head terminal.

The Garstang documentation does not contain any direct information on the precise location or construction of Abydos 486, but did enable Steven Snape to identify the other objects found there in the University of Liverpool Garstang Museum collections as a bronze spear-head (E959), a flint flake and flint blade (E6506, E7828), a metal and wood ring bezel (E802).[8] There were also three scarabs with late Middle Kingdom spiral or *sꜣ*-row designs, a mirror with handle (JE39765), a cylinder seal-amulet inscribed for the "good god, lord of the two lands Nubkaura" (throne-name of Amenemhat II), and seven stone vases (dimensions not stated). These finds may be from more than one burial and different periods, as the number and size of chambers are not recorded, and multiple burials in single chambers became more frequent during the second millennium BC.[9] While noting the lack of information on the association between objects from Abydos 486, Christine Lilyquist concluded from other contexts that seal-amulets with the names of early to mid-Twelfth Dynasty kings might indicate a more general late Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period date.[10] Daphna Ben-Tor has similarly found no evidence for deposits of seal-amulets with king names before the reign of Senusret III, which broadly marks the start of the late Middle Kingdom as a separate material cultural phase.[11]

[3] Petrie, Brunton, *Sedment,* vol. I, 18, pls. 40-1.
[4] Lilyquist, in Magee, Bourriau, Quirke (eds.), *Sitting beside Lepsius*.
[5] Drawings by W. Schenck published at Lilyquist, in Magee, Bourriau, Quirke (eds.), *Sitting beside Lepsius*, 312, fig. 6 a-b; Schiestl, Seiler, *Handbook of pottery*, vol. I, 106-7, I.A.13, especially p. 106 "The upper vessel walls are turned out slightly".
[6] Lilyquist, in Magee, Bourriau, Quirke (eds.), *Sitting beside Lepsius*, 312, fig. 6 c-d UC13504/34027, 13506, 13497-8, latter two also p. 307, fig. 1 c.
[7] Snape, *Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos*, 258, with pl. 28.
[8] Snape, *Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos*, 258.
[9] Grajetzki, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life and Afterlife*.
[10] Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 39-40.
[11] Ben-Tor, *JMMA* 39, 17-33. On the reign of Senusret III as a turning-point in many aspects, see Gestermann, in Gestermann, Sternberg-el-Hotabi (eds.), *Per aspera ad astra*.

III. Utensils with one lengthways ridge, curving up at centre, with hieroglyphic inscription, no falcon head present

Item 3. From tomb 62, Cemetery D, Abydos (Mace 1899-1900): Boston Museum of Fine Arts 01.7429
Online database description:[12] Ebony palette, inscribed - "Sealer overseer in the Palace I-maa-Ab". Mended
Online database dimensions: length 29 cm, width 2 cm

In 1899, Flinders Petrie assigned Arthur Mace to supervise excavation at the westernmost part of the Abydos North cemeteries, labelling the area Cemetery D. According to the brief excavation report, most of the "XIIIth-XVIIth Dynasty" tomb substructures comprise a 12-15' (3-4 m) shaft with two or three chambers; all burials had been robbed, and "several … had been re-used twice".[13] For tomb 62, Mace published no plan of substructure or superstructure remains, but listed the finds as "*XIIIth – XVIIth Dyn. Ebony tray of Imaat-ab; ivory shell (xliv.); limestone table of offerings, giving same name (xxxiv.4); fragments of wooden coffin, giving name Beba*".[14] The illustration of select finds adds a "fragment of ivory inlay from a box"[15] (Fig. 2).

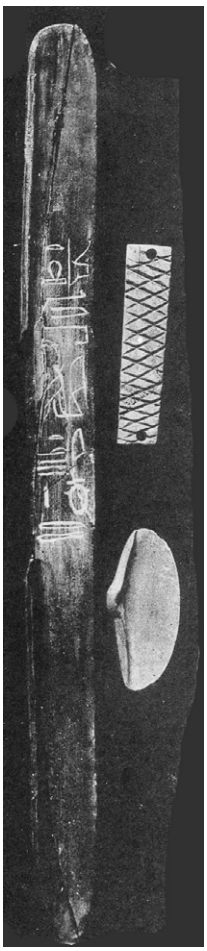

Fig. 2 – Published finds from Abydos D62, Randall-MacIver, Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. 44

The hard wood 'tray' is finely inscribed for a high official of the royal court: *ḫtmty bity imy-r gs-pr ii-mi͑t-ib m3͑ ḫrw* "king's sealer, overseer of the domain section Iimiatib, true of voice". As Oleg Berlev noted, the officials recorded on the stela for a king's wife Iy include a man with the same name and high titles; a king's wife Iy is known from the early Thirteenth Dynasty accounts document Papyrus Boulaq 18, and might be the same person as the woman on the stela, securing a closer date for Iimiatib.[16] The limestone offering-table is inscribed for Iimiatib with the less elevated, but still senior military title *3ṯw n ṯt ḥḳ3* 'commander of the ruler's crew', attested from the reign of Senusret III to the Second Intermediate Period. Following Detlef Franke, the *3ṯw n ṯt ḥḳ3* and the *ḫtmty bity imy-r gs-pr* may plausibly be identified as one man at two stages of his career.[17] The offering-table and its inscription are less accomplished than the carving of the wood 'tray', but can still be dated no later than the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, from the orthography of the two *htp di nswt* formulae.[18] The criss-cross design on the inlay illustrated is also rather schematically executed, as if from an item belonging to a person of lower status than the high official, possibly the Bebi named on the coffin inscription.[19]

The online collection database of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts identifies the following items as from Abydos D62:

01.7303 Iimiatib offering-table
01.7429 Iimiatib 'pen-tray', 'wood'
01.7439 fish-bone, teeth on both edges
01.7440 yellow shell 'possibly Tridachna'

The additional presence of the fish-bone on the Boston register suggests that further items from the tomb may be present in other museums that sponsored the London-based excavation bodies, according to the official system of distribution of finds from the 1882 British occupation until the time of Sadat.[20]

The 29 cm length and 2 cm width of the 'tray' would be suitable for the function suggested, although the flat edge would not secure reed pens unless that side was positioned at an upward tilt. The yellow colour of the smaller 'shell' (MFA 01.7440) leaves open a possible identification as ivory, as suggested by Mace. Its more compact length: width proportions, combined with the ridge along one side, curving out at centre, identify the source for the form as one valve of a bivalve mollusc. The discovery of this shell-shaped vessel in 'D62' together with the elongated version with Iimiatib inscription perhaps supports the same source of inspiration for the form of both items, justifying the term 'imitation shell'

[12] Entries on all cited Boston Museum of Fine Arts items at <http://www.mfa.org/collections/ancient-world>, accessed 20.2.2016.
[13] Randall-MacIver, Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 65, 69.
[14] *Op. cit.*, 100.
[15] *Op. cit.*, 88.
[16] Берлев, *Палестинский сборник,* 25.
[17] In Lacovara, D'Auria, Roehrig, *Mummies and Magic*, 129-30. For the military title, see Berlev, *RdE* 23, 23-48.
[18] Vernus, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*.
[19] The number of burials and the relation of Bebi to Iimiatib remain open questions. Possibly Bebi might be a second name of Iimiatib, on the regular late Middle Kingdom practice documented by Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire*, although no Iimiatib source gives a second name. Rather than burial here, the finds naming Iimiatib may indicate that he received offerings in one of the 'Abydos North Offering Chapels' documented in Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*.
[20] Stevenson, *JHC* 26.

proposed by Brunton (see section I with n. 1). In addition to its dating value, the association of the elongated Iimiatib utensil with the shorter 'shell' in one context may thus support identification of the body form of the falcon-headed examples from Sidmant 1300 and Abydos 486 examples, as elongated shells.

Item 4. From Lahun town-site excavations (Petrie 1914): Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1914.677

This 'wooden ointment shell' is inscribed *iry pˁt ḥ3ty-ˁ smr wˁty n mrwt ḥm-nṯr sbk n sbk nb swmnw* […] "member of pat, foremost of action, sole companion of affection, god's servant of Sobek for Sobek lord of Sumenu […]". The text commentary provides no information on context, and the ascription to the town-site rests on the caption 'Kahun' beside the hand-copy of the inscription.[21]

Item 5. Unprovenanced, acquired before 1927: UC16534 (Pl. XXII)
Online database description: Ebony dish in the form of a shell, with column of hieroglyph inscription
Online database dimensions: length 16.4 cm

Wood utensil with elongated body, raised ridge along one long edge, interior inscribed in rather roughly shaped hieroglyphs *ḥtp di nswt mnw nb ipw di.f snṯr mrḥt n k3 n ḥm-nṯr intf* "an offering given of the king (to) Min lord of Ipu, that he may give incense and ointment to the ka of the god's servant Intef".[22] The reference to Min of Ipu may indicate that the dish was made, used and perhaps deposited at Akhmim, as suggested hesitantly in the postwar museum register. The connection with Min might also be thematic, as Min was invoked for eastern desert routes for the Red Sea trade, although his other cult-centre Gebtyu (Koptos/Qift) is the immediate Nile port more directly associated with the Wadi Hammamat and Red Sea in Twelfth Dynasty documentation.[23] The prominence of fragrant resins in that trade may be connected with the restriction of the offering formula to incense and ointment, and so possibly with the function of the object, considered further below in sections VI and IX. The notch-like break at the end above the inscription might possibly indicate the presence of a vulnerably protruding, or even attached, element such as the falcon head in section II items 1-2.

Item 6. From tomb 1019, Qau: Bristol, City Museum and Art Gallery H4878 (Fig. 3)

The starting-point for the comments by Brunton, cited in section I above, is the middle portion preserved from an elongated utensil with one flat long edge, and curving up to low ridge along other edge, slight outward extension near the centre of the piece as preserved, and an offering formula inscribed in a vertical column of hieroglyphs lengthways, but heavily effaced from use. Brunton described the find context for this:[24]

> The chamber had been re-used in the xviiith dyn. The body and two pots were in position. At the northern end still remained the two parts of the older interment. On the floor of the shaft we found the bones of the original owner: the plunderers had dragged them out for examination, and the re-users had not troubled to remove them. With the bones in the shaft were the mirror, quartzite grinder, a few beads, and part of an ivory scoop or spoon, inscribed with a funerary formula, unhappily illegible

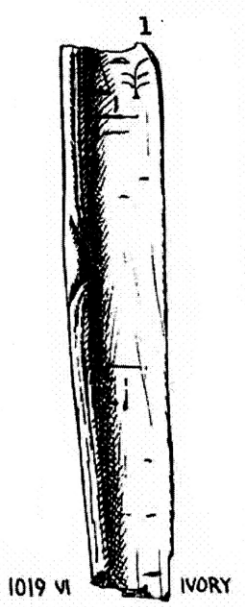

Fig. 3 – Inscribed ivory utensil from Qau 1019, Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, vol. I, pl. 40 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

In the publication of the later finds, Brunton rephrased or revised his dating of the intrusive burial to Second Intermediate Period.[25] The two mid-second millennium BC pots are his types 28M, also found in Qau tombs 7101 and 7123, and 50H, the only example cited[26] (Fig. 4).

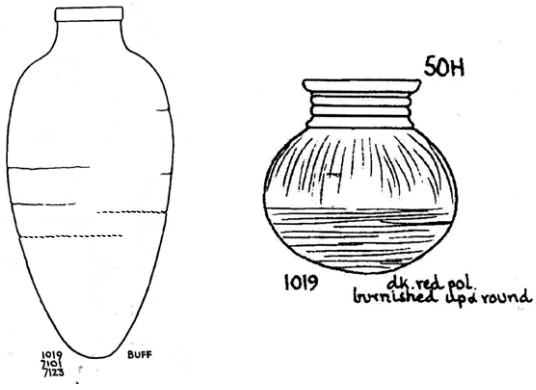

Fig. 4 – Two pottery vessels from later burial in Qau 1019, Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, vol. III, pl. 14, 16 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

[21] Petrie, Brunton, *Lahun,* vol. II, 41, pl. 70, no. 6.
[22] Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, 65, no. 14, pl. 23.
[23] Sayed, *CdE* 58; Ward, in El-Saeed, El-Sayed Mahfouz, Abdel Monem Megahed (eds.), *The Festschrift volume*.
[24] Brunton, *Qau and Badari,* vol. I, 27.
[25] *Op. cit.,* vol. III, 8, with finds register pl. 5.
[26] *Op. cit.,* vol. III, pls. 14, 16.

From the condition of the bones and finds on the floor of the shaft, and the find of the later burial 'in position' in the chamber, evidently the excavation director had no doubt over the late third millennium BC date of the broken inscribed item. His judgement carries the weight of an eye-witness report, if his wording "we found" is taken literally here. However, some caution should be reserved for such short descriptions, in the absence of precise drawings or plans to illustrate the find at time of discovery; a Second Intermediate Period date of deposition for this inscribed 'imitation shell' is also possible.

IV. Utensils with shorter shell-shaped bowl on handle

Item 7. From tomb 488, Abydos North (Garstang 1908): Liverpool, Garstang Museum E7029

Ivory cosmetic dish on handle, in form of long valve from a bivalve shell, held by a hand. Most of the handle and the farther part of the shell are lost. From the Garstang documentation, Steven Snape notes that no details on location or architecture of tomb 488 are given, and that the other finds comprise the point of a flint knife (now Liverpool, Garstang Museum E6511), and four pottery vessels.[27]

Item 8. Unprovenanced: BM EA 54701 from Garstang sponsor Mrs Russell Rea (1920)
Online database description:[28] wooden toilet-spoon in the form of a shell held in a human hand; handle lost
Online database dimensions: length 7.2 cm, width 1.3 cm

In 1920-1921, according to the online museum database, the British Museum also acquired Abydos finds from the Garstang seasons of fieldwork through Mrs Russell Rea, some or all from Garstang.[29] Further research might establish whether this close parallel to the ivory fragment item 7 comes from the same excavation source.

Item 9. From Lahun: UC16688 (Fig. 5)
Online database description: Wooden toilet spoon, with bowl in form of a shell held by a uraeus. Shell cracked, top missing
Online database dimensions: length 16.8 cm

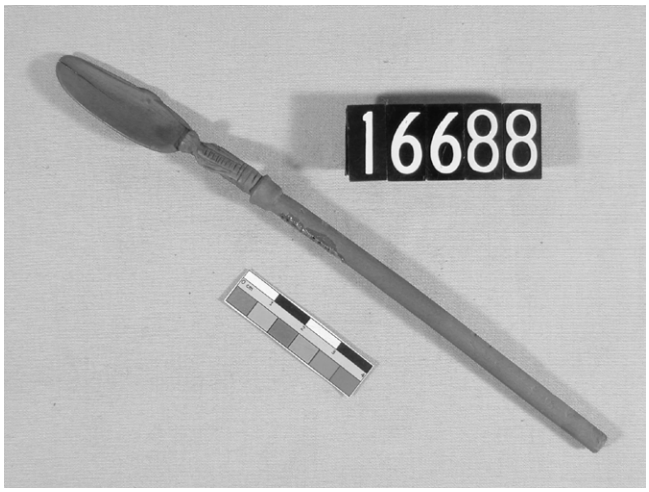

Fig. 5 – Wood cosmetic spoon from Lahun, UC16688 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

In the published excavation report on the first Petrie season at Lahun,[30] the other end is identified as a hard wood duck head with red-stained ivory beak (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6 – Spoon and head UC16688-9 as published in Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pl. 8

However, the museum register entry in the handwriting of postwar curator Anthony Arkell gave a separate entry for the duck head as UC16689, with the note "NOT same spoon as 16688" (Pl. XXIII). The date of this duck

[27] Snape, *Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos*, 259. Two pottery vessels are of Garstang 1908 type 55, a deep vase or cup, the third is type 71, a round-bottomed vase narrower at the shoulder, with everted neck and rim, and the fourth is type 74, a carinated round-bottomed vase with constricted concave neck and wide rim, painted along shoulder with XIIIX pattern.
[28] Entries on BM items at <https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx>, accessed 20.2.2016.
[29] Figurine of ivory sphinx fore holding man, from burial 477, BM EA 54678; dagger from burial 860A, BM EA 54679; two cylinder beads and scarab from burial 375, BM EA 54683; scarabs from burial 583, BM EA 54684-54685; scarab from 'G54.A09' (= burial 654 from 1909 season?), BM EA 54689; kneeling woman figure vase from burial 949, BM EA 54694; finds from Abydos but without tomb-number noted: button seal, BM EA 54680; gold ring and Amenemhat III cylinder amulet, BM EA 45681; scarabs, BM EA 54682 (Nubkaura), 54687-54688, 55036-55041; sow amulet, BM EA 54686; frog amulet, BM EA 54690; Hatshepsut scarab, BM EA 54692; two scarabs, BM EA 55035; Amenhotep scarab in gold bezel, BM EA 55042. The kneeling boy seal-amulet of *imy-r pr* Nakhti, BM EA 54677, also from this donation, is identified as from the Abydos 1907 excavations directed by Garstang in Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 66, no. 806. The stela of Bembu, BM EA 1562, was donated in 1912 by her husband Mr Russell Rea, and might also come from Garstang activity.
[30] Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, 29, pl. 8, no. 17.

head is uncertain, but examples are known from utensils of late Middle Kingdom date among finds from Haraga and Byblos.[31]

Item 10. From Lahun: UC16719 (Fig. 7)
Online database description: Wooden cylinder (like pencil) with column of blue-filled hieroglyphic inscription
Online database dimensions: 15 cm

This long, thin cylinder seems likely to be the handle from a cosmetic spoon. The inscription records epithets, title and name of a medium-ranking palace official: *mry mꜣᶜ nb.f n st-ib.f ir ḥsst.f rᶜ nb iry ᶜt rn.f-ᶜnḫ nb imꜣḫ* "truly beloved of his lord of his favourite, who does what he praises every day, keeper of the chamber Renefankh, lord of reverence".[32] The title *iry ᶜt* is attested from mid-Twelfth Dynasty onwards, and is associated with officials in both the sector for food-preparation and -storage (*šnᶜ*), and the sector for valuables (named in regal and select other contexts *pr-ḥḏ* "treasury").[33]

Item 11. From Haraga, burial 124: MMA 2014.619.1
Online database description:[34] Probably intended for use as a cosmetic spoon, this example exhibits a very rare style. Its handle is shaped as an *ankh*, the hieroglyphic sign translating as "life" or "to live".
The spoon's bowl is taken from the shape a valve of a local freshwater mollusk. Such shells were also used by scribes in their work.
Online database dimensions: length 10.4 cm, width 2.9 cm

Fig. 7 – Inscribed wood handle from Lahun UC16719 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

This combination of openwork *ankh* hieroglyph and the valve of a river mussel is the most intricate form in a substantial group of stone vessels of high quality, found in tomb 124 at Haraga. The tomb is in cemetery A, which is the richest in the series of late Twelfth Dynasty cemeteries there.[35] Among the stone vessels, this and one other imitate the Nile shell (Fig. 8), as the excavation director briefly describes:

> Toilet spoon of slate, fashioned like a river mussel, Pl. XV, 10. In the grave there was a small rubbing-stone for grinding the eye paint, which may have belonged to this. Alabaster toilet spoon in the form of an *'ankh*, Pl. XV, 11

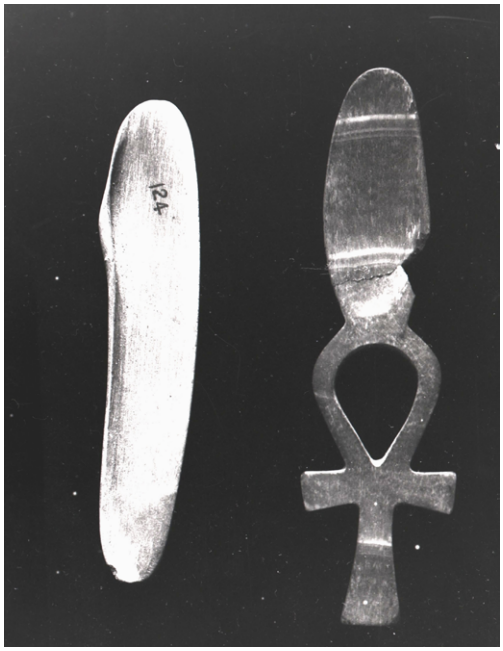

Fig. 8 – Shell-shaped cosmetic dishes from Haraga 124. Petrie Museum Archive Negative 1058 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

The present location of the darker, siltstone (?) shell 'spoon' is not known to me. The other finds in the tombs included three mirrors, three (?) razor blades, and a remarkable group of jewellery (now MMA 2014.619.6-36). The contrast in dark and light stone, and the array of cosmetic equipment and jewellery, might suggest a single set. However, the burial had been disturbed, and the presence of two bodies is recorded, identified as a man and a woman. The documentation is not detailed enough to determine now the number of individuals buried in the tomb, or the precise association between the finds.[36] A stela found in the inner chamber is inscribed for a wom-

[31] Ivory spoon terminal from Haraga burial 539: Engelbach, *Harageh*, 2-3, pl. 62; Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 145, cat. no. 153, Fitzwilliam E.11.1914. Gold and silver handle-end from Byblos royal tomb II: Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte*, 185, no. 706, with pl. 103, *cf.* Kopetzky, in Afeiche (ed.), *Cult and Ritual on the Levantine Coast*, 400-1, comparing the Lahun duck-head and spoon taken as one item.
[32] Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pl. 10, no. 1.
[33] Berlev, *Общественные отношения,* 235-6.
[34] Entries on MMA items at <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection>, accessed 20.2.2016.
[35] Engelbach, *Harageh*, 15-6, pls. 15-6; Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient*, 94-5.
[36] Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 35-6, with nos. 399-402; Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the late Middle Kingdom*, 104-7.

an named Iitenheb, together with a child and a nursing woman, perhaps the grandmother.[37] The association of these individuals with the bodies and finds in the tomb is also uncertain, in the absence of a precise findspot for the stela within the inner chamber area.[38]

V. Worked and unworked natural shells

Item 12. From Lahun, Petrie 1889 clearance of the town-site:[39] Manchester Museum EGY110 (Fig. 9)
Online database description:[40] A shell made into a tool, perhaps a scoop or a scraper. Pierced in the middle, with rushes fed through the hole and tightly wrapped around one side of the shell to form a handle. The other edge of the shell is serrated
Online database dimensions: length 12.0 cm, width 7.8 cm

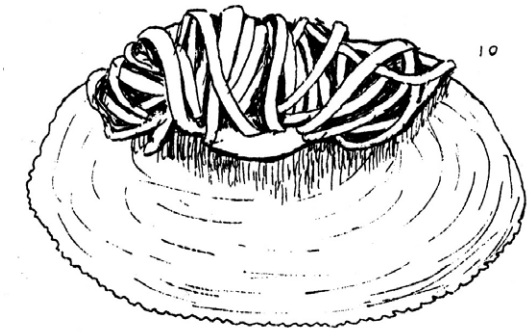

Fig. 9 – Serrated shell with rush binding, Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pl. 8

The different shape of this valve from a bivalve shell has been adapted in a manner similar to the 'imitation shells' of sections II-III, inasmuch as the craftsman has used the raised long side with joint for handling (here enhanced with rush binding), and the flatter outer side as tool edge (here enhanced by chipping to form a cutting-edge like the teeth of a saw- or knife-blade).

Item 13. From Lahun, Petrie 1889 clearance of the town-site: UC7265, UC7266 (Figs. 10-12)
Online database description: Scraper or scoop; bivalve shell inserted in a piece of reed and held in place with a binding of string and resin (?)
Online database dimensions: length 9.8 cm (UC7265), 8.3 cm (UC7266)

Fig. 10 – Shell bound into a reed, Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, Gurob*, pl. 8

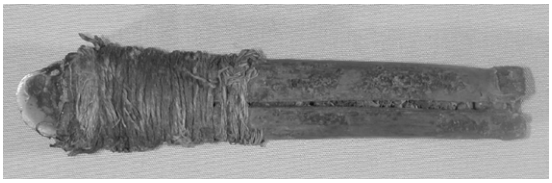

Fig. 11 – Shell bound into a reed, from Lahun UC7265
© Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

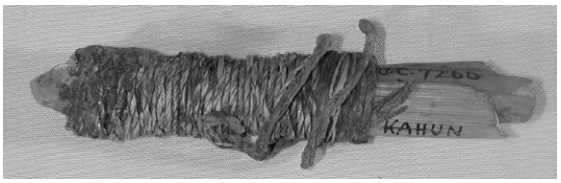

Fig. 12 – Shell bound into a reed, from Lahun UC7266
© Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

In the excavation report from his second 1889 season at Lahun in autumn 1889, Petrie recorded "two small shells (PL.VIII, 16), set in reed handles, the purpose of which is quite unknown".[41] He revised this in his 1917 catalogue of *Tools and Weapons*, under his section for "Rasps and scrapers: (V) 134-137 pl. xliv", with the comment "*Two very simple scrapers or scoops, V 136-7, are from Kahun, of the xiith dynasty. They are made by inserting a bivalve shell into a piece of reed, and then binding it around with string*".[42] A third example is Manchester Museum EGY111, described on the online collections database as "A shell set into a reed handle and bound with fibre, to form a small scoop or spoon".

[37] Bagh, *Finds from W.M.F. Petrie's excavations,* 141-3.
[38] From his choice of wording, the excavation director evidently considered the findspot significant: Engelbach, *Harageh*, 15 'a painted stela found *in the inner chamber*' (emphasis in original: contrast p. 3 where he notes that "The steles were nearly all found high in the filling of the shafts, and cannot be accepted as evidence that they belong to the grave"). However, the openings from shaft to 'outer' to 'inner' chamber seem wide enough to allow for surface material to penetrate the general inner area; it is also not clear whether Engelbach wrote this account soon after the 1913-1914 season, or closer to the 1923 date of publication (*cf.* Engelbach, *Harageh*, 1).
[39] Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, 19, pl. 8, no. 10.
[40] Entries on Manchester Museum items at <http://harbour.man.ac.uk/mmcustom/EgyptQuery.php> accessed 20.2.2016.
[41] Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, Gurob*, 12.
[42] Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 38.

Item 14. From Lahun, Petrie 1889 clearance of the town-site: UC7379 (Figs. 13-14)
Online database description: Unio shell, border cut smooth (end missing); for mixing cosmetics?
Online database dimensions: length 10.0 cm, width 5.8 cm

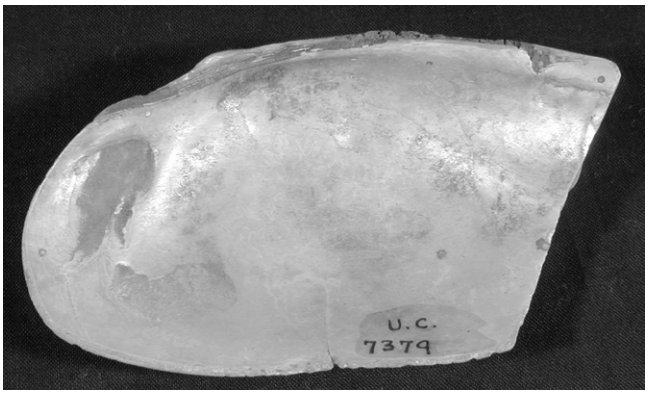

Fig. 13 – Interior of valve from a bivalve shell, one edge cut smooth, from Lahun, UC7379 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Fig. 14 – Exterior of valve from a bivalve shell, one edge cut smooth, from Lahun, UC7379 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

The flat outer shell edge seems intentionally serrated in a manner similar to item 12; the clean diagonal cut across the natural shell width also seems to be part of reshaping for use, as in item 15 below, but might be the result of breakage.

Item 15. From Kafr Ammar: UC29829 (Fig. 15)
Online database description: Spatha shell; outer edge cut slightly convex
Online database dimensions: length 12.4 cm, width 5.3 cm

The museum register records the date for this and two similar examples (UC29827-29828, Figs. 16-17) as Dynasty 23, a term used by Petrie for late Third Intermediate Period and early Late Period finds at Kafr Ammar.[43] Although apparently later, these natural shells are cut along one long side in a straight line, and the edge smoothed, recalling the elongated 'imitation shells' in sections II-III.

Fig. 15 – Valve from a bivalve shell, one edge cut smooth, from Kafr Ammar, UC29829 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Fig. 16 – Valve from a bivalve shell, one edge cut smooth, from Kafr Ammar, UC29827 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Fig. 17 – Valve from a bivalve shell, one edge cut smooth, from Kafr Ammar, UC29828 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

[43] Wainwright, in Petrie, Mackay, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa*, 33-7, specifying on p. 33 "xxiiird-xxvth dynasty"; no reference seen to the cut shells.

Item 16. From Lahun, Petrie 1889 clearance of the town-site: Manchester Museum EGY183b
Description: valve of a mussel shell, species identified on label as Mutela aegyptiaca (Pallas)
Dimensions (from scale on online database photograph): length ca. 5.5 cm

The shell seems not to have been worked, and would then be direct evidence for use of natural shells at the town-site. However, the date of use is uncertain in the absence of information on find context.

Item 17. From Bernasht: UC59883 (Fig. 18)
Three mussel valves
Dimensions of largest from online database photograph scale: length 7 cm, width 3.75 cm

Fig. 18 – Three valves from bivalve shells, unworked, from Bernasht, UC59883i-iii © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

These apparently unworked shells are stored in museum with objects of late Middle Kingdom types, also marked 'Bernasht' and so apparently from burials in the area between Lisht and Dahshur.[44]

Item 18. From Rifa: UC38819 (Fig. 19)
Online database description: Spatha shell; broken section along edge; chipped
Online database dimensions: length 14.1 cm, width 5.3 cm

Fig. 19 – Shell valve from Rifa, UC38819 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

[44] Petrie, Wainwright, Mackay, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, 37, *cf.* 'Barnasht' on map pl. 50.

The shell seems not to have been worked for use. The 1980s-1990s museum inventory gives as date the Second Intermediate Period, but without definition of date or criteria for dating.

Comment

Under the heading '*The Toilet Shells*' Brunton had commented on worked and unworked natural shells from the excavations around Mostagedda:[45]

> In 2820 were several *Mutela*, some of them with malachite; in 2901 a *Spatha* contained grey paste; and in 2677 was a scoop cut from a large shell. …in later times *Mutela* shells were occasionally found (10,022 vith, 1851 viiith, 5001 ixth), the last containing kohl paste. In 642 (ixth) were two small *Spatha*. These were with females in the seven cases where the body could be sexed. They were doubtless used for mixing the powdered paint with some adhesive medium

For the excavations in the area of Matmar, Brunton noted similarly under *Toilet Shells*:[46] "Three kinds of shells were found, often with other toilet articles. (1) *Spatha* (2) *Mutela* (3) 'Nile Oyster'". One burial a little farther south, Qau 1141, contained an unusually high number, as described by Brunton:

> At the feet, in south-east corner of grave, a small lipped pottery bowl, seven toilet shells, and the tall alabaster cylinder jar pl. xxvi, 19[47]

In her analysis from the finds by the Brunton expeditions to the Qau-Matmar region, Ulrike Dubiel noted the distinction between the use of shells as ornaments, and as vessels "als Schälchen oder zur Aufname von Flüssigkeiten" in cosmetic equipment.[48] Despite the lack of secure archaeological context for dating, the serrated edges of items 12-13, and possibly the diagonal cuts across items 14-15, suggest a third use, still broadly within cosmetic equipment, as tools for cutting and collecting small dry particles in the preparation of ingredients.

[45] Brunton, *Mostagedda*, 109-10.
[46] Brunton, *Matmar*, 51.
[47] Brunton, *Qau and Badari,* vol. I, 24; the small pottery bowl is the only example of its type from this season, *op. cit.,* vol. II, pl. 76, 10b. The total of seven shells might be significant, in relation to the seven sacred oils considered in section IX below, but the record is not detailed enough for comment on the intention.
[48] Dubiel, *Amulette, Siegel und Perlen*, 147.

VI. Falcon heads on utensils with narrow cylindrical handles or with flat rounded ends

Item 19. From Lahun, Petrie 1889 or 1914 clearance of the town-site (?):[49] UC2437 (Pl. XXIV)
Online database description: Wooden handle (of spoon?) with wigged falcon head; slightly broken showing tip of shaft embedded (Fig. 20)
Online database dimensions: length 4.8 cm

Item 20. From Lahun, Petrie 1889 clearance of the town-site (?): UC16742 (Fig. 21)
Online database description: bronze hawk's head with rectangular hole through, and flat base
Online database dimensions: diameter 1.3 cm, height 1 cm

Fig. 20 – (above) Wood falcon head, showing remant of inserted handle UC2437 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology
Fig. 21 – (left) Bronze falcon-head terminal, from Lahun, UC16742 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Petrie noted that the object "has a rectangular hole from breast to back, as if to fit on to some object" (Fig. 22), and that a wood falcon head of similar size "has garnet eyes inserted; what the use of this was is uncertain"; he did not publish precise find-place or associated objets for either item.[50]

Fig. 22 – Bronze falcon-head terminal, showing rectangular attachment hole below face UC16742 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Item 21. Unprovenanced, acquired before 1927:[51] UC30132 (Pl. XXVa)
Online database description: Bone spoon with long hawk headed handle, face of hawk missing, wig indicated at back, bowl in form of elongated shell with a right hand at the back on the end of the long stem (Pl. XXVb)
Online database dimensions: length 21 cm, width 1.8 cm

In the absence of any archaeological context, this utensil is difficult to date, but one end has an extended version of a shell valve, with more naturalistic ridge along one side and straight flat edge along the other, and therefore it may belong within the same Middle Kingdom date-range as the examples in sections II and III above. Given the long thin handle, and relatively delicate material, the flat edge could not be used to apply much force in cutting, and so the object seems to occupy some functional space across or between the categories of spoon, spatula and scoop.

Item 22. From burial 129 in a 1922 excavation (?): UC16198 (Fig. 23)
Online database description:
Hawk-headed ivory spatula – perforated, probably hippopotamus ivory, broken and repaired, worn with use at the tip
Online database dimensions: length 9.8 cm

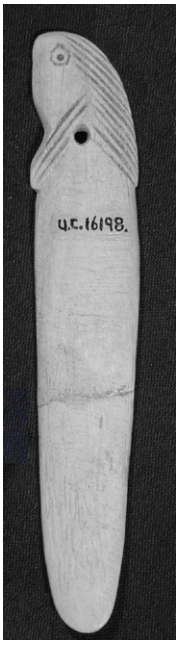

Fig. 23 – Ivory falcon-head utensil, UC16198 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

From the pencil mark '22/129' on the back, this utensil is thought to be from tomb 129 in the row of tombs surrounding the funeral enclosure for the First Dynasty king Djet at Abydos.[52] However, the excavation index-card for Abydos 129 refers only to fragments of pottery and wood, and the object was not published in the excavation report. Petrie might have excluded it from the record, if it was a stray find or from near the surface, and therefore not securely datable. Alternatively, the excavator mark might be, not from the Abydos excavations in the winter of 1921-1922, but from the following season, 1922-1923, when Petrie stayed in London, while Guy Brunton directed excavations at Qau.[53] The burials numbered in the 100s form an isolated cemetery to the north of the

[49] Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, 28, no. 63, pl. 23.
[50] Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, Gurob*, 11, pl. 8, nos. 40 (wood) and 41 (bronze).
[51] Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, 28, no. 66, pl. 23.
[52] Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos*.
[53] Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, 357.

main series of cemeteries nearest to Qau town; from their numbers, presumably they were among the first to be excavated and recorded, in a season which lasted from 1st December 1922 to 4th April 1923.[54] However, a pencil mark 23/120 on a pottery vessel from tomb 120 at Qau (UC9524) is evidence against ascribing an object marked 22/129 to Qau 169; it would be curious if recorders at one small group of tombs were pencilling different years onto finds. Whether from the Abydos Djet enclosure, or from Qau cemetery 100, the object is difficult to date, as the terrain of both sites was used for burials from the fourth millennium BC to recent times. Nevertheless, the combination of falcon head with 'spatula' form is interesting, in view of the similarity between its well-used rounded tip and the ends of the elongated 'imitation shells' in sections II-III above.

Comment

These four items from the Petrie Museum collections are not closely datable, but may be compared with an expansion in the use of the falcon-head motif on Middle Kingdom objects made for the afterlife. In the friezes of objects on the interior of cuboid coffins, early depictions of broad collars have hemispherical ends, while mid-Twelfth Dynasty examples have falcon-head terminals. Faience examples from burials seem to confirm this shift in afterlife iconography, with hemispherical terminals on a collar from Sedment, late First Intermediate Period (UC31717, Fig. 24), and falcon-head terminal from Haraga 96, mid- to late Twelfth Dynasty (UC6983, Fig. 25).[55] Falcon heads on two white and red banded poles and a horizontal bar in the Petrie Museum (unprovenanced UC45825, Fig. 26) recall steering-oars and their poles on Twelfth Dynasty painted wood models of ceremonial boats.[56] Among the staves and sceptres buried with the early Thirteenth Dynasty king Auibra Hor, one

Fig. 24 – Faience broad collar from Sidmant, UC31717 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Fig. 25 – Faience falcon-head collar terminal from Haraga 96, UC6983 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Fig. 26 – Painted wood poles and bar with falcon-head terminals, UC45825 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

[54] Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, vol. I, 1, 3.

[55] Jequier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*. Sedment: Petrie, *Sedment,* vol. I, 6 "preserved in the original order of threading"; Haraga: Engelbach, *Harageh*, 12 with pl. XVII.2, tomb-register pl. 59 for associated pottery types 2n, 36m2, 41f, 46m, 67e, 67s and bead types 52g cartonnage mask stud and 73e amethyst squat ball bead. Compare the presentation of falcon-terminal collar to Senbi, governor of Qesy in the early Twelfth Dynasty, Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir,* vol. I, pl. 2. Early Sixth Dynasty reliefs in the tomb-chapels of viziers Mereruka and Kagemni include falcon collars in jewellery production, confirming the earlier existence of the type: Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, vol. I, pl. 30. Therefore, the images in offering friezes and the afterlife jewellery involves a change in focus during the Middle Kingdom, rather than a new form. In contrast to the Middle and New Kingdoms, the lack of direct material palace evidence, and the extreme selectivity in depictions and burial equipment make it impossible to know whether the Old Kingdom collars were made for use also in this life, or exclusively for the afterlife, as proposed in Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht,* 116-7.

[56] E.g. MMA 12.183.4 from the excavations for Khashaba: Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt,* vol. I, 273, fig. 179, as from Meir.

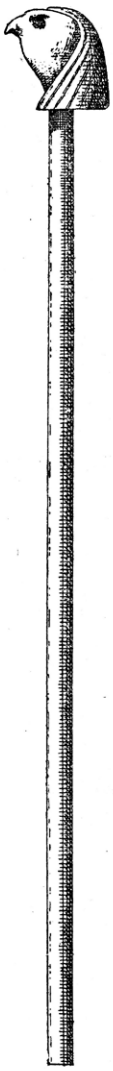

Fig. 27 – Falcon-headed wood staff from burial of king Auibra Hor, Dahshur. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, vol. I, fig. 221

has a falcon-head terminal[57] (Fig. 27). As this form is not present in the rare other Middle Kingdom 'regalia burials', unlike the falcon-head broad collars, the staff may be a distinguishing feature of kingship; the Lahun bronze falcon head, item 20, seems too small to come from a non-royal parallel. The Auibra Hor staff emphasises the associations of the falcon head with kingship (Horus) as well as with the sun cult (Ra). One prominent item of Twelfth Dynasty jewellery beyond the royal court is the gold or gold alloy falcon with Double Crown; on a smaller scale in semi-precious stones, the falcon is one of the few figurative amulet forms in production after a drastic reduction from the plethora of late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period motifs.[58]

The falcon-head terminal also appears in Middle Kingdom music-making. On the threshold between this world and the afterlife, in the rear niche of the offering-chapel for Senet and Intefiqer at Thebes, from the reign of Senusret I, a woman is depicted playing a harp with woman-head terminal, and a man is depicted playing a harp with falcon-head terminal.[59] Siegfried Schott interpreted the falcon on the harp as a reference to a deity related to music, though Edward Wente disputed the restriction of harp-playing to the religious sphere.[60] While music is clearly among the thematic associations in Middle Kingdom contexts, the specific interpretation by Schott does not take into account falcon imagery objects on the other objects introduced here as parallels for the motifs on the two 'spoons' in this section. A further important category comprises falcon-headed censers, attested across a wide time-range, and also apparently introduced in the Twelfth Dynasty, as considered in the next section.

VII. Falcon-headed censers

As visual anchor for the discussion, three censers from later periods in the Petrie Museum are itemised below, together with one Eighteenth Dynasty depiction in the collection.

Item 23. From Madinat al-Ghurab:[61] UC7717 (Fig. 28)
Online database description: Wooden falcon head, the end of a censer, break charred, beak lost
Online database dimensions: length 7.8 cm

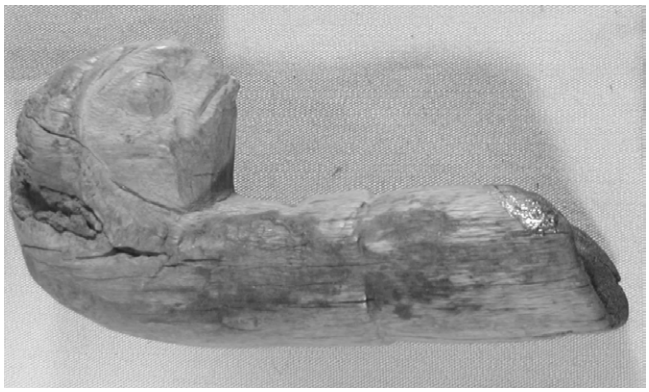

Fig. 28 – Charred wood falcon-headed handle from Madinat al-Ghurab, UC7717 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

The utensil end is from the finds without context, retrieved in 1888-1890 from the area of the New Kingdom palace at Madinat al-Ghurab, and assigned a general New Kingdom date only from its general acquisition history. The function is uncertain.

Item 24. From Abydos:[62] UC55174 (Figs. 29-30)
Online database description: Group of fragments of bronze cylinder around a solid core, with part of a flat dish riveted by two pieces of metal at one end; inscribed along upper side with a line of hieroglyphs, much broken, in which there remains legible the following: "offering given of the king (to) Osiris foremost of the West, Ptah lord of Maat, lord of ...May" (Petrie saw before May 'lector of Osiris'), and on the main section "offerings (?) of...and cool water... for the Ka of the Osiris...". Specks of green and blue amid general dull green corrosion products over surface; area of inscription has been cleaned to reveal the hieroglyphs.
Online database dimensions: Main piece h. 12 cm, w. 3.1 cm
Date: Dated to the Ramessid Period on the basis of the name.

[57] De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour,* vol. I, 96, no. 10, fig. 221; Grajetzki, *Burial Customs*, 56, fig. 68.
[58] *Cf.* the intact Theban group described by Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt,* vol. I, 237, with 239, fig. 153. On the reduced range of Twelfth Dynasty amulet forms, see Grajetzki, in Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke (eds.), *Company of Images*.
[59] Davies, *The tomb of Antefoker*, pls. 27, 29 = Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie egyptienne,* vol. IV, 368-70, fig. 186.2.
[60] Schott, in *Mélanges Maspero,* vol. II, 457-64; Wente, *JNES* 21, 119.
[61] Petrie, *The funeral furniture of Egypt*, 24, no. 574.
[62] *Op. cit.*, 24, no. 573.

Fig. 29 – Falcon-head terminal and fragments of a bronze censer from Abydos, UC55174
© Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Fig. 30 – Inscribed handle fragments from bronze censer UC55174 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Item 25. From Saqqara North, Sacred Falcon Catacomb Temple: UC30663 (Fig. 31)
Online database description: Bronze hand censer. The handle is falcon-headed and the terminal is in the form of a human hand, holding a basin-shaped receptacle in form of a cartouche-shaped pellet box in the centre of the piece.
Date: Late Period
Dimensions (after Laisney):[63] length 51 cm, height at falcon head 5.5 cm

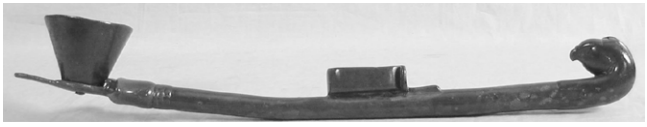

Fig. 31 – Bronze censer from the Falcon Catacomb shrine at Saqqara UC30663 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

[63] Laisney, *Orientalia* 78, 237 no. 5 with bibliography.

Item 26. Limestone stela with depiction of censer:[64] UC14390 (Fig. 32)
Online database description: Fragment of limestone stele, showing a man called Tjanefer, with the title priest of the god Amun in the temple of king Mentuhotep. Tjanefer is burning incense and pouring a libation; behind him a priest of Mentuhotep called Nebnefer brings birds as offerings.
Online database dimensions: width 19.5 cm, height 18 cm
Date: Late Eighteenth Dynasty

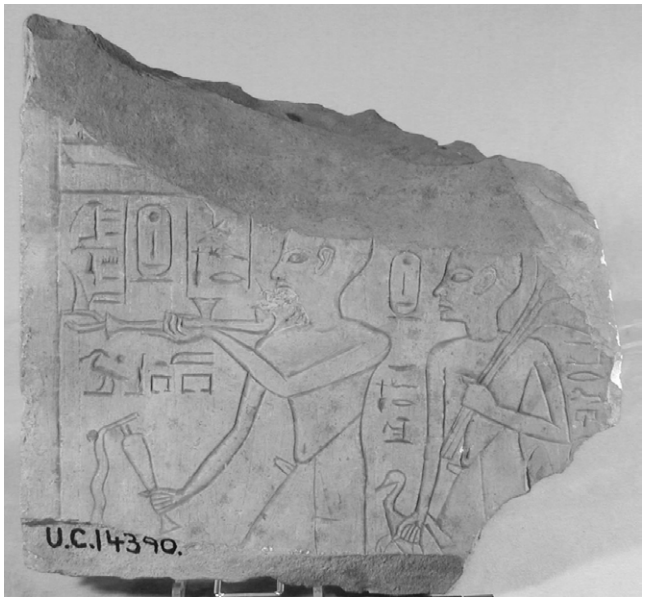

Fig. 32 – Fragment from limestone stela of Tjanefer, depicted holding *hes*-vase and censer, UC14390 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Comment

As outlined by Henry Fischer, depictions of falcon-headed censers are first known from early Middle Kingdom models and coffin friezes, and Middle Kingdom stelae.[65] Until the late Middle Kingdom, the falcon heads face outward from the censer, not back along its shaft as later. [66] One depiction on a coffin is inscribed along

[64] Stewart, *Egyptian stelae, reliefs and paintings*, vol. I, 46, pl. 37, 1.
[65] Fischer, *JARCE* 2, 28-34, especially 29, figs. 6e-i, 33-4; Lacau, *Les sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, pl. 33; Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, vol. IV, pls. 115-6.
[66] Fischer notes one possible exception, a schematic form on the stela of the high steward Saiset, Boeser, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung*, pl. 9, no. 10; see Fischer, *JARCE* 2, 29, fig. 6f, and 34 with n. 28 for the dating to earlier in the Twelfth Dynasty. A second stela for Saiset is BM EA 561, as noted by Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, 20, pl. 60, Abydos North Offering Chapel group 41; the date may be mid- to late Twelfth Dynasty.

the shaft *im3ḫy imy-r pr wr nfri nb im3ḫ* "the revered, high steward Neferi, lord of reverence".[67] Among a variety of designs, several have at one end the form of a human hand holding the receptacle for burning the incense pellets.[68] From his catalogue of Late Period examples, Vincent Laisney identifies the falcon head as a solar form of Horus, noting the disk on two censers, and the striated head-cover from the head to the censer shaft.[69] As with the harp-terminal (section VI comments), greater precision on the identity of the deity may not be possible, but the presence of the motif on censers might seem to move the focus from unguents and cosmetics to incense, at least to include incense in the range of materials related to the elongated 'imitation shells' of sections II-III. The processing of aromatic materials in preparing incense probably involved some of the same steps as the production of unguents or salves. [70] Among the few mentions of incense in designations of occupation, the *s3ḳ snṯr* "assembler of incense" in late second and first millennium BC sources may denote the person who would press ground raw materials into pellets for storage and burning on or in censers;[71] for the New Kingdom, the term *ps snṯr* "incense cook/cooking" is attested. The only clear depiction of scented oil production is on the north wall of the small mid-Eighteenth Dynasty Theban Tomb-chapel 175:[72] from right to left, (1) a man stirs at a large carinated bowl which he holds steady on a (presumably low) fire; (2), (4) two men are hard at work grinding, each holding a pestle with both hands; between them, (3) a man presses liquid from a bag into a wide, low bowl; (5) a man stirs at perhaps the same type of carinated bowl as (1) (uncertain, as partly obscured by (6) and a patch of surface loss); a man (from the red-brown skin) kneels grinding (?) a material with both arms outstretched; (7) a man uses a sieve or strainer, from which red drops fall into a wide-rimmed bowl on a short stand, next to a stack of three sealed two-handle pointed storage jars; (8) a man sits on low stool, chipping with an adze at a red block, beside a tall, wide-mouthed vessel or stone jar with angled convex profile, below a shallow basket piled high with a mass of red-streaked golden-yellow matter. Grinding, pressing and heating are also well attested in one extended chain of instructions for preparing a face cream, recorded at the end of the main surviving treatise for physicians, Papyrus Edwin Smith.[73] When the passage is reduced to its verbs of action and nouns for materials, the multiple stages of the process become clear:

bring ingredients > pulverise > put in sunlight to dry > thresh > winnow > measure > sieve chaff with a sieve > measure, ensuring equal parts

> set as compound in water > make into soft paste

> put in *sbḫ* jar on fire > cook until moisture evaporated, dry like chaff

> when cooled, take out > put in *ʿnḏw* jug > wash in river until bitterness of water gone

> put in sunlight > spread on laundry cloth

> when dried, grind on a grinding-stone > set in water > make into soft paste

> put in *sbḫ* jar on fire > cook until oil drops emerge > ladle oil continually with scoop

> put in *ḥnw* jar after congealed into thicker paste, and consistency smoothed and thickened

> ladle this oil > put on linen cover on upper side of this jar

> put in *ḥnw* jar of semi-precious stone (*ʿ3t*)

This material can then be used to *wrḥ* "anoint" a man, for repelling fever from the head, and to *sk* "wipe" any part of the body (*ḥʿ* "limb"), for removing traces of age.

These instructions refer by name to three types of containers, to laundry cloth and linen cover, and to three utensils: the sieve, grinding-stone, and ladling-scoop. Between the lines, other utensils are implicit in the actions of crushing, threshing, winnowing and extraction. Beyond the lines, linear operational chains are embedded within a more complex web of preparatory, framing and supplementary actions. Like the scene depicting unguent preparation, the passage can serve as a useful reminder on the complexity of this material production, in which shells and shell-liked utensils may have been used.

[67] Lacau, *Les sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, pl. 33, no. 62, CG28087.

[68] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, vol. IV, pls. 115-6, nos. 981, 985-6, 989-90, 982, 984, of which 986, 990 also have falcon head; as on the coffins, there are no examples of censer with falcon-head terminal without hand at other end.

[69] Laisney, *Orientalia* 78, 232 with n. 33 the two examples with disk, BM EA 41606, Toronto 909.80.613; 233 with n. 36 on the 'perruque bipartite'.

[70] For the identification of raw materials and production processes, see especially Serpico, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*.

[71] Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. I, 65*. Following Gardiner, the demotic version *sḳ sntr* on a Ptolemaic Period stela acquired at Akhmim is interpreted as "who grinds incense" by Berlev, Hodjash, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae*, 196, 198-9, noting Bucheum demotic documents; further precision is offered in Quaegebeur, *EVO* 17, 239-49.

[72] Manniche, *The wall decoration of three Theban tombs*, 36-8. For a colour photograph, see <http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/anonyme175/e_anonyme175_01.htm>, accessed 02.04.2016.

[73] Papyrus Edwin Smith verso, 4, 8 to 5, 11: photographs of the hieratic original, with English translation, in Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*, 112-5.

VIII. Utensils in cosmetic kits from the late third millennium BC

From the inscription for incense and unguent, and perhaps from the presence of the falcon-head on censers, the utensils might plausibly be related in a general manner to the sphere of cosmetics. Beside their individual separate evidence as items in a small corpus, their contexts in combination with other items may be used to address the question of their function. For the material cultural phases preceding the Middle Kingdom, the excavations directed by Guy Brunton at cemeteries from Qau to Matmar provide a series of relatively well-documented groups or 'kits' of cosmetic equipment. Although organic materials were not often preserved at these sites, the recorders took care to note traces of perished wood or leather, enabling Brunton to estimate the average box size as a 9-inch (about 23 cm) cube.[74] He could also draw up a list of the vanished boxes and bags, and, where not disturbed, the extant contents, mainly inorganic items such as stone vases and grinders, and mineral pigments.[75] Table 1 offers a summary of the contexts and contents as listed by Brunton, but translating his sequence dates, and their misleading term 'dynasty', with the material cultural phases as defined by Stephan Seidlmayer from his seriation of finds.[76] Brunton published further details on the three most varied sets:

> 4903 (phase IIB, early First Intermediate Period):[77]
>
> A simple grave, 6 ft. deep, with the untouched burial of a young woman, knees flexed, hands before face. In north-east corner of grave, pot 33h. Mirror in front of face. Close to pelvis, toilet pot 80t and box with copper fastener. Vase of black and white marble, pl.xxvi, 3, probably a much earlier one re-used. With the vase, apparently in a leather bag, some galena, a bone pin, a green jasper pebble, traces of red haematite, a *Conus* shell, a broken blue glaze amulet, and some human hair

From this description, the box may have been for a cosmetic vase of pottery, and perhaps the recycled stone vase; it is not clear whether the box had space for the mirror and/or the bag of miscellaneous items.

> 5207 (phase IIIA, end of First Intermediate Period):[78]
>
> Chamber on south, body completely disturbed. One pot in north-east corner. In north-west corner small box containing the three stone vases, galena, and malachite, a bone needle, three fish spines, piece of polished stone, three shells, a carnelian leg amulet, two Predynastic (?) pierced pebbles, a short string of small blue glaze amulets, and two tiny scarabs with the characteristic high backs of the period, one with a beetle on the base, and the other with a lizard or crocodile

In the Brunton summary (Table 1), the three stone vases are omitted, and the two scarab seal-amulets are listed as 'buttons'; conversely, in the tomb description, it is not clear where the list of box contents is intended to finish, and so not certain whether some or all amulets were found on the body. The illustration of the tomb group concentrates on typological comparisons, and so does not include the needle, fish-spines or pebbles (Fig. 33).

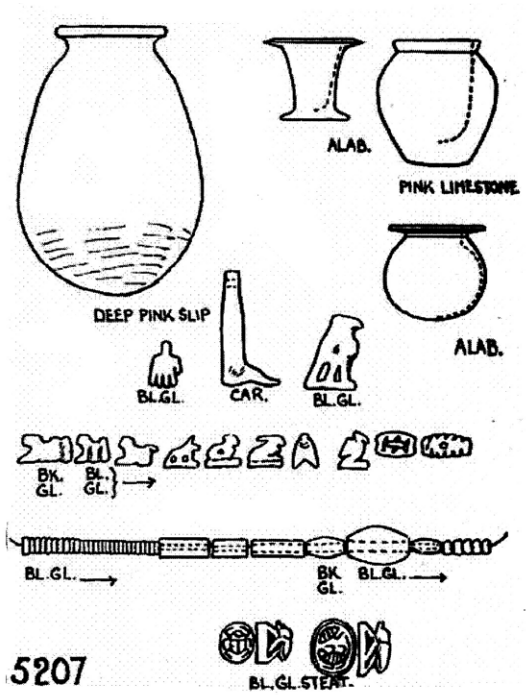

Fig. 33 – Pottery and stone vases, amulets, scarabs and beads from Qau 5207. Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, vol. I, pl. 47
© Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

> 914 (early Middle Kingdom, from reunification to the time of Senusret I):[79]
>
> Chamber on south entirely collapsed, the burial being quite undisturbed. Adult female extended, face east, lying in a position between supine and on left side. One pot, 37d. Mirror east of chest. … South of the feet there had been a box or basket containing two alabaster vases pl. xxvi, 34, 35, small breccia vase pl. xxix, 189, ivory pin or *kohl*-stick, grey stone palette like pl. xl, 15, copper knife and model tools pl. xxxviii, 19, and three scarabs pl. xxxiv, 184, 188, and 220

[74] Brunton, *Qau and Badari,* vol. I, 60.
[75] *Op. cit.,* vol. I, 60-1.
[76] Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang*, 136-9 with chronological synopsis p. 395, fig. 168.
[77] Brunton, *Qau and Badari,* vol. I, 36.
[78] *Op. cit.,* vol. I, 41 with pl. 47.
[79] *Op. cit.,* vol. I, 38.

In the report on excavations in the Matmar area, Brunton noted for *Mutela* that "In 5331 the two shells were inside an alabaster vase", and for *Spatha* "in 426 and 622, inside a trinket box. In 2304 the shell lay with pieces of malachite and galena".[80] The Brunton commentary on Mostagedda burials provides perhaps the clearest insight into the way objects were deployed together, in the collective. On *The Spoons and Spatulae*, he reported:[81]

> Five of these were of the VIth Dynasty, and all were found in conjunction with alabaster or horn toilet vases. In grave 10,020, where three were found, one was in a box with the two horn vases, and the other two in another box with the alabasters. No doubt they were used for extracting the contents in small quantities, and their use may imply that the unguent was viscous rather than liquid. Two are simple little spoons of bone or ivory; one is in the form of a hand. The other two are spatulae, the one plain, the other with a decorated end pierced for suspension. The two examples of the later periods are spatula, plain slips of bone with rounded ends

For the 'spoons and spatulae' from Qau and Badari, Brunton considered the width of vases and utensils found in the same set of burial goods[82] (Fig. 34):

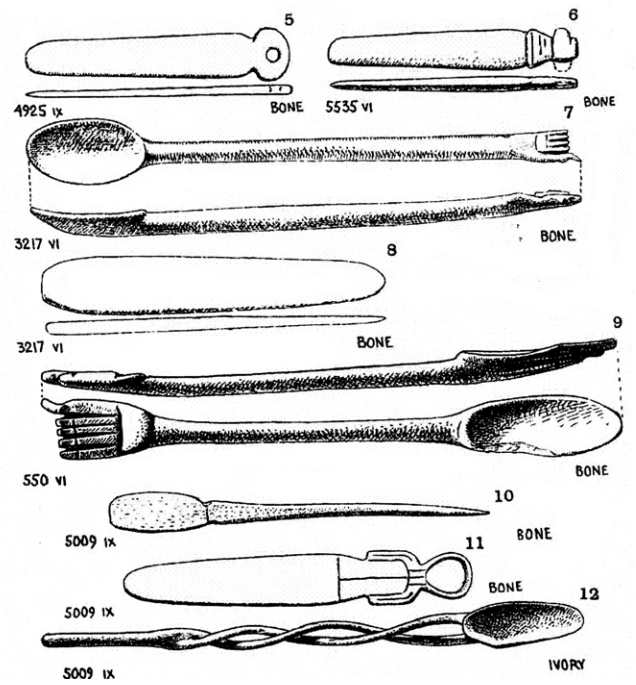

Fig. 34 – Cosmetic spoons and spatulae from late third millennium BC burials. Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, vol. I, pl. 40 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

> All the spoons have long narrow bowls to dip the scented ointment out of the vases. … These jars are all wide-mouthed. The five spatulae (one from grave 5229 not drawn) are, on the other hand, always associated with collar-necked alabaster vases, which have narrow necks (except one from a robbed grave, 4925, ix-xth). The spatula may have various forms of handle, such as the girdle-tie, 11; and are sometimes pierced for suspension

The rounded spatula ends noted by Brunton at Mostagedda might be compared with the tips of the elongated 'imitation shells' in sections II-III. However, the contrasting ridged and flat long edges on the latter seem to find no parallel none of the implements in the Qau-Badari-Mostagedda-Matmar series. Instead, shell-shaped spoon bowls seem to retain the function of shells as cosmetic dishes, for holding the prepared mixtures of pigments and binding media; the larger could perhaps have been used like the large shells, which Brunton considered to have been cosmetic palettes for mixing these materials. The single-ridged 'imitation shells' would seem to derive, then, from multiple earlier object types: deep shells used as palettes; shallow spoons for extracting viscous contents of wide-mouthed ointment jars; flat spatulae used with the late third millennium BC collared vases of calcite. The utensils deposited in burial equipment doubtless constitute only a selection from the wider range in use; in one burial of a man face-down (against the regular ritual practice of the age), a set of undecorated flat bone tools of various sizes was found under the face, as if carried in a bag from the neck[83] (Fig. 35). Beside selection for the afterlife, through embalming and funeral, an additional distorting factor is the variable preservation within and across sites. In the burials from Qau to Matmar, wooden utensils would have vanished along with the boxes and bags. In section II, one item is ivory, the other wood; in section III three are wood, one is ivory. Hard wood survives better (as items 3 and perhaps 2, both from Abydos), but, with the low number of extant examples, the possibility remains that third millennium BC antecedents to the elongated shells have not survived. The date of item 6, from Qau 1019, remains acutely open.

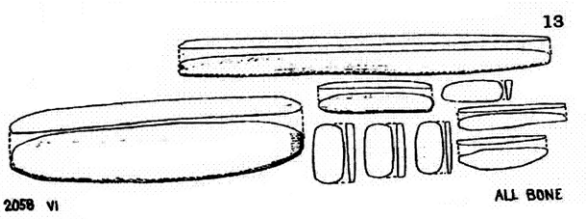

Fig. 35 – Group of bone tools, from Qau 2058 Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, vol. I, pl. 40 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

[80] Brunton, *Matmar*, 51.
[81] Brunton, *Mostagedda*, 110, with pls. LXI.15, 21; LXIV.14, 21-24; LXV.18.
[82] Brunton, *Qau and Badari,* vol. I, 65.
[83] *Op. cit.,* vol. I, 29, pl. 40; Brunton tentatively identified the functions as "two spatulae (?) and seven small polishers (??)".

IX. Objects in motion: cosmetics and aromatic materials in Middle Kingdom deposits and depictions

In the previous section, at Mostagedda (tomb 10020), one burial party placed a first box of items at the head of the body, a second at the feet, both including containers for unguents and cosmetics. These acts of deposition may have echoed rituals of cleansing and anointing the deceased. At the same time, the treatment of the dead can guide us to the routines or ceremonies of beautifying the body in life. For the wealthiest burials, the dominant ritual pattern in both third and second millennium BC was the provision of seven sacred oils, two packets of eye paint, and two lengths of cloth, articulated in late third millennium BC inscriptions for the afterlife of the king, Pyramid Texts 50 to 57. Harco Willems has discussed the general pattern and local variations in the object friezes on early Middle Kingdom rectangular coffins, noting the relative stability of the seven oils at the head end, appropriate to rites of anointing.[84] Since embalming required the whole body to be anointed and wrapped, the fixed position at the head perhaps maintains the link to ceremonial practice in this life, where scented oil might most often be applied to the head and upper body.

Such ambivalence between this world and the afterlife, most acute in the transition from one to the next, is perhaps most artfully expressed in relief and painting on the sarcophagi in which select women were buried in the precinct at Deir el-Bahari for the cult of king Nebhepetra Mentuhotep, mid-Eleventh Dynasty re-unifier of Egypt. At the exterior head end of the sarcophagus of Aashyt (JE47267), three men and a woman bring cosmetics to Aashyt, identified in accompanying hieroglyphic captions: the three men bring oils (1) *sṯi-ḥb* "festival oil", (2) *ḥknw*, (3) *sft*, and the woman brings a fragrant resin (4) *ʿntyw*.[85] The man at front holds an arm-shaped censer end-up in one hand, and a shallow curved object in the other (Fig. 36). The 'festival oil' of his caption is associated with wide-mouthed cylinder vases of stone, best suited for thicker unguents, rather than the constricted forms required for liquids.[86] Yet, on the Aashyt sarcophagus, the bearer seems equipped with a different object; the striated multiple rows might indicate strings of beads, connected to the ceremonial context of use rather than the function of the censer censing, but they could also depict the cordage of a small basket, possibly for carrying the incense pellets or the tools for preparing or arranging them.

Fig. 36 – Man holding censer and basket, depicted at exterior head end of the sarcophagus of Aashyt, Deir el-Bahri. Drawing © Wolfram Grajetzki

In stark contrast to the regular Twelfth Dynasty arrangements, the artists for the coffin of Sesenebnef, the only surviving Thirteenth Dynasty coffin with object frieze, strikingly surrounded him on all three sides with ointment jars and cloth, and on the foot end with cloth only, to the exclusion of all other object types.[87] For this eternal enfolding in cloth and ointment, they expanded the number of jars to nineteen, with a further three to denote collectively *mrḥt nbt* "all ointments". Here the embalming rites take unambiguous precedence over ceremonies of the body in daily life. The burial also contained ritual regalia, for Sesenebnef as king in the afterlife; therefore, the focus on cloth and unguent may be connected with wider changes in the material expression and practices for obtaining eternal life. During the Middle Kingdom, the body of the deceased was increasingly lain on its back in the coffin, rather than, as earlier, on its left side;[88] possibly an advance in embalming techniques prompted these revisions of burial practice and coffin design. On this backdrop of change, both the choices of motifs and the associations evoked by them may oscillate between the semantic anchors of this mortal life and the afterlife. From Middle Kingdom offering-chapels and tombs, Oleg Berlev documented the scenes in which estate staff bring supplies to a beneficiary, noting a predominant division along the faultline of economic organisation: food preparation area (*šnʿ*) and living-/reception-rooms (the *pr* more narrowly defined).[89] The staff of the inner house bring cosmetic equipment, in-

[84] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 211-3; Willems, *The coffin of Heqata*, 58-63.

[85] Scene, without border edge of block from the adjacent long side at left, in Oppenheim *et al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed,* 40, fig. 44; captions in Clère, Vandier, *Textes de la première periode*, 28, paragraph v.

[86] Willems, *The coffin of Heqata*, 58-9. On the interior of the coffin of Aashyt, found inside her sarcophagus, an offering frieze gives the caption 'festival oil' also for a wide-rimmed round-bodied vase with flowers, among the seven ritual oils; as Willems details, the same decorative programme appears on two other southern Upper Egyptian coffins, of Iqer from Gebelein, and of Heqata from Qubbet al-Hawa on the West Bank at Aswan.

[87] Gautier, Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, pls. 22-5. The multiplication of vessels somewhat recalls the high number of ointment vases in Haraga 124, see above, section IV, item 11.

[88] Bourriau, in Willems (ed.), *Social aspects of funerary culture*, 1-20.

[89] Берлев, *Трудовое население Египта в эпоху Среднего царства*, 263-323, 339-51; Берлев, *Общественные отношения*, 329-35, 352-5.

cluding mirrors, eye-paint and ointment jars.[90] Alongside these evocations of the rich life-style, as experienced in mortal life, other depictions evoke the seven ritual oils through captions, form or arrangement in twos or threes over the stylized form of offering-table.[91] The ritual focus on ointment need not always observe canonical constraints: Wolfram Grajetzki notes the example of a Thirteenth Dynasty offering-chapel element on which ointment jars are offered to the chapel beneficiary, *s3b r nḫn* 'Anu, with an offering-formula reduced to a request for *ṯ3w m ꜥntyw ḥr snṯr* "a breath of myrrh and incense", where the longer regular formulae include the sweet breath of the north wind.[92]

In order to find more direct expression of cosmetic practices in this life, without the intrusion of possibly different aims for the afterlife, we may turn to late Middle Kingdom deposits of cosmetic kit. The burials of people closest to the king may be least helpful here, as their equipment may be most heavily oriented to rites for eternity. The women with the title king's daughter received numbers of vases corresponding to, and in some instances labelled as, the seven ritual oils and associated items[93] (Fig. 37).

Farther from the royal court, but still intimately connected with its rituals, a box from an early Thirteenth

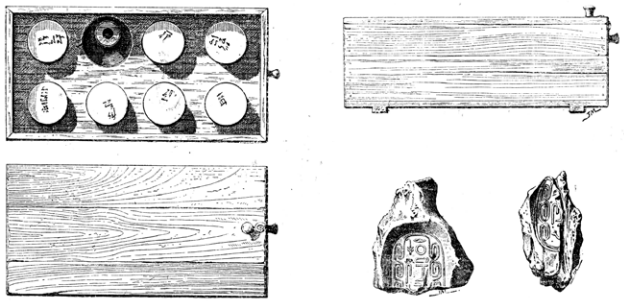

Fig. 37 –Box containing eight stone vases, from burial of king's daughter Nubheteptikhered. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, vol. I, fig. 258

Dynasty burial at Thebes bears a scene of the *iry ꜥt wdpw* "chamber keeper and cupbearer" Kemeni bringing two ritual ointment vases to king Amenemhat IV; an upper tray contained space for a mirror and two small compartments for other items, while the lower drawer had space for eight vases.[94] Here again, the number of vases may suggest a ceremonial equipment more strongly influenced by the rites for eternity, as Catharine Roehrig has emphasised.[95] However, the reverse direction cannot be excluded, that pairs of offerings, like the act of Kemeni depicted on the front of the box, formed the rhythmic basis of court procedures in life, and were extended from the palace of the king into the realm of the blessed dead.

A check on the source and extent of these highly visible afterlife rituals may finally be found only in a more widely conceived archaeology, for which Egyptological tradition provides still inadequate training.[96] One suggestive group in an apparently more modest environment was recorded by Petrie from the 1889 clearance of the town-site near Lahun.[97] According to his brief published report, a leather bag with two flint flakes, a cosmetic spoon with lotiform terminal and two prongs for a lost attachment, a hone with suspension hole, and a small marker (?) was found "in one chamber" along with a "small wooden box", a silver (?) torque, and other cosmetic equipment including three stone ointment vases, and a mirror handle topped by frontal face with

[90] Берлев, *Общественные отношения*, 160-1, discussion of the stelae in Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pls. 10-1, ANOC 4, in which *šnꜥ* staff predominate on stela pair Louvre C 168 and CG 20542, while the *imy-r ḫtmt* 'treasurer' leads staff responsible for inner house rooms on stela pair Louvre C167 and CG20561. Another clear example is the pairing of BM EA162 and CG 20546, Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 6, ANOC 2.2-3; on the former, a *nšt* 'hairdresser' brings mirror and sealable box, and two *ḥry-pr* 'house masters' bring further sealable boxes and equipment in nets, while on CG20546 provisioning staff bring food and drink. See also Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, 15.

[91] Examples in Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 14, ANOC 6.2 (Louvre C1, five captioned ritual oils), pl. 20, ANOC 11.1-2 (CG 20016-7, seven vases with two bags of eye-paint and two cloths, as in PT 50-57), pl. 27, ANOC 17.2 (CG20459, two vases with two bags on dishes, and triple cloth), pl. 34, ANOC 23.2 (Leiden V, 5, four vases on a low stand beside two bags, two lengths of cloth, and a mirror), pl. 44, ANOC 29.1 (Louvre C2, three vases either side of regnal-year panel, forming stela roundel). On three ointment jars over stylized offering-table, see Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, 65.

[92] Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, 15, on stela or miniature chapel element MMA 69.30.

[93] E.g. Grajetzki, *Tomb Treasures of the late Middle Kingdom*, 53 (Ita, Dahshur: eight vases with captions for the seven ritual oils and, as eighth, *ibr*), 64-5 (Neferuptah, Hawara: ten vases and two silver eye-paint sticks, so eight ointment vases and two eye-paint vases), 73-4 (Nubheteptikhered, Dahshur: box with drawer for seven cylinder vases and one flat-based globular eye-paint vase, lids labelled).

[94] Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 42, figs. 62-3. The box now contains eight vessels reconstructed from fragments found in the same chamber (MMA 26.7.1438-1447); a mirror (MMA 26.7.1351) fitting the tray slot was found in the tomb, wrapped with the body of a man in a coffin with the name Renseneb.

[95] In Oppenheim *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 141-2, cat. nos. 75A,B.

[96] Giddy, in Leahy, Tait (eds.), *Studies on ancient Egypt in honour of H. S. Smith*.

[97] Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, Gurob*, 12-3, 'Group 9', pl. 13, nos. 1-18. The objects illustrated are now in the Manchester Museum; for the mirror, EGY189, see Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 35 with n. 397 suggesting silver as the material of the torque, and fig. 74.

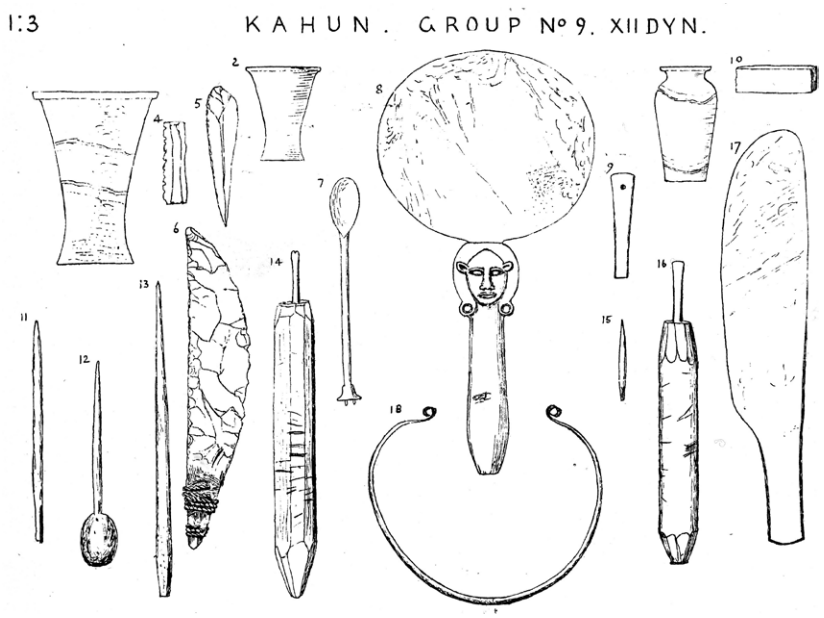

Fig. 38 – Objects in 'group 9', found in a small town-house, Lahun. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, Gurob*, pl. 13

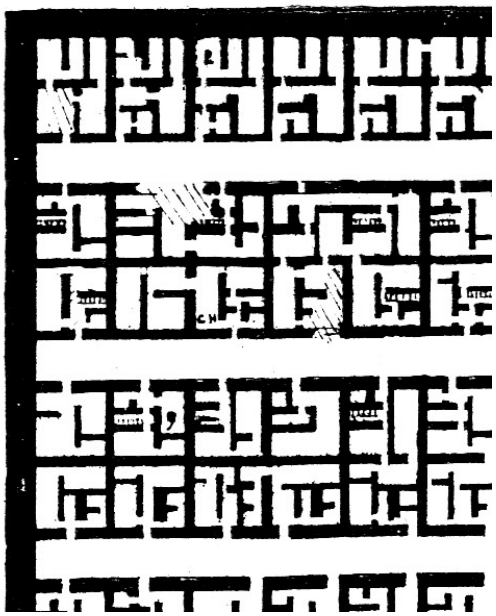

Fig. 39 – The northwest corner of the orthogonal town at Lahun, with the find of group '9' marked. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, Gurob*, pl. 16

disk-ended hair and cow (?) ears. There were also two chisels, a bound flint knife blade, another spoon and two needles; finds "in the next chamber" were a mirror disk fitting the handle, and a large copper knife blade (his pl. 13, no. 17). The polished stone vases, mirror with figured handle, and torque give the group an impression of material well-being. Yet, the find was made in a front room (or courtyard?) of a modest house at the northwest corner of the town (Figs. 38-39). On the rigorous analysis by Florence Doyen, the house belongs among the smallest on the site.[98]

The documentation of the 1889 fieldwork is too limited to allow firm conclusions on the reasons for the deposit, the condition of the house at the time of the deposit, and so the social status of those who made, used and deposited the objects. Nevertheless, the domestic architecture enframing these items, cosmetic and other, may prompt us to rethink the movements of objects into and out of groups, across a variety of functional contexts. The objects assembled anciently for practices of adornment are often separated by modern research, and by museum display, into themes of writing, ritual and cosmetic, with a sharper line dividing life and death. Yet each utensil can belong first to a practice-based continuum in material living, and a creative medium seems needed to re-join the spheres of life. For the leap of imagination, the ancient Egyptian archaeological record includes its own strong range of inscription and depiction, now reinforced through the productive critique of art and script in cultural studies.[99] The material from each period can offer cumulative insights into practices over time. For the Old Kingdom, combinations of tools in burial equipment could be related to depictions in tomb-chapels, as in the discussion by Susan Allen of a copper utensil and single-handled pail found containing an unidentified paste, in a late Old Kingdom shaft tomb at Giza.[100] For the Middle Kingdom, the group from the Lahun house might offer a productive route to the material culture of adornment, through the presence of

[98] Doyen, *Civilisations* 47, 65-83: in the summary on p. 75, Table 1, at 62 m^2 the houses in the row (her siglum Wi) north side are in size group 3, on an ascending scale from group 1 in the East town sector (44.1m^2) to group 20 in West town sector, row B (170m^2) and a smaller number of markedly larger houses; this spectrum excludes the palatial mansions of vaster scale, at 40 x 60 m. The analysis by Doyen establishes the variety of house sizes at the site, against a common perception of all 'smaller' houses as a homogeneous social block.

[99] Moreno Garcia, *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 29, 73-95.

[100] Allen, in Arnold, Ziegler, Grzymski (eds.), *Egyptian art in the age of the pyramids*, 489, cat. no. 212 copper basin Leipzig 2169, copper implement Leipzig 2170. For the Old Kingdom depictions, see Vasiljević, *Untersuchungen zum Gefolge des Grabherrn*, 47, and discussion in Brovarski, in Grimal, Kamel, May-Sheikholeslami (eds.), *Hommages à Fayza Haikal*, 67-78.

ointments and their containers in a perhaps unexpected range of social contexts. This search might yield new insight into the material lives also of the elongated 'imitation shells'.

Table 1

Qau-Matmar burials with traces of boxes for cosmetic kits

Examples with uncertain items only are excluded

(a) with calcite vases (no. of vases in brackets), no other object types recorded
Seidlmayer Phase IB (schematic date: c. 2250 BC)
Tomb 471 (3), 3143 (3), 4853 (1)
Seidlmayer Phase IIA (schematic date: c. 2200 BC)
Tomb 412 (6), 7763 (1), 7931 (2)

(b) with two or more object types
Seidlmayer Phase IB (schematic date: c. 2250 BC)

Tomb no.	**Contents**
5535	5 calcite vases, beads, spatula, scrap of cylinder vase
6804	1 calcite vase, *Spatha* shell, fossil coral

Seidlmayer Phase IIA (schematic date: c. 2200 BC)

3125	4 calcite vases, beads, seal-amulet
2285	1 calcite vase, 2 squat pottery vessels
7807	2 calcite vases, 2 squat pottery vessels

Seidlmayer Phase IIB (schematic date: c. 2150 BC)

971	2 calcite vases, mirror, galena
1066	1 calcite vase, grinder, galena
1115	2 calcite vases, 1 squat pottery vessel, grinder
4903	1 calcite vase, 1 squat pottery vessel, bone pin, shell, amulet, galena, red ochre, hair, seal-amulet

Seidlmayer Phase IIC (schematic date: c. 2100 BC)

2040	shell, 2 grinders, beads

Seidlmayer Phase IIIA (schematic date: c. 2050 BC)

5207	beads, 2 button-seals, 3 fish spines, needle, shells, pebble, galena, malachite

Seidlmayer Phase IIIB (schematic date: c. 1950 BC)

914	2 calcite vases, 1 pottery vessel, stone trapezoidal pigment palette, beads, knife, model tools, 3 scarabs, kohl stick

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The Egg as a Metaphor for Isis: A Coffin Text Imagery

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Abstract

The egg sign is a metaphor for the goddess Isis, in her role in the mythical birth of Horus. The egg also metaphorically equates with the mother-womb giving birth. This adapted function for the egg sign as a metaphoric ideogram for Isis appears first in the writing of her name in the Coffin Texts. This can be seen in company with the textual illustration of Isis as the primeval egg or cosmos, in which the creator god is preparing for his emergence. The allusion comes in the context of the mythical birth of Horus, in the CT *spell 148.*

Egyptian religion and myths are very rich with elaborated speculations, allusions and methods of adapting simple symbols to serve specific imaginary concepts. Images of such ideas, allusions and thoughts are not limited to illustrated scenes or three- dimensional objects, but appear also in texts, where hieroglyphic signs give several levels of expressions by which an allusion can be illustrated. And they could be used in many different contexts and in different ways.

Among the many known Egyptian symbols, the egg appears to be one of the most significant. It has great importance and plays many roles in numerous and varied disciplines. Its symbolical significance is frequently noticed through its cosmogony as a metaphor for the germ-cell of life, which appears in the legends of creation.[1] It also has mythical significance regarding its sexual and fertile aspects of giving birth, since the egg combines the male and female sexual powers.[2] This mythical theme is attested as early as the time of the Pyramid Texts,[3] while its cosmogony is attested first in the Coffin Texts;[4] after which, both themes continue throughout numerous textual references in various Egyptian sources until the Ptolemaic-Roman Periods.[5] Although, these themes are the most essential and interesting of the egg, its symbolical significance varies to include several other subjects.[6]

Hieroglyphs played an important role among these themes, and it is where many of their mythical, cosmog-

[1] The primeval-egg has a predominant creative role according to the various creation views, where its cosmogony was involved. For more about its significance in creation and the creation views, *cf*. Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 162-4; Caminos, in *LÄ* I, 1185-8; Sauneron, Yoyotte, in *La naissance du monde*, 60 f.; Bickel, *La Cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire*, 234-24; Bilolo, *Les Cosmo-théologies philosophiques d'Héliopolis et d'Hermopolis*, 192-201 ff. For the creation of the cosmos from the egg, *cf*. Roeder, *Hermopolis*, 186 (ss.44c); Morenz, in Morenz (ed.), *Aus Antike und Orient*, 77, 94 (also 74-83 ff.); Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, 187 f.; Kuentz, *L'Oie du Nil dans l'Antique Égypte*, 50.

[2] *Cf*. CT Spell 148; CT I, 167f; 168c; CT II, 3; 33; 36c-d; 44d; CT IV, 292b-c. For more about its mythical role, *cf*. Bickel, *La Cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire*, 234-41; Caminos, in *LÄ* I, 1185-8; Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, 14, 18, 22.

[3] *I.e.* PT 714; 1967; 1968 d (crushed); 1969 c. The earliest attestations were recorded in the Pyramid Texts of Pepi I (PT 408; 516; 669), where it occurs in the context of the mythical birth/rebirth of the dead king.

[4] *I.e.* CT III, 208c-209a; CT VI 247f-g; CT VII 111o-p. For its cosmogony in the Coffin Texts, *cf*. Bickel, *La Cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire*, 234-41; Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, 14, 18, 22. The cosmogony of the egg and the allusion of the cosmos before creation in the egg is known through a few traces of the story that are pieced together from unconnected statements and ambiguous allusions scattered through records ranging from the Pyramid Texts to the hymn of Amun at Hibis and Petosiris's autobiography. For the cosmogony of the egg, *cf*. also, Roeder, *Hermopolis*, 186 (ss.44c); Morenz, *Aus Antike und Orient*, 77, 94 (also 74-83 ff.); Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, 187 f.

[5] Caminos, in *LÄ* I, 1185.

[6] Such as magic or magical medicine, where it plays a noted role, for its attestations *i.e.*, in the magical Papyrus of Harris (BM EA 10042 VI, 12), *cf.* Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, pl. 17 (12), also pl. 34 (13).

onic and magical significances can be revealed and illustrated. As for the hieroglyph of the egg, it played a similarly wide role. The egg sign may appear as an ideogram, determinative[7] or even as phonetic value.[8] It may also be noted that the hieroglyph of the egg may determine various Egyptian words, which do not mean 'egg'.[9] Therefore, the hieroglyph for the egg may be classified into three main themes according to its functions. It may occur as a determinative, or as a phonetic value, that comes first with its use as an ideogram and/or signifier for goddess(es). Doubtless, this wide use of the egg sign in hieroglyphs reflects the multiple metaphoric connections of the egg.

This paper aims to discuss the function of the egg as a metaphor for the goddess Isis, in its role in the mythical birth of Horus. It also discuss the egg in accordance with its metaphorical equating with the mother-womb in giving birth.[10] This adapted function for the egg sign, as a metaphoric ideogram for Isis, appears first in the Coffin Texts in the context of the mythical birth of Horus (CT 148).

The egg-sign in hieroglyphs is a pictorial representation of an egg. It occurs as an ideogram and iconic sign in the writing of the word *swḥ.t* – "egg". The word is derived from the verb *swḥ*, meaning "einhüllen, to enshroud, enwrap, wrap (something in)".[11] The word *swḥ.t* is usually written or determined with its customary egg sign. The word generally means "egg" in reference to the egg of a bird, but it also has, or occurs under, some other relevant meanings as mentioned above. They link it metaphorically to its symbolical significance.

The egg as a metaphor for the mother's womb. The egg refers sometimes to the mother's womb, not just in some of the mythical sequences such as CT Spell 148,[12] but the significant meaning of a "womb" appears also in some ancient Egyptian medical and magical[13] attestations. In the latter it clearly indicates the womb as an organ of the human body. It has been noted that the egg shares female and male sexual fertility and reproduction, and because of this, it has an essential symbolical significance in the cosmogony. Some religious texts indicate that the functional role of Ptah(-Tatenen) the creator-god is equated with that of Khnum, the potter, who knots the

[7] It occurs as a determinative in numerous Egyptian words, where it may replace other similar signs regarding their assimilations, as well as revealing some associated significance of its physical, physiological, mythical, and cosmological significance and symbolic roles *cf*. the online TLA. For the full list of words, their classification and their sources, *cf*. Rashed, *SHEDET* 2, 62-75.

[8] It has been noted that the egg sign occurs as a phonograph or phonetic sign, when it gives different phonetic values, mostly in the Ptolemaic-Roman sources Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische*, 270, n. 20, and references therein, 273 f. (nn. 90-107); Cauville, *Le fonds hiéroglyphique*, 123, but some of these phonetic values of the sign are attested earlier. Sethe mentioned that the egg sign gives the phonetic value '*is*' (of *iswy* "*testicle*"), or s (of *swḥ.t* "egg") in the name of Isis, *Ỉst*, commenting on the writing of the name of Isis with the egg sign, which is attested with the egg sign since the Coffin Texts. Sethe, in Northampton, Spiegelberg, Newberry, *Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, 5, n. 64, 9. Occasionally, the egg sign gives the phonetic value of *ḥ*, *im*(*y*), *ir*, *m*, *s*, *sꜣ*(*w*), *š*, *k*, *gb*, *ḏt*. *Cf*. Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische*, 270-4, nn. 20-107; Cauville, *Le fonds hiéroglyphique*, 123 ff.

[9] The ancient Egyptian sources present numerous attestations for Egyptian words, which are frequently or occasionally determined with the egg sign. The examples can be found in the online TLA; together with the basic Egyptian language dictionaries.

[10] The egg is metaphorically equated with the sun disk, as the offspring. This may be explained and clarified through its occurrences in the sequence of the various Egyptian mythological and religious sources, *i.e.* with the sun disk. It has been noted that mythically, the egg and the sun disk are surely mapped metaphorically into each other. They share physiologically the colour and the form and the giving of life, but also the sun-god emerged from the Ur-egg as is even clarified in some of the textual sources, *i.e.* CT III 156b and Tb 17 (= *Urk*. VI 55,1, and 56,1), reading: *i rᶜ imy swḥ.t.f. psḏ m ỉtn.f wbn m ꜣḫt.f*; also CT II 36c "as he rises every-day, when he comes out from his egg". CT II 44d *psḏ.f wbn.f pri.f m swḥ.t.f mst nṯr m prt*, "as he shines, as he rises when he comes out from his egg, god's birth is coming out". Other attestations, *cf*. also CT IV 292b-c and CT VI 323g; 434m-i. For more *cf*. Bickel, *La Cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire*, 238 ff.; Goldwasser, in Van Dijk (ed.), *Essays in Honour of Herman Te Velde*, 79-84. As for its connection with offspring: first, the word *swḥ.t* gives the meaning of "offspring" or "descendant," since it contains the embryo or fledgling as a normal development phase of the fledgling. It occurs with this meaning in some literature and mythical contexts; *i.e.*, a hymn for Ramesses VI and VII in the pTurin CG54031, reads *pꜣ zꜣ n Rᶜ tꜣ swḥw.t n Ỉtm ṯsi mnmn*[*.t*], "O son of Re, O offspring (literally, "egg") of Atum, who knit the Cow goddess together." Condon, *Seven Royal Hymns*, line ver. 20.2,4. *Cf*. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, 332-4, 390-6. Also in the case of CT I 167 f/176 k, where the meaning of "offspring" is preferred, rather than the egg.

[11] Osing, *Die Nominalbildung*, 64.

[12] Spell 148 spoke of the "taking shape as a falcon (Horus)". It describes the mythical impregnating of Isis with the seed of Osiris. Isis says "I have moulded the shape of the god within (my) egg", *i ṯs irw m nṯr m swḥ.t*. She speaks again about her pregnancy "There is a god within this body (womb) of mine and seed of Osiris is he". Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, I, 125 ff.; Faulkner, *JEA* 54, 40 ff.

[13] *I.e.* in the magical Papyrus of Harris (BM EA 10042 VI, 12); Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, pl. 17 (12), also pl. 34 (13).

seeds within the egg(s) to give birth or make the women pregnant.[14] Clearly, the Egyptian sources illustrated the mother's womb as an egg in its shape as well as its functional state associated with pregnancy and giving birth.

Though the egg is attested in equating with the meaning "womb" in the sequence of its mythical attestations, it also appears as an ideogram and signifier for the goddess Isis for the first time in the Middle Kingdom. This was in the Coffin Texts, where an orthographic writing for the name of the goddess occurs with the egg sign, not as a determinative, but as an ideographic writing for the name: .[15] It continues to occur frequently in variations of her name written or determined with the egg sign until the Ptolemaic-Roman Periods, such as: ,[16] ,[17] ,[18] *ȝst*,[19] etc.

The use of the egg sign here appears metaphorically in relation to its mythical role. This appears clearly in the context of the relevant Coffin Text spells. The egg sign appears three times only, as an ideogram in the writing of Isis' name in CT spell 148 on the same coffin (S1C1ass). However, this writing of the name does not appear in any other versions of the spell, but from its context draws a connection between the metaphor of the egg, as self-impregnated power, with Isis, who is pregnant with Horus, after the death of his father Osiris. In each of the three occasions, the text illustrates Isis as pregnant with the egg, which has the child and heir of the gods. The divine egg is within Isis, and Isis equates with the egg: Isis is the divine egg, which gives a birth to Osiris.

It is noted that the egg sign appears as well in similar orthographic writings in the name of the god Geb,[20] from the Ptolemaic Period, *i.e.* ,[21] ,[22] .[23] The egg sign does not occur as a determinative in the aforementioned orthographies of Geb. Although it appears in the same position and word construction as the aforementioned orthographies of Isis' name, it seems not to be a signifier for the god. In these cases it occurs as a substituted writing for *za*-geese, as a playful writing that gives the phonetic value '*g*'. It has been noted that the egg sign is used as an ideogram for 'son' from the New Kingdom. The word '*s3*', "son" occurs frequently written or determined with the egg sign from the Eighteenth Dynasty; and as an ideogram from the Nineteenth Dynasty.[24] The egg sign as a substitute for '*s3*' arises from their hieratic affiliation, and as such bears the value '*s3*' in its own right.[25] Therefore, the egg sign in Geb accordingly represents the phonetic value *za*-goose, which Fairman[26] thought was used in the writing of Geb through a false analogy. Just as the egg sign can be substituted for *s3* "son," it can just as readily be substituted for in the name: .[27] Also, Bedier[28] explained the egg sign in Geb as having the phonetic value '*g*'.[29]

[14] Ptah is also depicted fashioning the egg on the potter's wheel in Philae. The god is represented probably twice in the shrine on the roof at Philae, fashioning an egg on his wheel, in a variation of his representative scenes of modelling a child god or mankind. Bénédite, *Le Temple de Philae*, pl. 61.

[15] CT II, 210a; 211b; 216c; Van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 15, 8. Sethe commented on this writing on a text from the New Kingdom that the egg sign gives the phonetic value *is* (of *iswy* "testicle"), or *s* (of *swḥ.t* "egg") in the name of Isis, *Ỉst*. Sethe, in Northampton, Spiegelberg, Newberry, *Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, 5, n. 64, 9.

[16] CT I, 183f (B13C); It also attested in the texts of a coffin from Asyut dated back to the Middle Kingdom, Kamal, *ASAE* 34, 51.

[17] Hb. 7,4 (= Piankoff, *Le Livre du querets*).

[18] Amd. 405, nr. 345.

[19] For the various variations and attestations with the egg sign, *cf*. LGG I, 61 f.; Lexica 4, 2993 ff.

[20] Geb plays a cosmological role as a primordial god and creator, and is occasionally associated with the primeval egg in the context of the creation and cosmogony of the world. CT II 33b (B2L & B1C) identifies the son of Atum with Geb, whereas mythologically it should be Shu. CT II 33b-c (B2L & B1C) reads "It is Geb who will live, whom I begot in my name. He knows how to nourish him who is in the egg in the womb for me". CT II 33b-c (B2L & B1C); *cf*. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 84; Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, 97. Geb was identified as one of the great gods, and older than the primordial deities, CT IV 86o reads "who (Geb) is older than the great One". So that, he was depicted as an ithyphallic god, similar to Atum, the creator god, and the accompanying inscription describes him as the creator of the world. His connection with the primeval egg is approved through several other attestations as well. Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, 98. *Cf*. LGG VII, 303-6; *cf*. Bedier, *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb*.

[21] Edfu I, 230, 7; Dendera VII, 38, 9; Esna III, 152, n. 259, 2.

[22] Edfu I, 54, 8; Opet I, 20.

[23] Edfu I, 572, 16.

[24] Wb III, 408.1-412.2; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 708, 780-2. The hieratic contraction of the hieroglyph found in the inverted Middle Kingdom method of expressing affiliations appeared in Nineteenth Dynasty hieroglyphic texts as the egg sign, together with its hieratic variation. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar,* 474. *cf*. Fairman, *ASAE* 43, 228 (191), 271 (nr. 49); Fairman, *BIFAO* 43, 90 f., no. m.

[25] Fairman, *BIFAO* 43, 90 f., no. m.

[26] *Art. cit.*, 116. For the use of the egg sign as a phonetic value, see above n.8.

[27] *Art. cit.*, 116.

[28] Bedier noted that the egg sign attests equally but incorrectly in the writing of the name of the god Geb in the Ptolemaic-Roman Periods. It is used as a phonetic complementary, not as a determinative. *Cf*. Bedier, *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb*, 161; other forms and references therein.

[29] It has the phonetic values '*g*/*k*' in the Late Ptolemaic-Roman Periods. Bedier, *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb*, 161; other forms and references therein.

The mythical role of the Egg in the coffin texts. Some of the coffin texts spells reveal a significant mythical role for the egg, in which it was connected with the mythical birth of Horus, and the mythical birth of the deceased, who was equated with Horus or the sun god to gain his mythical rebirth power. Spell 148 (CT II 210-226) is the most significant text for the subject in discussion, where it speaks of the "taking shape as a falcon (Horus)". It describes the mythical impregnation of Isis with the seed of Osiris. The spell reads:

> Taking shape as a Falcon. The lightning-flash strikes (?), the gods are afraid, Isis wakes pregnant with the seed of her brother Osiris. She is uplifted, (even she) the widow, and her heart is glad with the seed of her brother Osiris. She says: "O you gods, I am Isis, the sister of Osiris, who wept for the father of the gods, (even) Osiris who judged the slaughtering of Two Lands. His seed is within my womb, I have moulded the shape of the god within the egg as my father Geb, what he shall say is concerning his father, what he shall kill is Seth the enemy of his father Osiris. Come, you gods, protect him within my womb, for he is known in your hearts. He is your lord, this god who is in his egg, blue haired of form, lord of the gods, and great and beautiful are the barbs (?) of the two blue plumes", "Oh! says Atum: guard your heart, O woman" How do you know? He is the god, lord and heir of the Ennead, who made you within the egg. "I am Isis, one more spirit-like and august than the gods; the god is within this womb of mine and he is the seed of Osiris". Then says Atum: "You are pregnant and you are hidden, O girl! You will give birth, being pregnant for the gods, seeing that (?) he is the seed of Osiris. May that villain who slew his father not come, lest he break the egg in its early stages, for the Great-of-Magic will guard against him".
>
> Thus says Isis: "Hear this, you gods, which Atum, Lord of the Mansion of the Sacred images, has said. He decreed for me protection for my son within my womb, he has knit together an entourage about him within this womb of mine, for he knows that he is the heir of Osiris, and a guard over the Falcon who is in this womb of mine has been set by Atum, Lord of the gods. Go up on earth, that I may give you praise [...]".
>
> "I am Horus, born of Isis, whose protection was made within the egg; the fiery blast of your mouths does not attack me, […] I am Horus son of Isis"[30]

There is no doubt that among the various sources that refer to the legend of the posthumous impregnation of Isis by Osiris, CT spell 148 presents many essential elements relevant to this legend. However, the most interesting point in our discussion is the fact that she is pregnant with Horus inside the egg, which is inside her womb: "His seed is within my womb. I have moulded the shape of the god within (my) egg".[31] Mythically the egg is equated with the womb and is a metaphor for the womb of the mother,[32] which explains the writing of Isis' name with the egg sign that occurs first in this particular spell. Isis is not just pregnant or bearing this egg, but in fact she embodies the egg, which may be compared with the mythical significance of her name and its embodiment of the throne of Osiris, the king.[33]

The egg sign in Isis' name in CT 148 is an ideogrammatic writing and expresses metaphorically the power of self-impregnation and birth-giving. This ideogrammatic writing was intended to express the role that Isis has in CT 148, where she gets pregnant and gives birth. Therefore, her name is not determined with the egg sign, but is written with the egg as an ideogrammatic writing.[34] It is assumed here that Isis is equated with the egg or specifically, she is the egg. Therefore, the egg became first a signifier and ideogram for Isis, and then it is used widely as a proper determinative in the names and epithets of goddesses.

It should be noted also that the legend of the posthumous impregnation of Isis through its other sources gives her the sexual aspects of self-impregnation in order to become pregnant and give birth after the death of Osiris.[35] These female-male fertility aspects are the essential aspects of the egg as has already been pointed

[30] Faulkner, *JEA* 54, 40 f. For a complete translation and commentary see therein; for further commentary, *cf.* Griffiths, *JEA* 56, 194; Gilula, *JEA* 57, 14 ff.; Faulkner, *JEA* 59, 218 f.

[31] CT II, 211d-212c; Faulkner, *JEA* 54, 40. The speech is by Isis, who bears the seed of Osiris; then, later in the text, Atum addressed his speech to her "who made you with the egg". For the complete spell *cf.* Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 125 ff.; Faulkner, *JEA* 54, 40 ff.

[32] As it has already been pointed out above.

[33] Since the time of the Pyramid Texts her name is written with the throne-sign *st*, and the female complement *t* in reference to the female throne. Sethe presented this interpretation for her name based on his understanding of PT 511 (PT. 1153b; 1154b). Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, 85 f. About Isis, the throne of the king, *cf.* Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, 117; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis,* 123. Compare also in this symbolical meaning the writing of the name of Hathor that mythically reflects her significance as the house of Horus. *cf.* Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, 120.

[34] Isis' name occurs with the ideogram egg sign in CT II, 210a; 211b; 216c.

[35] Therefore, Isis was in a way responsible for both aspects of the sexual act. She also used her magical power to revive Osiris in order to put the seed of Horus in her womb, otherwise to impregnate herself, and so she represents her sexual male partner in herself together with her physical female aspects. For the pregnancy of Isis and birth of Horus, *cf.* Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, 5 ff.

out;[36] and the egg sign in her name expresses and confirms this meaning metaphorically.

The egg sign as a determinative for the goddesses' names. The egg sign is attested first with the goddess Isis as an ideogram and then as a determinative in the Coffin Texts, but its use was extended to other Egyptian deities from the New Kingdom onwards. Isis has multiple connections as a mother and supreme goddess with all Egyptian deities. She was even equated with or replaced by other goddesses. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the significance of the egg as a signifier for Isis occurs with other goddesses. This is made clear by the use of the egg sign as a proper determinative in the names of the Egyptian goddesses in general from the New Kingdom onwards.[37] It is even extended to their epithets[38] as well.

As an Ideogram in divine epithets. The egg sign appears also as an ideogram in some of the divine epithets of Egyptian deities, in which some of its significance is revealed, *i.e.* it appears clearly in the word: [39] *ỉr-tȝ*, "the creator of the land", as an epithet of the creator-god Ptah. However, its spelling is interesting and questionable; though Meeks[40] and Derchain-Urtel[41] clarified the spelling to be *ỉr-tȝ*, since this word occurs in parallel in Edfu III, 199, 12 and IV, 169, 15, where and [42]

[36] And also through the equating of it with the sexual organs of both gender.

[37] Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 162; Caminos, in *LÄ* I, 1185 f.; Gardiner, *Grammar*, 474.

[38] TLA gives numerous variations for such epithets and their attestations.

[39] Meeks, *AnnLex*, 773085; Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische*, 274 (n. 92); Derchain-Urtel, *Thot,* 220 f., n. 34; Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 185 ff.; Kurth, *Die Dekoration der Säulen im Pronaos des Tempels von Edfu*, 57, n. 17, and references therein. The form of this epithet also fits well with the god Khnum as a creator-god. *cf.* Husson, *L'offrande du miroirs*, 73, n.3.

[40] Meeks, *BiOr* 56, 584 f. It was thought the writing form is a variation of the divine epithet *ḫmt*, "the creator", literary "to think out", especially of Ptah, where the egg sign takes the place of *ḫ*, as a phonogram and associogram. Meeks, *AnnLex*, 773085; Borghouts, *CdE* 56, 274 (77.3085, *ḫmt*, "creator"); Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische*, 274, n. 92. But later, Meeks clarified that they are two different forms or words (*ḫmt* and *ỉr-tȝ*). Kurth, *Die Dekoration der Säulen im Pronaos des Tempels von Edfu*, 57, n. 17; Meeks, *BiOr* 56, 584.

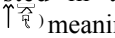
[41] Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, 220 f.

[42] The usual writing and spelling of this epithet is , and occasionally has the sign . Wb I, 109, 1; Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, 221, n. 34; various other writing therein. The eye sign is replaced in this case with the egg sign, which may be interpreted through other spellings and writing forms (the writing and *irw*, "to do, fashion, create"). Wb I, 113, 10-1, 16; PT 1191; Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts,* 191; *Urk*. II, 37.

are replaced in the sentence,[43] which reads: *Ỉr-tȝ nbnb niwt m sšt3.f wr n Bḥdty*, "Irta protects the cities in his great form of Behedety".[44]

Conclusion

It can be concluded that the egg plays a significant role as a signifier for Isis, based on the goddesses' mythical pregnancy and the metaphoric resemblance between the egg and the womb (of Isis). This clearly interprets the use of the egg sign firstly as an ideogram for the writing of 'Isis', and later as a determinative for goddesses in general. The first occurrence of the egg sign used as an ideogram in the writing of her name appears in the Coffin Texts and dates back to the First Intermediate Period-Middle Kingdom. The use of the egg sign thereby was influenced by the multi-metaphorical values of the egg; and as a hieroglyphic allusion for the image of Isis, illustrated in the context of spell 148 – simply that Isis is pregnant with Horus, the heir of the gods. As Isis self-impregnated after the death of Osiris, she is depicted in the image of the egg to gain its fertile aspects. A company of images were illustrated around the egg from the time of the Coffin Texts onwards, when it served as a metaphor for the cosmos, the creation process, and for the creator god inside it, or emerges from the egg. The egg is the metaphor of the cosmos and so, therefore, was

Another example of the egg sign in the place of *ỉr* is attested in the writing of the phrase *ỉr-sšm-šm* () meaning "heir" from the Roman Period in an inscription from Thebes. Klotz, *Caesar in the city of Amun*, 362; PM II², 461 (2b); for this phrase, *cf.* Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 88 f. As a derived word of this epithet, the creator god is called: var. *Pȝ-irw* in a hymn from Esna, Esna III, 310-1. From the same root as this epithet for the creator god, some others words are also derived. The verb (Wb I, 113.10-11; PT 1191; *Urk.* II, 37; Dendera X, 29, 7; 157, 7. Cauville commented on its phonetic value *ỉr* in Dendara inscriptions, Cauville, *Le fonds hiéroglyphique au temps de Cléopâtre*, 123), a variation of *ỉr.w*, "fashion, create", attested with the egg sign particularly in its subsequent meaning "to perform or carry out the ceremonies"; and as a variation of *irw* (Wb I, 98.8-9), or *ir(i)* "to do, make" (Wb I, 108.5; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 27), from which is derived the word , *irw,* "shape, form", in reference to the work of the creator god "to create, form", Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 27; *Urk.* IV, 16,10 ( ). Also as an epithet for the creator-god, LGG I, 439; Edfu VII, 48, 11-2.

[43] The reading and replacing of the sign for *tȝ* is regular in the Ptolemaic-Roman Periods, according to Sandman, *cf.* Esna, vol. II, 292, 25; 531, 23. Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, 221, n. 34; Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 45; Kurth, *Die Dekoration der Säulen im Pronaos des Tempels von Edfu*, 57, n. 17.

[44] Meeks, *BiOr* 56, 585.

Isis – she was the cosmos of the child god Horus, and the egg a metaphor and her signifier; this became the image which the Egyptians illustrated in their mythical texts in the Coffin Texts and elsewhere later.

Therefore, it may noted that the multiple metaphorical associations and significance of the egg were perfectly presented in its metaphorical connection and association with Isis. A metaphorical connection which reflects its mythical, cosmogonic roles as well as its impregnation power and fertility aspects.

Finally, the concepts which the egg presents are very varied and multi-linked. The aspects that give the egg its symbolical significance to play these essential mythical, magical and cosmological roles –in addition to its physical form– were rich enough to ensure its place as a hieroglyph in the Egyptian writing. The hieroglyph of the egg presents a company of images in the Egyptian writing system, which are not limited to our discussed imagery.

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'Writing-Board Stelae' with Sokar-Formula: A Preliminary Account

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with a note on the archaeological context of Tomb C 37, Asasif
Gianluca Miniaci

Abstract
Nearly one century ago in the Theban Necropolis (Asasif-Deir El-Bahari area) the excavations by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and by The Earl of Carnarvon-H. Carter team, brought to light a few characteristic wooden stelae, which show a painted decoration and a formula, in hieratic writing, where the Falcon God Sokar and his bark are envisaged as rescuer of worthy people, accompanying them to 'justification' in the other world. These panel stelae are collected and described –some for the first time–, and their characteristic formula as well. Additional pieces (stelae with a drawing of a henu*-boat, or with the owner in a special boat) are presented in order to try to understand whether they are related with those special panel stelae and their religious meaning.*

I came across some of so-called 'writing-board stelae' many years ago, but I left them aside, with a view to completing further research at my convenience. In fact, after many years I have not been able to find much further material, only one piece more among the published examples.[1] I presented my research on this subject as a work-in-progress during a National Conference in Italy in January 2007.[2] In July of the same year I was delighted to receive the photographs of two fragments and a complete stela in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It was a few years later that I came to realise my preliminary conclusions were rather outdated, so to speak, as I had taken the same route already covered by another researcher many years before.

Edward Brovarski had already presented his arguments on the subject in an extensive note in his PhD dissertation,[3] a mine for any research on the First Intermediate Period material, which unfortunately I did not have at my disposal before. When I sent him the abstract of my paper, he only asked me to confirm my opinion: what luck (for me!) that we shared the same view! I wish to thank him warmly: he has been very kind and generous to let me carry on the research which he had already set out. So I hope he will like these pages, and they will bring us a little step further, or even bring a 'new beginning'.

I wish to present here the few documents belonging to this class –some shown or published here for the first time–, namely wooden tablets, most of them originally writing-tablets,[4] reused, plastered and painted with a similar layout, and characterised by the presence of a distinctive formula in hieratic writing, concerning the god Sokar and his bark. These panel stelae, all probably coming from Thebes, are to be dated surely before the New Kingdom, but different opinions have been expressed, ranging from the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, Eleventh Dynasty,[5] to the controversial Hyksos period, and Seventeenth Dynasty.[6]

In the second part I have gathered the scanty documents which are to be considered at least close to the previous ones, because, though lacking the 'Sokar-formula', they show a *henu*-bark or a sacred or 'special' bark in their decoration.

I am aware of the provisional character of this presentation, partly because I am still lacking even basic information on some of the objects, but also because I have not been able to examine all of them in person and

[1] It is stela CG 1623, which is not considered in Brovarski, in *LÄ* V, 1063 with notes 162-4; on the contrary it is mentioned in his note in *The Inscribed Material*, see below, n. 3.
[2] Rosati, *Aegyptus* 87, 33-44.
[3] Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material*, 239-41, n. 275.
[4] They tally with the large-size writing-tablets: *cf.* Rosati, *Aegyptus* 87, 34-5.
[5] Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 330-1, following the excavator's reports: Winlock, *BMMA* 23, 3-58; Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material*, 239-41; Rosati, *Aegyptus* 87, 39 f.
[6] Möller, in Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 89 (referring to JE 43215); Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., Part 11*, 9; probably also Graindorge-Héreil, *Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, vol. I, 39-41. Despite the clear opinion expressed by Möller, Winlock considers JE 43215 among Eleventh Dynasty stelae: Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 44, n. 73.

the images I am able to show are of varying quality. I do not aim here at a final publication of the available material, but I only wish to gather it here in order to bring it to notice, draw attention to its still unexplained meanings and stimulate further research.

I - PANEL STELAE WITH SOKAR-FORMULA

MMA 27.3.50 (Fig. 1)

Material: Sycamore wood, plastered and painted
Condition: Fair: painted surface abraded on top, right, and generally
Measurements: H. cm 53, w. 32.5, th. 1.2
Provenance: Deir el-Bahari, Cemetery 100, Tomb 110 (MMA excavations 1926-27; found together with 27.3.49A-B; PM I/2², 651)
Bibliography: Unpublished; noted in Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 330-1

Whole field framed by a painted band. Two sections, undivided.

On top: at the right, the God Sokar as a falcon in a sacred boat (not *henu*-boat), over a thick base line. On the left, Sokar-formula in hieratic writing for the woman It (MMA 1/a: see below, § III).

Main scene: principal owner, It, standing on the left, facing right; offering formulas for her by the right side, four columns separated by parallel stripes. In front of her, above and below her left arm, and also under the inscribed columns, are offerings, sometimes loosely distributed. Under the woman's left arm and over the table is a small figure of a man standing on a ground-line, facing left.

The woman, It, is shown as a very tall and slender figure, holding a plain staff. Her hair, clearly painted black or dark coloured, with a ribbon tied in a bow, has a very thin front band, while the back is shown even under her armpit, though unpainted. Her profile is distinctive, with receding chin and full lips, and a little low-placed ear with two dashes. She wears a necklace with a border which is highlighted in a different colour. The shoulder straps are distinctive, too, as the right one (on the left) is much thinner than the left one, drawn slantwise. A border under the breast decorates her dress, on which the continuous outline of her right hip, thigh and leg is drawn. She wears bracelets (right hand reversed) and sandals, but no sole is visible, only the straps on the feet.

The man, Hetepi, holds a staff in his right hand and in the other hand a T-shaped object with big round handle, which is probably an *ꜥnḫ*-sign.[7] A ribbon is tied on his short hair, and he wears a collar with highlighted border, a kilt extending below the knees, bracelets and sandals as well. In front of him, left, are two columns with an offering formula on his behalf, while his Sokar-formula (MMA 1/b: see below, § III) is inscribed vertically behind him, beyond the woman's staff, so that it looks like the fifth column of the main inscription.

Offerings: in front of the woman, above: a haunch, dappled and spotted, a beef head dappled and spotted as well, and a bird head, perhaps bleeding; an antelope head, a leg-bone with meat.

Below, under the man: T-shaped offering-table with double top, on which two divergent sets of reeds, four left and three right.[8] It looks like a big logogram with its determinatives of 'food' under the table: quite large and detailed bread-signs (Sign-list X 4, X 2), a beer-jug (W 2), faded, another *t*-sign (X 1) and plural strokes. Below left, a mirror in a dotted leather case with semicircular handle; right, three jars for oils and unguents, all seemingly painted in imitation of stone (the left one darker), and their hieratic captions, above: *1.* (right) neckless shoulder-jar with flat base and flat ring-rim around the mouth, two handles under the shoulder, with the caption: *nḏmt sṯy-ḥb*;[9] *2.* slender jar, looking like the *ḥst*-pot, with the caption: *ḥknw*;[10] *3.* sealed oil-jar, like a *bꜣs*-jar, with the caption: *sfṯ*.[11]

> Scented (oils), (namely) *setji-heb* ('perfume of the feast'), *hekenu*, *sefetj*', the first three oils of the series of seven 'sacred oils'

On the right, under the inscribed columns, probably a lettuce and a very thin or tightly bound onion bunch, over two covered detailed baskets on a ground-line, and a two-tiered table (or with a rod between the legs), over which are five jars with conical stoppers.

[7] The object is in my opinion similar to a *ꜥnḫ*- sign, but is not completely identical, nevertheless I think that the identification has to be considered sure: I see it accepted elsewhere, and I cannot say what it could be instead of it; *cf.* Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material*, 926 with fig. 87, and 236-37, 244, n. 284; Fischer, *ZÄS* 100, 16-28.

[8] *Cf.* lately Kahlbacher, *BACE* 24,7-20. The very probable hint to any 'writing' of *sḫt* (*ḥtp.w* or *iꜣr.w*) already proposed by Munro, *GM* 5, 13-6, and Worsham, *JARCE* 16, 7-10; Heerma van Voss, in Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, vol. II, 805-7.

[9] For *sṯy-ḥb,* the first of the seven 'sacred oils', Koura, *Die "7-Heiligen Öle"*, 155-7. As for *nḏmt,* I consider it as a generic reference to perfumed oils, (*mrḥt*) *nḏmt*, *cf.* Koura, *Die "7.Heiligen Öle"*, 106 and particularly 61 nr. 48 (L2Li, Twelfth Dynasty) and 154.

[10] Koura, *Die "7-Heiligen Öle",*173-6.

[11] *Op. cit.*,177-80.

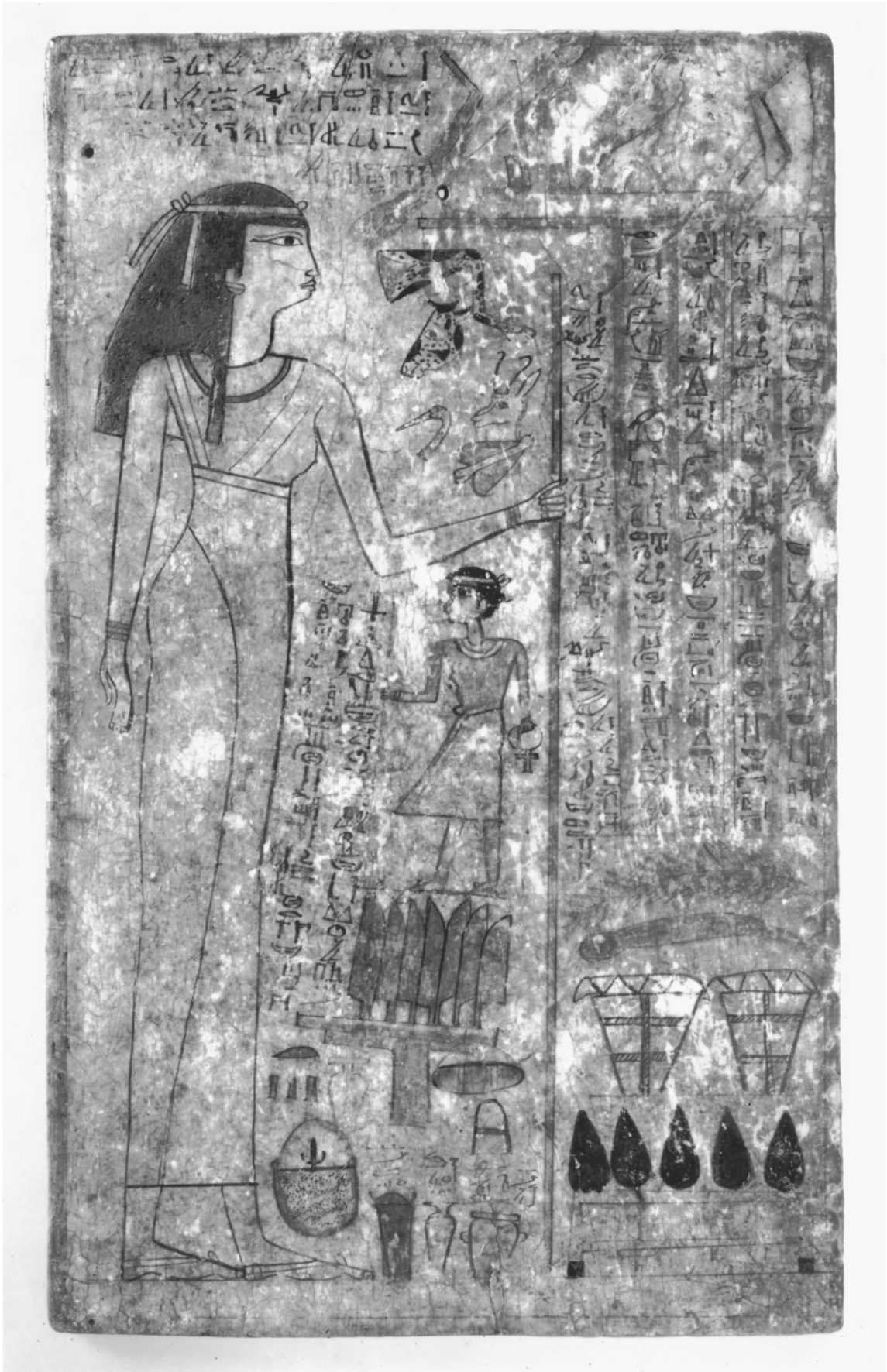

Fig. 1 – Panel stela MMA 27.3.50 (Neg. No. M.8.C.208. Credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Museum Excavations, 1926-1927, Rogers Fund, 1927 [27.3.49A,B,.50]. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art).
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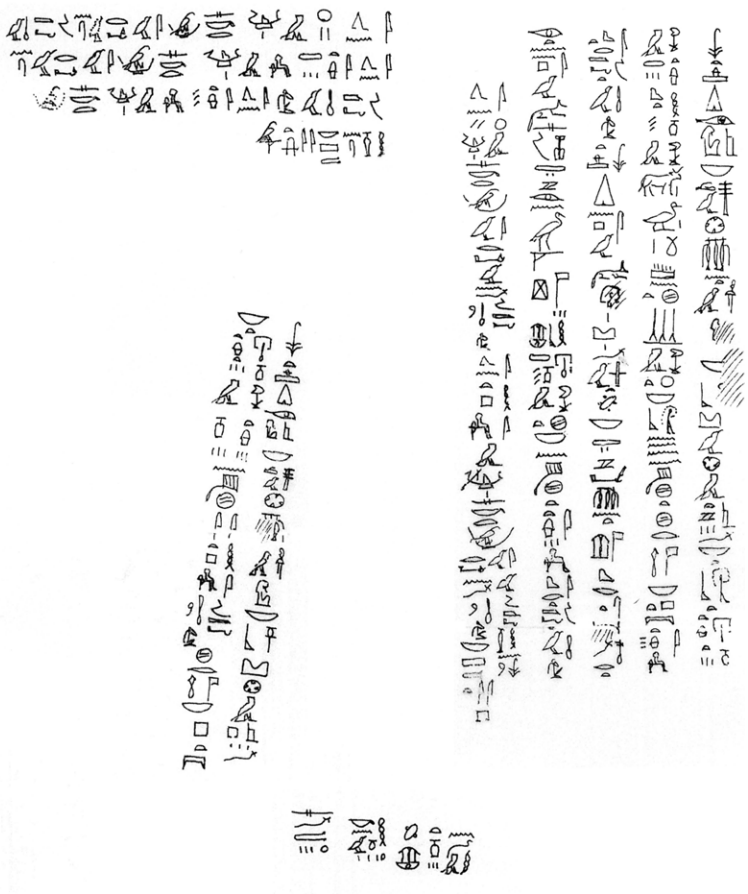

Fig. 2 – Texts of stela MMA 27.3.50

Offering formulas for It and for Hetepi in hieratic writing (first *ḥtp di nswt Wsir* rather hieroglyphic):

ḥtp di nswt Wsir nb Ḏdw ḫnty imntyw nb ȝbḏw m s.wt.f nbt wʿbt prt-ḫrw
ḫȝ m t ḥnqt ḫȝ m iḫ(.w) ȝpd(.w) šsr mnḫt ḫȝ m ḫt nb(t) wʿb(t) n imȝḫt ḫr nṯr ʿȝ nb pt Ỉt
iqrt mȝʿt-ḫrw ḥtp di nswt Ỉnpw tpy ḏw.f imy wt nb Tȝ-ḏsr ḫnty sḥ-nṯr qrst nfrt
irt.n Ỉnpw smȝ-tȝ ir.n Ḏḥwty ḫry-ḥb nṯrw prt-ḫrw ḫȝ m ḫt nb(t) n imȝḫt Ỉt iqrt mȝʿt-ḫrw

An offering which the King has given, and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, First of the Westeners, Lord of Abydos, in all his pure places:[a] invocation-offerings of thousands[b] of bread and beer, thousands of oxen and fowl, alabaster vases and clothing, thousands of any pure things[c] for the honoured one by the Great God Lord of the Sky, It,[d] excellent and justified.[e] An offering which the King has given, and Anubis Who is above his Mountain, Who is in the bandages, Lord of the Sacred Land, Foremost of the Divine Booth: a good tomb which Anubis made, and a burial made by Thoth,[f] the lector-priest of the gods,[g] (and) invocation-offerings, thousands of anything for the honoured one, It, excellent and justified

ḥtp di nswt Wsir nb Ḏdw ḫnty imntyw nb ȝbḏw m s.wt.f nbt prt-ḫrw ḫȝ m t ḥnqt n imȝḫy ḥtpi mȝʿ-ḫrw ḫr nṯr ʿȝ nb pt

An offering which the King has given, and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, First of the Westeners, Lord of Abydos, in all his places:[h] invocation-offerings of thousands of bread and beer for the honoured one,[i] Hetepi,[j] justified by the Great God Lord of the Sky

a) The series of combined titles of Osiris dka (= *nb Ḏdw + ḫnty imntyw + nb ȝbḏw*) with a very probable divine determinative for *ḫnty imntyw* (as in the formula for Hetepi) and the addition of the phrase 'in all his pure places', is typical of the Eleventh Dynasty according to Bennet's observations.[12]

b) The wording *pr*(*t*)*-ḫrw ḫȝ* (*m*) + offerings is typical of Theban inscriptions of the Eleventh Dynasty since the reign of Intef II.[13] It will be met with in most of the stelae considered here.

c) Considered typical of the period Eleventh Dynasty – reign of Senwosret I by Berlev.[14]

d) Ranke, *PN* I, 49, 3; in the Sokar-formula writing as *PN* I 49,5.

e) *Cf.* Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 76.

f) Lit. "a burial which Thot made". This formula with two requests[15] is perfectly comparable with the one on the sarcophagus JE 47267 ('côté droit'), belonging to one of Mentuhotep II's wives, Aashyt, whose burial is dated to the first part of his reign.[16] The formula is repeated on the West side of her coffin, JE 47355.[17]

g) In JE 47267 Thoth has the same priestly title, while in JE 47355 the god's title is simply *ḫry-ḥb*.[18]

h) The determinative is different from the one in col. 1: here a *pr*-sign, while a less usual Sign-list N 23 is used before, exactly as in stela BM EA 55278 (see below).

i) The spelling *imȝḫy* instead of *imȝḫw* is the normal one on all these panel stelae (when it is not only *imȝḫ* or *imȝḫt* of course), and will not be noted again: its first dated attestation in Thebes is in year 14 of Mentuhotep II.[19]

j) Ranke, *PN* I, 260, 3.

[12] Bennet, *JEA* 27, 80-1.
[13] Brovarski, in Lesko (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies*, 45.
[14] Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, § 2.
[15] Bitte 4 (keyword: *qrs*) and Bitte 29 (keyword: *sm*ȝ*-t*ȝ) in Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel,* 47-8.
[16] Clère, Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire*, 25; Willems, *GM* 67, 84, 89, n. 23.
[17] Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern*, § 355.
[18] *Cf.* LGG VIII, 726, S., 2: for Thot the titles *ḫry-ḥb* and *ḫry-ḥb wr* are filed, but without the specification *nṯrw*.
[19] Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, §§ 16, 18d.

Paleographical notes:

A very peculiar sign is here *sm3* (*zm3*), Sign-list F 36: the examples collected by Möller[20] do not offer any possible comparison, and in fact the sign is very similar to those found in the Abusir papyri (Fifth-Sixth Dyn.),[21] which is still used on two Middle Kingdom coffins and is considered strong dating evidence for the earliest period of it.[22]

As for the determinative of personal names, Sign-list A 50, it is comparable with those known for the early Middle Kingdom;[23] evidence for a similar dating are also the *ḫnt*-sign,[24] and the *imnt*-emblem.[25]

CG 1623 (Fig. 3; Pl. XXVIII)

Material: Wood, plastered and painted
Condition: Surface damaged on top, right, slightly on the bottom edge and generally. Parallel oblique and vertical splits
Measurements: H. cm 50.5
Provenance: Not recorded. Probably bought in Luxor, 1887
Bibliography: Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, vol. I, 94-5, Bl. 84
Note: Reused writing-board, with three dowels and three pegs (Borchardt)

Two sections, separated by a thin band, painted light green. At the top: right, the god Sokar as a falcon inside a cabin on his bark, which stands on a pedestal (painted green) and shows a reversed antelope-head on the prow. Hull, oars and steering posts painted red, stern, cabin light green. The god is painted yellow with a light green back. Left, a two-tiered table, with a zigzag pattern in the thickness of the upper layer, on which stand five jars with conical stoppers, all black.

Main field: the owner standing, facing right, before piles of offerings, loosely distributed.

The man, on a very thin ground-line, holds a tall stick (red) in his left hand; he is represented with short hair which looks unpainted, and a profile which is comparable with that of It (MMA 27.3.50): a receding chin, full lips, ear with two dashes; likewise, his tall figure has a short bust contrasting his very long legs; skin painted red. Collar with highlighted border, painted light green. His white skirt, with a dashed belt, extends below the knees and has a projecting hem. He wears bracelets (light green) and sandals with soles painted white.[26]

Offerings in front of him: a haunch, dappled and spotted (black and white), with red triangular end; head of a large horned ox (white horns, yellow (?) skin with black dots), bleeding (red); head of an antelope (or goat?), yellow, red; dark grey bird with detached head; offering-table with quite squat stand (red), with two divergent sets of reeds, two left, three right, painted light green; stand flanked by a beer-jug (light green), left, and a *qbḥ*-water pot, red. Below, two detailed trapezoidal covered baskets (yellow, black details) over stands looking like stools with a rod between their legs (yellow).

Inscriptions: two columns on the right side, each beginning just under the dividing band, the second one shorter:[27] Sokar-formula for *Mdw -iḥ.w* or *-k3.w*[28] (see below, § III),[29] and *bwt*-formula:

bwt.k sp snw n wnm<.k> bwt.k ḥs n wnm.k st

Your abomination is your abomination.[a] <You> shall not eat (it). Your abomination are excrements, you shall not eat them[b]

a) Or: "Your abomination, your abomination!", or: "Your abomination is what you abominate".[30]

b) It is a well-known formulation, but usually in the first (or third) singular person, in the CT corpus,[31] on coffins which have been dated to the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties.[32] A new related text from Naga ed-Dêr and from the Heracleopolitan Period has been published recently.[33] The presence on a stela is exceptional,[34] and it may confirm the funerary destination of such stelae.

[20] Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. I, no. 181.
[21] Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Paleography*, 13a, no. 36/181.
[22] Willems, *GM* 67, 85, 87.
[23] Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. I, 26; Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Paleography*, 4a.
[24] Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. I, 504; Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Paleography,* 45 a-b.
[25] Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Paleography*, 33b. On this sign especially Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material*, 999.
[26] On the symbolic meanings of white sandals Schwarz, *ZÄS* 123, 69-84; Goffoet, in Obsomer, Oosthoek (eds.), *Amosiadès: mélanges offerts au Professeur Claude Vandersleyen*, 111s., 119-20.
[27] Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, vol. I, 94 on the contrary considered the first two squares of the second column as the beginning parts of the horizontal lines.
[28] Not filed in Ranke, *PN*. Prob. "Oxen's stick"; I wonder whether it is a misreading for the more common *ʿb-iḥ.w*, Ranke, *PN* I, 59, 22. For the reading *iḥ.w* instead of *k3.w cf.* Wb V, 97, 1; Rosati, *Aegyptus* 60, 20, n. 47, 28, n. 58.
[29] I wish to remark only the writing of *šṯyt*: I think its ending is written with double *i*-sign, though the first one may look like a *ti*-sign, Sign-list U 33.
[30] Lately Frandsen, in Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture*, *passim*.
[31] E.g. Sp. 199 and 201-4, CT III, 123-4, 126-41; Sp. 772, CT VI, 406. On the motif, *cf.* preceding note, and Topmann, *Die »Abscheu«-Sprüche der altägyptischen Sargtexte.* It will be kept in the Book of the Dead ch. 51-52 and parallels: Grapow, *ZÄS* 47, 100-11.
[32] *Cf.* in Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*; mainly from Asyut.
[33] Hussein, in Hawass, Der Manuelian, Hussein (eds.), *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 191-205.
[34] Ciampini, *VO* 10, 267-95, where only documents of the middle and late Middle Kingdom are considered.

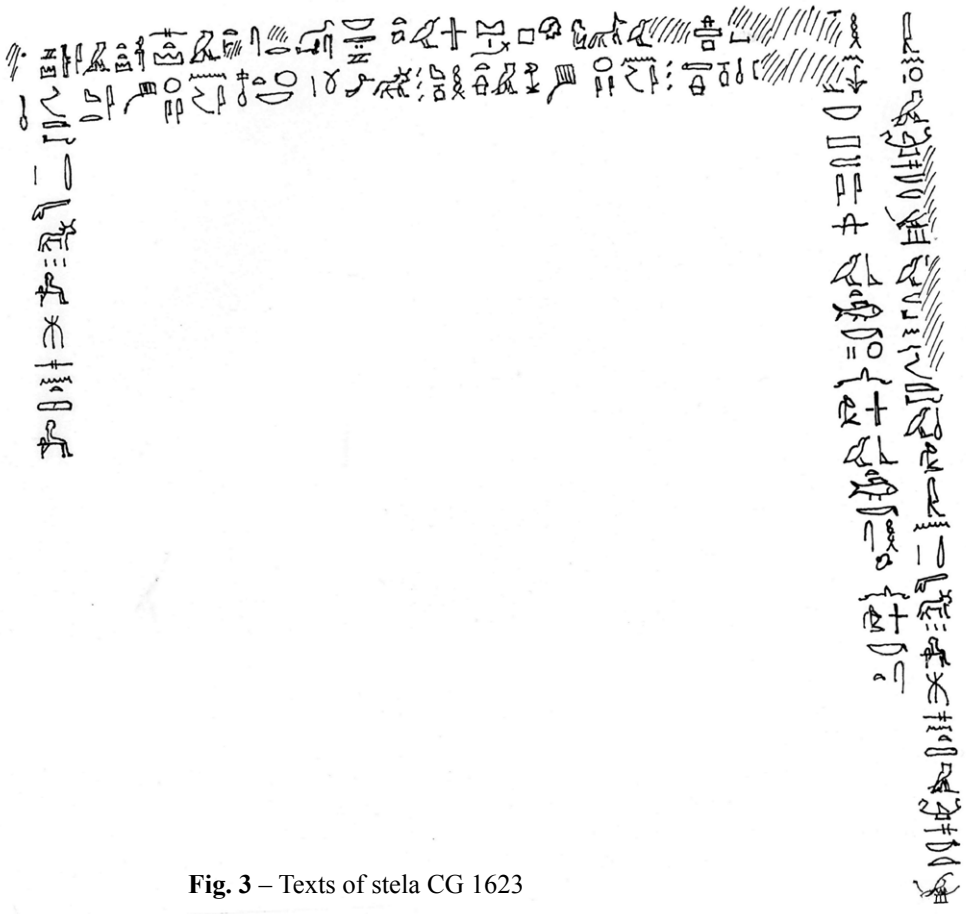

Fig. 3 – Texts of stela CG 1623

Offering formula on two horizontal lines above, the second one continuing in a column, left.

ḥtp di[*nswt Ỉnp*]*w tpy ḏw.f imy wt nb T3-ḏsr qrst m smyt imntt m is*[*.f (?)*]
[*?*]*prt-ḫrw n im3ḫy ḫ3 m t ḥnqt iḫ.w 3pd.w šsr ḥt nb*(*t*) *nfr*(*t*) *n im3ḫy iqr m3ᶜ-ḫrw* (↓)*Mdw-iḫ.w/k3.w ms Snt*

An offering which the King has given, and Anubis[a] Who is Above his Mountain, Who is in the bandages, the Lord of the Sacred Land: a burial in the western desert, in [his?] tomb,[b] (and) invocation offerings[c] for the honoured one, thousands of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster vases, everything good for the honoured one, excellent and justified[d] Medu-ihu/kau, born of Senet[e]

a) The hole in the inscription does not allow a sure restoration, though the space is very narrow: the signs *di*, *ḥtp* and [*Ỉnp*]*w*[35] are clear, and their sequence is very probably like that. Before *di*, on the right, I have to admit that the best restoration should be only *nswt*, if written *sw* + *t* + *n*, because a restoration *ḥtp di nswt ḥtp di Ỉnpw* would result in quite crowded signs. So possibly we have here a *ḥtp-di-nswt* with Type II sign order when one would expect a Type I sign order. In fact the famous and sometimes controversial 'Smither rule'[36] is not enough evidence for a dating in the later Middle Kingdom if it is not supported by other features, as examples of Type II have been observed many times before,[37] and such an arrangement is commented upon by Brovarski.[38]

b) I am not able to confirm either the presence or the position of the *.f*; whether it was at the very end of the first line, where only a pale dot is visible and much apart from *is*, or, quite strangely, at the beginning of the second line; I think there is insufficient space here for, e.g., *m ḫrt-nṯr*, "in the necropolis".

The determinatives of *is*, are especially interesting: I see, as Borchardt did, a determinative of land, Sign-list N 23, and a sign which is almost certainly a desert determinative, Sign-list N 25, and the two are at least homogeneous. As a secondary possibility I had thought of a sign to be searched for in the 'Groupe 3' of determinatives for *is* recently compiled by I. Régen,[39] namely "Édifices de forme pyramidale ou tronconique". Both determinatives indicate a probable dating to the First Intermediate Period.

c) The plural used after *prt-ḫrw* is commented upon by Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material*, 201. It is present also in MMA 27.3.50. In contrast, the sign *ḫrw* placed to the side is unusual.

d) The so-called funerary epithets *iqr m3ᶜ-ḫrw*, especially when used before the personal name, are characteristic of the early Middle Kingdom.[40]

e) The mother's name (Ranke, *PN* I, 296, 21) is intro-

[35] Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, 94 reads clearly [*Ỉ*]*npw*: he probably saw the signs before the loss of the stud, because in the picture of Bl. 84 they cannot be seen.

[36] Smither, *JEA* 25, 34-7.

[37] Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 12, 21, 36 (examples from Giza, Dahshur, Sheikh Said). *Cf.* also James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., Part. I²*, pl. 46; Wainwright, *ASAE* 25, 164, pl. 1 (though in a higher horizontal band). On the problem, lately remarks and references by Franke, *JEA* 89, 54-5.

[38] Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material*, 159, 175, 239; the arrangement mostly contains the fuller writing of *nswt* and *ḥtp*.

[39] Régen, *BIFAO* 107, 184-5, fig. 1.

[40] Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, § 28, a; Rosati, *Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli"* 8, 169, nn. 8, 11.

duced by the 'old' form *ms* + N which is a dating criterion for the early Middle Kingdom.[41]

Paleographical notes:

As usual in these panel stelae, the determinative for personal names is Sign-list A 50, used both for male and female names; *cf.* also the writing of *tp*,[42] *t3*[43] and *iy*;[44] the *ms*-sign is nearly identical to the one shown by Möller for 'Dyn.10/11'.[45]

BM EA 55278 (Fig. 4; Pl. XXVI)

Material: Sycomore wood, plastered (also on sides and back) and painted
Condition: Generally good, though the panel is cracked in places, and the texts and outlines faded; a round hole of a stud (?) in the upper left
Measurements: H. cm 53.5, w. 28.8, th. 2
Provenance: Not recorded (presented by C.W. Goodwin)
Bibliography: Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., Part 11*, 9, pl. 1; Graindorge-Héreil, *Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, 40, pl. 64

A thin marginated frame around the whole surface, divided into two sections by a horizontal band. At the top, on the right the god Sokar as a falcon in a bark (not *henu*-bark): the back of Sokar and the tops of the prow and stern of the boat are green, oars and poles red. On the left, Sokar-formula in hieratic writing, on four lines (see below, § III).[46]

Main field: on the left the owner, the woman Merirtyfy, standing before two piles of offerings; between them and right, hieratic inscription with offering formula in three columns.

The woman holds a green staff with her left hand; her figure is comparable to that of It on stela MMA 27.3.50,: a tall figure, ribbon tied in a bow on her hair (painted black-blue), thin hair band, full lips and receding chin, two dashes on her right ear, the same drawing of the dress stripes and of the hip-thigh-leg

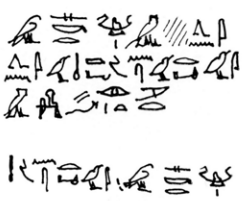

Fig. 4 – Texts of stela BM EA 55278

outline. She wears green bracelets (right hand reversed), and sandals.

Offerings: dappled (red) haunch and ox head, and antelope head (both bleeding, dark red); beheaded bird, and its head, both bleeding (red); probably two fowls (one beheaded ?). A neckless jar, with flat base and flat ring-rim around the mouth, and two handles, seemingly spotted in imitation of stone, similar to the oil-jar with *sṯy-ḥb* in stela MMA 27.3.50. On the right, above: unpainted T-shaped offering-table with double top (exactly as in It's stela), on which two sets of three diverging reeds (painted green), and below, just as in MMA 27.3.50, rather big hieroglyphic signs looking like the determinatives of 'food' or 'food-offerings': loaf (X 2), beer-jug (W 22), *t*-bread, roll of bread (X 4) and plural strokes (bread and beer are green). Down below, a small two-tiered table; on top, four (?) small beer jugs with stoppers (the one on the left painted dark).

[41] Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, § 27, b; Obsomer, in Cannuyer, Kruchten (eds.), *Individu, société et spiritualité*, 172-3.
[42] Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. I, 79.
[43] Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Paleography*, 25b.
[44] *Op. cit.*, 46b.
[45] Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. I, 408.
[46] The determinative after the name of Sokar is a falcon, probably replacing the falcon on standard (Sign-list G 5 instead of G 7), the use of which apparently increases after the late Old Kingdom: Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.*, 211, n. 820.

Offering formula in hieratic writing (except for a few signs, esp. the *ir*-eye in *Wsir*), three columns between two sets of offerings, right:

ḥtp di nswt Wsir nb Ḏdw ḫnty imntyw nb ȝbḏw
m s.wt.f nb(t) wꜥb(t) prt-ḫrw ḫȝ m t ḥnqt iḫ(.w) ȝpd(.w) šsr
mnḫt ḫȝ m ḫt nb(t) n imȝḫyt Mr-irty-f(y) iqrt mȝꜥt-ḫrw

An offering which the King has given, and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, the Foremost of the Westeners, Lord of Abydos in all his pure[a] places: invocation-offerings of thousands of bread and beer, ox(en) and fowl, alabaster vase(s) and clothing, thousands of anything for the honoured one Merirtyfy,[b] excellent and justified[c]

a) I do think that a *wꜥb*-sign exactly like the one in MMA 27.3.50 is very probable here, with its complement *b*; there seems to be enough room for the *mw*-determinative, too.
b) Ranke, *PN* I, 155, 25.
c) *Cf.* above, note 40.

Paleographical notes:

I see many similarities between the inscriptions of this stela and It's, MMA 27.3.50: the beginning of the formula with hieroglyphic signs, the *ḫnt-*,*ḏw-*, *imȝḫ*-signs, the personal determinative A 50; *cf.* also the *imnt*-sign.[47] It is very probable, in my opinion, that they were written by the same hand and the decoration shows the same features, too, so that I think they are from the same workshop.

JE 43215 (Fig. 5; Pl. XXVII)

Material: Wood, plastered and painted
Condition: Since its publication, the tablet shows further damages at the top. A central crack shows the joint between two wood pieces
Measurements: H. cm 45, w. 27
Provenance: Asasif, Tomb no. 37, pit D (PM I/2², 616)
Bibliography: Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 87, no. 88; Möller, in Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 89-90, pl. 75 (right); Graindorge-Héreil, *Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, 40, pl. 65[48]

Two sections, main field framed by a thin yellow band. At the top, on the right the god Sokar as a falcon in his *henu*-bark on a sledge (yellow, red); left, Sokar-formula in hieratic writing in three columns (completed in the fourth; see below, § III), plus a fourth and fifth column, presently damaged, with a brief request:

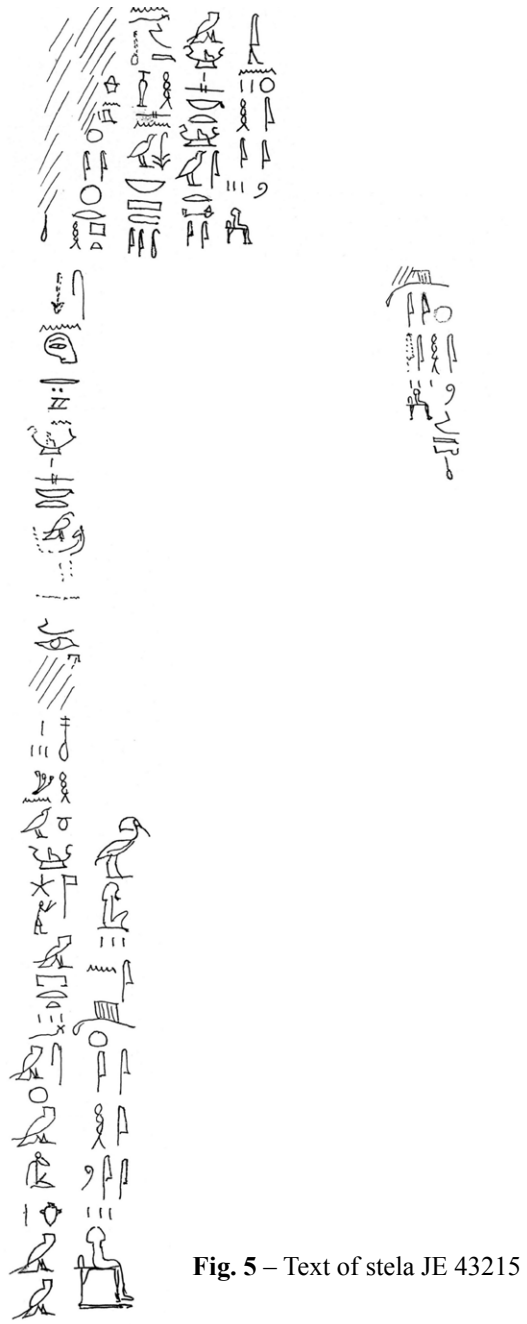

Fig. 5 – Text of stela JE 43215

[*prt-*]*ḫrw n imȝḫy ḫr Ptḥ*/ [*Ỉḥyw mȝꜥ-*]*ḫrw*

Invocation-offerings for the honoured one by Ptah [Ihiu, justif]ied[49]

Main field: on the left, man standing; on the right a pile of offerings and an offering-bearer.

The owner holds a staff in his left hand and a *ꜥbȝ*-scepter in his right hand (both yellow). Black voluminous rounded hairstyle with a ribbon tied in a bow (white). Rather small head compared with the body, with strong limbs, slim waist, and skin painted red. He wears

[47] Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material*, 999.
[48] The text of this stela is translated on p. 40, but is referred to as the stela of Nebseni, MMA 26.3.237 (see below, § IV).
[49] Name partially faded but read by Möller, see *Bibliography*; for the comments, see below.

an elaborated necklace, with bands of squares painted green, white and yellow (border); and a simple knee-length skirt with pointed end.

Pile of offerings: dappled haunch and ox head (black and white, haunch with red end); tall trapezoidal basket, with cover (yellow, black details), on a small stand; a lettuce and an onion (yellow/green); a bird head facing right (yellow) and two leg-bones with meat (red); four ring-shaped cakes (yellow), a lotus flower (white and green). Underneath, on a ground-line, a small figure of an offering-bearer, facing left: short hair, red skin, short yellow skirt. He presents a bird (green wings and neck), which he grasps by its neck and feet. Below, a two-tiered table: on top, five jugs with small conical black stoppers, and a sixth, without a stopper and leaning to the left.

In front of the man, above, another lotus flower and vertical hieratic caption, written by another hand, different from the other inscriptions:

im3ḫy Ỉḥyw m3ᶜ-ḫrw

The honoured one, Ihiu,[a] justified

a) Ranke, *PN* I, 45, 2, only this example; *cf. PN* I, 44, 19-22.

Behind him, on the left, inscription in a column, continuing in a second column under the man's right hand (retrograde sequence):

sn t3 n wi3 Skr m33 nfrw ḥnw dw3 nṯr m pr.wt.f sḫmḫ ib m-m 3ḫ.w in im3ḫy Ỉḥyw

Kissing the earth in front of the bark of Sokar, looking at the beauty of the *henu*-bark, adoring the god on his coming forth, enjoying among the Glorified Spirits, by the honoured one Ihiu[a]

a) The determinative after the personal name is quite complex, and I would say 'split', or divided, compared to the one used in the Sokar-formula on top, though both represent Sign-list A 50. G. Möller suggested a reading: N. *nb* < *im3ḫ*>. The *nb*-sign is possible, but not at all sure: could it be instead the rendering of a sort of base under the seat? Especially as there is enough space for the word *im3ḫ*, but it is not written. The drawing of the whole sign is peculiar, and in my opinion 'more hieroglyphic' than hieratic: otherwise I am not able to explain the first sign, or part of a sign, which I think of as the upper part of the sitting man. Actually, one would expect there to be a *nb*-sign under the seat for the very probable combination *nb im3ḫ* (but why the omission? There is an empty space below). Though used during the OK,[50] *nb im3ḫ* as a 'funerary' epithet is met often only since the late Eleventh Dynasty.[51]

As for the formula, it is reminiscent of the one on stela Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 963,[52] in an Abydene context: "Kissing the earth in front of Khenty-imentyu, looking at the beauty of Wepwawet, proceeding with the Great God in all his movements, by N".

Paleographical notes:

It is surely relevant evidence for a dating the 'complex' determinative of personal name A 50, in three instances and three different outlines: except for the last one (see above), they can be compared with pre-Twelfth Dynasty examples.[53] The *im3ḫ*-sign is commented upon by Brovarski.[54]

JE 43219 (Fig. 6; Pl. XXIX)

Material: Wood, plastered and painted
Condition: Very poor, severely damaged, also after its publication. Note by the excavators: "similar to Nos. 88 and 89 [*i.e.* JE 43215 and 43218], but of much thicker wood, and badly broken"
Provenance: Asasif, Tomb no. 37, pit D (with JE 43215 and 43218; PM I/2², 616)
Bibliography: Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 87, no. 90; Möller, in Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 90, pl. LXXVI.3

Two sections, divided by a high horizontal element, looking like the roof of a pavilion or a canopy, with two poles (?) on the right side of the main field: between them, a pile of offerings.

At the top, on the right, a green bushy tree (?) and a high stand or altar (yellow); the rest is lost.

Main field: below, left, only the feet of a standing woman are extant, a bit overlapping, painted yellow (perhaps traces of green anklets?), and the hem of her white dress, and left hip; no sandals. She is probably holding a staff: her left elbow, now lost, was extant in the older picture,[55] and a finger of her hand is still recognisable, while the staff was surely painted exactly over the scratched

[50] E.g. in Sheri's false-door panel (in Florence, inv 2554, Fourth Dyn.): PM III², Part 2, Fasc. I, 490; Rosati, *Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli"* 8, 169, n.9.
[51] Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, § 28, b.
[52] Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes*, pl. 9; Jørgensen, *Catalogue Egypt I*, 122-3, nr. 47; Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben*, § 499 (among 'Texte des späteren 11. Dynastie'). The close parallel already remarked by Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material*, 241.
[53] Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Paleography*, 4a-b.
[54] Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material*, 241.
[55] *Cf.* Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, pl. LXXVI, 3.

break of the tablet. Above, beginning of Sokar-formula in a horizontal line (Fig. 6):

iy.n sp snw m w[*i3 Skr*…

Has come, has come in the b[ark of Sokar… (commentary below, § III)

There is also a dappled haunch (only the leg is extant).

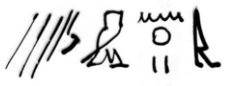

Fig. 6 – Text of stela JE 43219

Pile of offerings: choice of meat (red and white), such as a beef-chop, ribs and beef meat with bone; a green lettuce and an onion (green and white). An antelope head (yellow/brown, black horns) and an oryx (?) head; a prepared goose (yellow/brown); a detailed basket (yellow) with its two-tiered stand; a two-tiered table with black feet, on top four jugs with little conical stoppers, black.

II - FRAGMENTS[56]

MMA 27.3.49A (Fig. 7 –top–, Fig. 8 –top–)

Material: Wood, plastered and painted
Measurements: H. cm 7, w. 35, th. 4.5
Provenance: Deir el-Bahari, Cemetery 100, Tomb 110 (MMA excavations 1926-27; found together with 27.3.50 and 27.3.49B; PM I/2², 651)
Bibliography: Unpublished; noted in Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 330-1

Fragment of the upper part of a quite thick tablet; on the right, probably the two oar-blades of the Sokar bark. On the left, in hieratic writing, the Sokar-formula on two lines, a bit faded, for the woman Neb(t)it (see below, § III, MMA 2), and a third line:

prt-ḫrw ḫ3 t ḫ3 m ḥnqt n im3ḫyt Nb(*t*)*-it*

Invocation-offerings, (namely) thousands (of) bread, thousands of beer to the honoured Neb(t)it[a]

a) Ranke, *PN* I, 188, 7, 13. I am not sure of the determinative Sign-list A 50, which is a bit faded in the Sokar-formula and in a gap in this line: it is not completely comparable to the contemporary forms. At first I had thought of a female determinative and a suffix *.s* after *it* (written *i+t+f*), though a name *Nb*(*t*)*-it.s* is not recorded in Ranke, *PN*. Moreover, in this case this would be the only example of a 'normal' determinative after a personal name met with so far in these panel stelae.

MMA 27.3.49B (Fig. 7 –bottom–, Fig. 8 –bottom–)

Material: Wood, plastered and painted
Measurements: H. cm 18, w. 16, th. 4.5
Provenance: Deir el-Bahari, Cemetery 100, Tomb 110 (MMA excavations 1926-27; found together with 27.3.50 and 27.3.49A; PM I/2², 651)
Bibliography: Unpublished; noted in Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 330-1

Fragment of the upper left corner of a plastered thick tablet; a dark painted object with a rounded outline is under the Sokar-formula in hieratic writing, but is outside the photograph's framing. Two and a half lines of the Sokar-formula for the woman It-senebti are extant: as this example (MMA 3), although similar to the previous one, is a little more problematic, I think it better to examine it here separately.

[…] *m* <*wi3*> *Skr iy.n Ỉt-snb.t*(*i*) *m* [*wi3?*] *Skr* // [*iw rdy n.s*] *m3ᶜ-ḫrw in Skr ḫnty pḏw* // […] *nb šṯyt*

[…] in <the bark of>[a] Sokar. It-senebti[b] has come in [the bark of?] Sokar. [It has been given her][c] justification by Sokar Foremost of the *pedju*-shrine[d] […][e] Lord of the *shetjit*-shrine

a) In fact no bark-sign is present, either before or after the God's name, as it is in the previous example; or at least it is so in this first occurrence, because in the second one we may expect it at the beginning of the next line, now lost. Nevertheless I wish to repeat Hayes' translation for the Sokar-formula on stela MMA 27.3.50:[57] "There has come one who is Sokar. There has come Itĕ as Sokar". In my opinion however the present version (27.3.49B) would be the only one fitting such a translation, because all the others show clearly a bark-sign before Sokar or after (27.3.49A) the determinative of the God.

b) Not recorded in Ranke, *PN*.

c) *Cf.* the formulation in the fragment 27.3.49A = MMA 2, below, § III.

d) Graindorge-Héreil, *Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, 34, n. 107.

e) The gap is rather long: I think that at least the phrase [*ḥs.n sy*] *nb šṯyt*, 'the Lord of the *shetjit*-shrine has favoured her', is probably to be completed there, instead of, or together with, the name of Sokar (though not present in the parallels), or another epithet.

[56] I am using here and presenting data which may be found on the website of the Metropolitan Museum. The present photograph focuses on the inscriptions on the two fragments and excludes other parts.

[57] Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 331.

Fig. 7 – Texts of the fragments MMA 23.3.49A (top) and 27.3.49B (bottom)

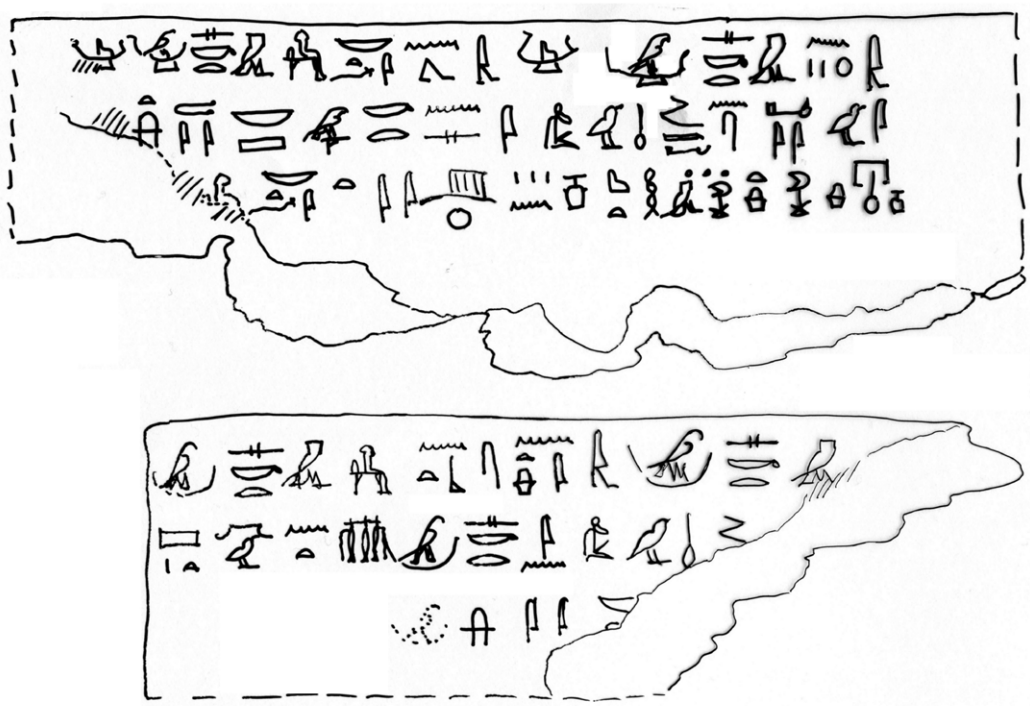

Fig. 8 – Texts of the fragments MMA 23.3.49A (top) and 27.3.49B (bottom)

Paleographical notes:

It is not necessary to repeat remarks, suffice it to note for both fragments, the Sign-list M 18 is surely not from the late Middle Kingdom.[58]

III - SOKAR-FORMULA

The following are the spells which I think can be labelled, at least provisionally, as 'Sokar-formula':

MMA 1/a *iy.n sp snw m wi3 Skr iw rdiw n.s m3ᶜ-ḫrw*
iy.n N m wi3 Skr iw rdiw n.s m3ᶜ-ḫrw
iy.n N m wi3 Skr ḥs.n s(*y*) *nb šṯyt*

MMA 1/b *iy.n sp snw m wi3 Skr iw rdiw n.f m3ᶜ-ḫrw iy.n N m wi3 Skr iw rdiw n.f m3ᶜ-ḫrw ḥs.n sw nb šṯyt*

CG 1623: *iy.n sp sn*[*w*] *m wi3 Skr iw rdi n.f m3ᶜ-ḫrw iy.n N m wi3 Skr ḥs.n sw nb šṯyt*

BM EA 55278: *iy.n* [*sp snw*] *m wi3 Skr iw rdiw n.s m3ᶜ-ḫrw iy.n N m wi3 Skr iw rdiw n.s m3ᶜ-ḫrw*

JE 43215 *iy.n sp snw N m wi3 Skr iw rdy n.f m3ᶜ-ḫrw ḥs.n sw nb šṯyt*

JE 43219 *iy.n sp snw m w*[*i3 Skr*…

MMA 2 *iy.n sp snw m wi3 Skr iy.n N m wi3 Skr iw rdy n.s m3ᶜ-ḫrw in Skr nb šṯyt*

MMA 3 […] *m <wi3> Skr iy.n N m* [*wi3?*] *Skr* // […] *m3ᶜ-ḫrw in Skr ḫnty pḏw* / […] *nb šṯyt*

Six –or very probably seven– out of eight documents show the same phrase at the beginning, which is seemingly clear, but cannot be passed over as obvious. I have found only one possible comparison, with the construction 'Aussage, Aussage, definierte Aussage', which was discussed by Siegfried Schott among the examples of the use of 'twice' or duplication/repetition to express an exclamation.[59] It is used very often at the beginning of sentences without an expressed subject and is repeated 'litaneihaft', also in '*sḏm.n*-form',[60] which could be labelled as cases with omitted subject,[61] or with undetermined subject. In fact in our six occurrences the subject is omitted, yet it is clear and obvious, as it is referred to with the appropriate pronouns in the following sentence (MMA 1/a, 1/b; CG 1623; BM 55278), and it is named directly after. Leaving out the incomplete examples, only in JE 43215 is the subject present after *iy.n sp snw*, and this instance could corroborate the hypothesis that the repetition of the *sḏm.n*-form is only for making a litany or song, as here, too, we find at least one *sḏm.n*-form without a subject. In fact it is possible to relate these forms with those discussed by Edel a few years later,[62] without any reference to the examples pointed out by Schott. Studying the origins of the neoegyptian and coptic 3rd pl. pers. suffix pronoun *–w*, he dealt with the '*sḏmnj*/*sḏmnw*' form, which could be explained as equal to a *sḏm.n.f*-form where the formative *n* + suffix pronoun were replaced by a prepositional adverb. Edel presented instances where in fact that 'suffix' corresponded to *n* + *.sn* or *.f*, formative *n* + 3rd pl. or sing. person suffix pronoun. For the moment, I think we have to consider such a solution as a possibility. In this case, also another translation is possible: "(That) he/she has come (means that) he/she has come in the bark of Sokar, etc".

'Literal' translation of MMA 1/a:

> Has come, has come in the bark of Sokar, it has been given her justification!
> N (f.) has come in the bark of Sokar, it has been given her justification.
> N (f.) has come in the bark of Sokar, the Lord of the *shetjit*-shrine has favoured her

One or very probably two fragments hand down another version of the formula, MMA 2 and MMA 3. They show possibly a simpler version, where the sentence *iw rdy n.s m3ᶜ-ḫrw* is present only after the subject (here f.) has been expressed.

'Literal' translation of MMA 2:

> Has come, has come in the bark of Sokar! N (f.) has come in the bark of Sokar, it has been given her justification by Sokar Lord of the *shetjit*-shrine (var. 'Foremost of the *pedju*-shrine', MMA 3, see above)

As we have seen above, MMA 3 adds possibly other epithets or the phrase *ḥs.n sy nb šṯyt*, "the Lord of the *shetjit*-shrine has favoured her".

Nevertheless, duly admitting that the occurrences of the formula are very few and that their choice may be fortuitous, I remark that in fact the versions are rather similar, though not the same. MMA 1/a looks like the

[58] Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. I, no. 284; Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Paleography*, 22a-b.
[59] Schott, *ZÄS* 79, 54-65, part. 62-3.
[60] Es. PT 275; Schott, *ZÄS* 79, 63.
[61] *Cf.* Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 486, Obs. 2; Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, § 18.5.
[62] Edel, *ZÄS* 84, 30 ff. (I thank J. Osing for this reference).

best constructed one (or, simply, 'constructed'): three lines, each one with two hemistiches, and with a triple repetition (the first 'doubled' and without subject). MMA 1/b is different only because it omits the third repetition of *iy.n N. m wiȝ Skr*; BM EA 55278 omits the last phrase *ḥs.n sy nb šṯyt*, while CG 1623 on the contrary omits the repetition of *iw rdi n.f mȝᶜ-ḫrw* before that last phrase. JE 43215 probably omits the characteristic repetition: *iy.n sp snw <m wiȝ Skr iw rdi n.f mȝᶜ-ḫrw iy.n> N m wiȝ Skr*, in which case its version tallies with MMA 1/b.

Using MMA 1/a as a model, we can try to single out the parts of this 'Litanei':

I/1 : *iy.n sp snw m wiȝ Skr*
I/2 : *iw rdiw n.f/.s mȝᶜ-ḫrw*
II/1: *iy.n N m wiȝ Skr*
II/2 = I/2
III/1 = II/1
III/2: *ḥs.n sw/sy nb šṯyt*

Sequences :

MMA 1/b: I/1, I/2, II/1, II/2, III/2.
CG 1623: I/1, I/2, II/1, III/2
BM EA 55278: I/1, I/2, II/1, II/2.
JE 43215: mixed I/1 + II/1 (?), II/2, III/2.
JE 43219 : I/1 [

MMA 2 and 3, in spite of the gaps, hand down probably an evidently similar but shorter version, with the sequence: I/1, II/1 and a slightly different II/2, where the god Sokar is added as the agent, introduced by *in*.

IV - ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

Though lacking the Sokar-formula, a few documents may be considered at least certainly near to the panel stelae already described, as stated in the introduction. The first here following is surely the nearest, in my opinion.

MMA 26.3.237

Material: Wood, plastered and painted; inscriptions faded, surface heavily abraded below, on the left and in the middle
Measurements: H. cm 57.2, w. 50, th. 3
Provenance: Deir el-Bahari, Cemetery 500, Tomb no. 512, entrance (MMA excavations 1922-23; PM I/2², 651)
Bibliography: Unpublished; description and photograph in Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 330, fig. 218; Graindorge-Héreil, *Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, pl. 63. Colour image on the website <https://archive.org/details/mma_stela_of_nebseni_544345>[63]
Note: Found together with linen inscribed for king Mentuhotep II[64]

Nearly square tablet in two pieces; in the upper left quarter four round holes. Field framed only on top and below by horizontal bands, above green, below black. A couple is shown standing before a pile of offerings. Their colours are still bright, but the details of the figures look unfinished. At the top, right, Sokar as a falcon is on a base in his bark with a reversed antelope head on the prow (outlined red); top of prow and stern white, body green, oars and poles red. The falcon has a pale yellow body and blue back, red base. One would like to find here a Sokar-formula, but all I can guess from the hieratic inscription is a *prt-ḫrw*-request where Ptah-Sokar is present,[65] but not a Sokar-formula; unless it was written above it, but is now completely faded, and was not read by Hayes. The more I look at the inscription, trying to read some signs, the more I become convinced that probably there is nothing above the line beginning with *prt-ḫrw*. It would be rather strange that a line is lost, when the band immediately above and the line below are by comparison in a better state of conservation.[66] A *prt-ḫrw* without its usual introduction is not uncommon on these tablets: *cf*. JE 43215 and MMA 27.3.49A.[67]

The man, 'Neb-seny',[68] with short and voluminous rounded-wig painted blue,[69] is shown in a gesture of adoration,[70] with skin painted red, and nails painted white. He wears a large collar (rows white, green, red, row of pendants lighter and darker green) and detailed bracelets (green), and a simple white short kilt with belt and slightly projecting hem (not outlined). His wife Henenu[71] has

[63] A larger b/w image available on the Museum website (www.metmuseum.org, search: Accession number, or Stela of Nebseni and Henenu; accessed March 2014).
[64] PM I/2², 651; Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material*, 240.
[65] As I have not seen personally the object, I do not want to attempt at guessing a complete translation of a faded inscription on the photograph only. I see, however, an interesting writing of Ptah-Sokar (l. 2), comparable to the one on a stela from Denderah –Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. 8A– with the Horus-falcon used as a divine determinative (after *Ptḥ*), replacing the falcon on standard (Sign-list G 5 instead of G 7), a use apparently increasing after the late Old Kingdom, as already remarked above, note 46.
[66] The old b/w photograph is surely clearer.
[67] In fact in these two occurrences the *prt-ḫrw* is following a Sokar-formula: I would like to imagine that it could be written on request, and for Nebseni perhaps it was not requested.
[68] *Cf*. Ranke, *PN* I, 186, 14, though filing only New Kingdom examples.
[69] Probably originally black-blue, *cf*. the hair of his wife, and *cf*. especially the description of BM EA 55278!
[70] *Cf*. El-Khadragy, *SAK* 29, 187-201 (this stela is not considered).
[71] Ranke, *PN* I, 245, 1.

light yellow skin, blue-black hair with a thin front band; a very large green collar, green bracelets and green-yellow (?) anklets. Her dress is painted with a rich zigzag pattern (red and green) and has three (?) straps: two which are larger below, green-red-green; a middle one, green. She embraces her husband, her left hand on his left shoulder (nails painted white). The offerings comprise cuts of meat: a red beef- chop, comparable to the one in JE 43219, red haunch with black and white spotted fetlock; spotted ox head (bleeding, red), heart, ribs (red); three yellow rectangular cakes, and a yellow ring-shaped cake (similar to those in JE 43215), a green bundle of onions, with thin red and black details; an offering-table on a tall stand, on top two divergent sets of four reeds, painted pale green-yellow; below right, a tall water-jar, red. Something green is at table level, left, under the round cake, but I am not able to describe it (stem of a lotus flower?).

Stela CG 20508 (Fig. 9)

Material: Limestone, relief and incision. No traces of colour
Measurements: H. cm 42, w. 29
Provenance: Not recorded
Bibliography: Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, vol. II, 98, no photo

Upright rectangular stela with rounded top; in the main field, on the left a male figure in raised (flat) relief and incised details, on the right the bark of Sokar and a pile of offerings only roughly scratched. Above, sunken hieroglyphic inscription in three lines.

The man is standing and, as usual, holds a staff in his left hand, depicted in relief above and only scratched below the hand; and a sceptre in his right hand (*ꜥḥ3*-sceptre?), whose shaft is incised across the man's skirt. Slightly rounded hairstyle with curls, incised narrow collar, short skirt with belt.

At the top of the pile of offerings is a Sokar bark over three water-signs: prow on the left, with reversed antelope head, cabin. Loosely distributed offerings: fowl, beef haunch and chop, ox head, heart, two (?) cucumbers or melons, bundle of onions, lettuce, four round cakes or loaves; over a table on a tall stand, two jars with stoppers, and below a tall water-pot.

Offering formula:

ḥtp di nswt Ỉnpw tpy ḏw.f imy wt nb T3-ḏsr prt-ḫrw m iḥ.w 3pd.w iḫt [..] *n im3ḫy Sbk-ḥtp* [*m3ꜥ*]-*ḫrw*

An offering which the King has given, and Anubis, Who is Above his Mountain, Who is in the Bandages,[a] Lord of the Sacred Land: invocation-offerings of oxen and fowl, things […][b] for the honoured Sebekhotep,[c] [justi]fied

a) The writing of *imy* complemented by a *m*, here and in the following stelae, is commented upon by Brovarski.[72]

b) The spelling *iḫt* is a late feature, according to Schenkel,[73] but Brovarski reports a case from the Ninth Dynasty.[74] The editors read *nfr*(*t*) *wꜥb*(*t*) (*?*), but I am not able to see anything in that damaged and perhaps tight place, *cf.* moreover the formula in the second stela of the same owner, CG 20509.

c) Ranke, *PN* I, 305, 6.

Stela CG 20509

Material: Limestone, raised and sunk relief. No traces of colour
Measurements: H. cm 37, w. 24
Provenance: Not recorded
Bibliography: Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs,* vol. II, 98; vol. IV, pl. 34

CG 20508 and 20509 are nearly identical stelae, with the same layout and only a few differences, and with the same owner. Only the small picture of this stela published in 1902 is available to me, so I am not able to describe all the details. The standing man is comparable to the previous one, his staff is however in relief and crosses the pile of roughly scratched offerings. Above, a Sokar bark is over three water-lines, without a cabin. Among the offerings are a haunch, fowl, lettuce; two jars with stopper over a table; tall water-pot.

Offering formula:

ḥtp di nswt Ỉnpw tpy-ḏw.f imy wt nb T3-ḏsr prt-ḫrw ḫ3 m iḥ.w 3pd.w iḫt n im3ḫy Sbk-ḥtp m3ꜥ-ḫrw

An offering which the King has given, and Anubis, Who is Above his Mountain, Who is in the Bandages, Lord of the Sacred Land: invocation-offerings of thousands of oxen and fowl, things for the honoured Sebekhotep, justified

Stela University of California Bt. 4 (Fig. 10)

Material: Limestone, uncoloured low relief carving; hieroglyphs incised
Condition: Upper left corner lost
Measurements: H. cm 24.13; w. 38.1;[75] th. 6.98
Provenance: Not recorded

[72] Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material*, 244 n. 284.
[73] Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, § 42 c.
[74] Brovarski, in Lesko (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies*, 57.
[75] The editor states: "height 15 inches, width 9 ½ inches": clearly the measures have to be exchanged.

Fig. 9 – Stela CG 20508 (Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Photographer: Sameh Abdel Mohsen, 2010)

Bibliography: Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones*, 21, pl. 38, no. 74[76]

Fragmentary rectangular stela with a very interesting decoration, of quite good quality; in many respects its inscription shows similarities with the two Cairo stelae of Sebekhotep (CG 20508 and 20509), which of course are absolutely crude in comparison.

On the left side, a couple standing, head of the man and bust of the woman lost. He carries a tall staff crossing a pile of offerings, and a stick with curved end in his right hand.[77] Incised border of a collar, kilt with belt and bordered triangular hem. The woman, with a long dress, holds a fringed cloth in her right hand. Behind her, a box with feet, on which is a vase (?); below, a pair of sandals and a stick or toilet object. At the back of the man's legs, a goat approaching the offerings.

Pile of offerings: fowl, ox head, chops, haunch; two

[76] Available online: <www.gizapyramids.org/pdf_library/lutz_steles.pdf>.

[77] Shorter variation of a curved stick, shown frequently in early Middle Kingdom scenes: Fischer, *JMMA* 13, 9 ff.

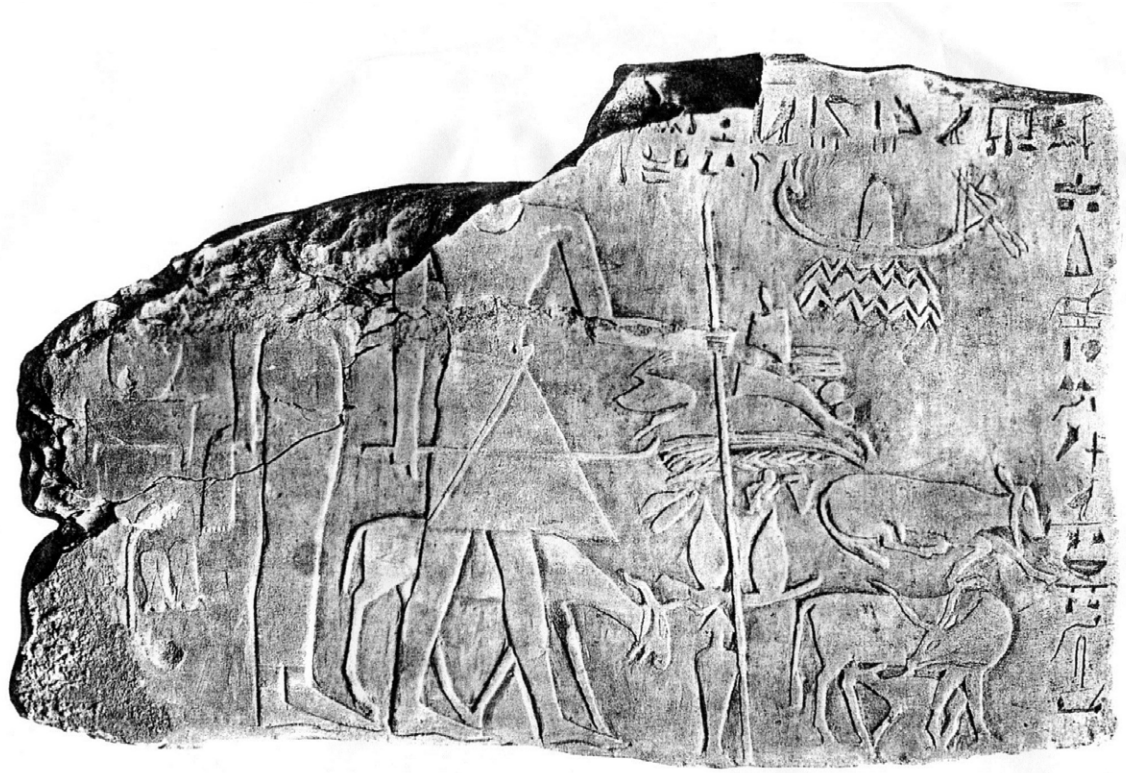

Fig. 10 – Stela University of California Bt. 4 (Reproduced from: Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones*, pl. 38, nr. 74)

round cakes (?); bundle of onions, lettuce, two melons, leg-bone with meat, a triangular object (grapes?); in a large hollow holder, two jars with stoppers; below, a tall water-pot with stopper. On the right side, below, a crouching calf, and a long-horned cow licking its little calf, suckling. Above, over two water-lines, a Sokar bark with prow to the left, on which is a reversed antelope head, and cabin.

Hieroglyphic inscription in one column by the right side, continuing horizontally on top and in front of the man's head:

(↓) *ḥtp di nswt Ỉnpw tpy ḏw.f imy wt nb T3-ḏsr*
(→) *prt-ḫrw m iḥ.w 3pd.w m iḫt(?) n[frt?]n*[..]
Below:
Ḥq3 m3ᶜ-ḫrw

An offering which the King has given, and Anubis, Who is Above his Mountain, Who is in the Bandages, Lord of the Sacred Land: invocation-offerings of oxen and fowl,[a] of [good ?][b] things to[…] / Heqa,[c] justified

a) The elements and paleography of this offering formula are very similar to those on the preceding Cairo stelae. The owl sign in *imy wt* looks to have mutilated legs, while in the other occurrences they are present: if is this an intentional mutilation, it would be a well-known practice.[78]

b) The extant part looks like a *nfr*-sign; then an *n* is clear, perhaps *n imȝḫy*. For the spelling *iḫt*, see above, notes 73-4.

c) Ranke, *PN* I, 256, 2 (this example).

V - STELAE WITH MAN IN A BOAT

I have been able to find only two published stelae with such a figure: the owner standing in a boat. The reason why I consider them here, in connection with the panel stelae, is that such figures seem to 'show' or realise the wish expressed by the Sokar-formula.[79]

Stela Florence inv. 7594 (Fig. 11)

Material: Limestone; recomposed from two fragments, borders chipped; no colours
Measurements: H. cm 58, w. 40
Provenance: Luxor, antiquity market (bought by Schiaparelli, 1891-92)
Bibliography: Bosticco, *Le Stele Egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno*, 27, no. 22, pl. 22

[78] References in Russo, *BIFAO* 110, 251-74. The similar phenomenon, properly termed 'incomplete hieroglyphs system', during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period is examined by Miniaci, *RdE* 61, 113-34. The viper sign just above (in *tpy ḏw.f*) is not clear, but I think that there is a little head with two short horns, and in fact this stela is not considered by Russo.

[79] Rosati, *Aegyptus* 87, 41-2.

The slab looks like it has been used, or reused, upside-down, with a rather clearly carved rounded end below, and a less regular, crudely cut rounded top.

Two sections: lunette with empty top, and three horizontal lines with hieroglyphic inscription; in the main field, the owner stands in a boat before a pile of roughly incised offerings.

Offering formula above:

ḥtp di nswt Ỉnpw tpy ḏw.f imy wt nb T3-ḏsr m s.wt.f nbt nfrt wꜥbt prt-ḫrw n im3ḫ Ỉn-it.f iqr m3ꜥ-ḫrw

An offering which the King has given, and Anubis Who is above His Mountain, Who is in the Bandages,[a] Lord of the Sacred Land, in all his good and pure places:[b] invocation-offerings for the honoured Antef,[c] excellent and justified

a) The writing with prosthetic reed-leaf *i* is a strong epigraphical feature, found in Thebes from the reign of Mentuhotep II.[80]

b) The *wꜥb-* sign is notable, written with the leg and water dripping at the back: a very similar sign is present on the sarcophagus of queen Aashyt.[81]

c) I prefer this reading (Ranke, *PN* I, 34, 1), though *Ỉn-it.f-iqr* (Ranke, *PN* I, 34, 7) is possible.

Main field: man standing, with voluminous short hairstyle, carrying a plain staff in his left hand and an *ꜥb3*-scepter in his right hand. In front of his face, a lotus-flower tilting left. He wears a large collar with a border of pendants, a short kilt with belt, and bracelets. He stands in the middle of a bark, similar to the *wi3*-bark, with two oars. In front of him, a pile of offerings, roughly incised: a table with a tall but not slender stand, on top of which two sets of three divergent reeds. Below, an ox head, a gazelle head, a prepared goose over a basket; an altar (?), a table on which are three jars with conical stoppers.

Behind the man, left, a small figure of a squatting dog or ram (?), roughly incised, with a collar.

Stela Bristol H3126

Material: Limestone, incised, traces of red colour on the man's skin and in a few hieroglyphic signs
Measurements: H. cm 37.5[82]
Provenance: Hû (Diospolis Parva), grave W.47
Bibliography: Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, 41, pl. 25; Capart, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens*, pl. 16; Grinsell, *Guide Catalogue to the Collections from Ancient Egypt*, fig. 13, pl. 31; <www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/bristol/index_4.htm>, accessed 04.03.2016

Upright rectangular stela; main field framed by a deeply incised line, especially on the left and right sides.

A figure of a man standing on the left side, before roughly incised offerings. On top: horizontal hieroglyphic inscription framed by two parallel incised lines, continuing below, in a horizontal half-line.

The man stands facing right, with long hair to the shoulders, a very short pointed beard, a collar with radial incised strokes. Skin painted red. He wears bracelets and anklets (knuckles incised) and a close-fitting kilt with dashed belt. The man is carrying a roughly incised lotus-flower with a curious very long and curved stem, and he is standing in the middle of a sort of boat whose rounded sides show animal-like reversed ends: the right one (the prow?) is shaped like the head of a bird, probably a hawk, the left one may be the head of a mammal, without horns and with long ears. Capart (*cf.* Bibl.) suggested that they could be Horus and Seth, though Seth is usually shown with a longer muzzle.

Pile of offerings, all turned right: four animal heads, probably oryx, antelope, ox, ibex; a haunch; a low table on top of which two sets of three divergent reeds, with oblique strokes and a sort of small 'foot';[83] between them, an upright vegetable, with three branches ending with triangular leaves, the middle one bigger.[84]

Offering formula:

ḥtp di nswt Wsir nb Ḏdw ḫnty imntyw nb 3bḏw prt ḫrw n im3ḫ nḫti-iqr m3ꜥ-ḫrw

An offering which the King has given, and Osiris, Lord of Busiris,[a] Foremost of the Westeners,[b] Lord of Abydos: invocation offerings to the honoured one, Nekhti-iqer,[c] justified[d]

a) Extensive notes on the writing of Busiris by Brovarski,[85] who considers this stela belonging to the late Eleventh or to the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.

b) The *imnt*-sign is reminiscent of the hieratic forms.[86] The omission of the divine determinative may be remarkable, though well attested already during the Eleventh Dynasty.[87]

[80] Brovarski, in Lesko (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies*, 43, n. 28.
[81] Clère, Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire,* 25.
[82] For this datum I thank Amber Druce, Collections Officer at the Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives.
[83] Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material*, 246.
[84] It is reminiscent of the vegetable bunch or lotus blossom shown on top of a jar or between two jars under an offering table: *cf.* Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material*, 206, fig. 13; Brovarski, in Lesko (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies*, 62.
[85] Brovarski, in Lesko (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies*, 50.
[86] Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Paleography*, 33b.
[87] Bennet, *JEA* 27, 78.

Fig. 11 -Stela Florence inv. 7594 (Reproduced from: Bosticco, *Le Stele Egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno*, pl. 22; courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologia Toscana)

c) Ranke, *PN* I, 212, 3, where this example is registered too. I cannot exclude a reading: "Nekhti (Ranke, *PN* I, 212, 1), excellent and justified". The *r*-sign in *iqr* is set on end, a tendency which seems to culminate under Mentuhotep II.[88]

d) The sign for *m3ᶜ* (Sign-list Aa 11) has a shape which is well-known during the Eleventh Dynasty.[89]

VI - DISCARDED PIECES

I have excluded from the series of monuments, which are usually mentioned or encountered together with the 'writing-board stelae', the following two wooden stelae:

JE 43218 (Pl. XXX)

Material: Wood, plastered and painted
Condition: Four pieces joined, now fragmentary and cracked and probably lacking one piece more on the right side
Measurements: H. 57.0 cm, pres. w. 22.0 cm
Provenance: Asasif, Tomb no. 37, pit D, together with JE 43215 and 43219 (PM I/2², 616)
Bibliography: Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 87, no. 88; Möller, in Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 90, no. 88, pl. 75 (left)

This tablet is somewhat closer to those with the Sokar-formula, but actually it does not present this formula or a sacred bark, though a missing piece on the right is probably to be expected, because it lacks an offering formula, or pictorial offerings, so that the tablet shows only a male figure and a caption above him.[90]

The figure is quite well preserved, with black voluminous hair, red skin, large green necklace and green bracelets, white knee-length skirt with belt and pointed hem. He holds a staff with rounded end, which is only outlined in black,[91] while nothing is in his right hand, with closed fist.

He shows the same peculiar profile as the figures in MMA 27.3.50 and CG 1623, with full lips and receding chin.

Horizontal hieratic inscription above him, framed by two lines:

?]*im3ḫy ḫr Ptḥ-Skr nb šṯyt imy-r pr*[…]*i m3ᶜ-ḫrw*

?] the honoured by Ptah-Sokar, Lord of the *shetjit*-shrine, the steward […]i, justified

MMA 26.3.316

Material: Wood, plastered and painted
Provenance: Asasif (PM I/2², 626)
Bibliography: Allen, forthcoming;[92] mentioned in Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 330

Wooden tablet as well, but used lengthwise. As the publication of this stela is forthcoming, I will confine myself to a very brief description in order to explain its exclusion.[93] The stela belongs to a soldier, Mentuhotep, born of Mentuhotepankhu, shown with his wife and a little girl behind the woman, while a butler is offering him a cup. The requested offerings introduced by *di.f*,[94] and the owner's title *ᶜnḫ-n-ṯt-ḥq3*, "Officer of the crew of the ruler",[95] are in my opinion proof for a dating at least in the Twelfth Dynasty. There is no element in the decoration or in the inscription suggesting a link with the panel stelae with Sokar-formula, and no mention at all of the god Sokar.

VII - PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

The examined tablets and the related material date from the early Middle Kingdom.

In my opinion, the tablets with Sokar-formula may be considered definitely to date from the early Middle Kingdom-Eleventh Dynasty, probably as late as the reign of Mentuhotep II.[96] I see no argument to support a later dating, and no archaising motives, or, better still, I see no later motive supporting an archaising reuse or definition of older ones. I myself had thought about the possibility of attributing such panel stelae to the late Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period, because at first sight I could see similarities with some provincial stelae, mainly painted stelae, which are characterised by a standing couple, sometimes a servant, and a lot of offerings, loosely distributed.[97] Now, on the contrary, I am persuaded that evidence for a later dating is absent: it cannot be found in the phraseology, in the formulas, in the epithets, or in the drawn and painted elements.

They witness a special cult of Sokar in the Theban necropolis.

The panel-stelae have a funerary character, both be-

[88] Brovarski, in Lesko (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies*, 45-6.
[89] Clère, Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire,* 25 ff.
[90] *Cf.* however e.g. the probably contemporary stela of Dedu and Sit-Sobk, in Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, fig. 219: no offering-formula, but at least a narrow pile of offerings.
[91] It looks clearly like an *imyt-r*-staff: Fischer, *JMMA* 13, 5 ff.
[92] Allen, in Goelet, Oppenheim (eds.), *The Art and Culture of Ancient Egypt*.
[93] I received a photograph of this stela from the Metropolitan Museum of Art for study purpose in 2007.
[94] Bennett, *JEA* 27, 77-8.
[95] References in Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*, 100.
[96] *Cf.* the remarks on the writing *im3ḫy*, above n. 19.
[97] Rosati, *Aegyptus* 87, 39-40.

cause they have been found in tombs –which, it is true, were all disturbed–,[98] and because they show typical funerary formulas besides the Sokar-formula. The Sokar-formula seems to highlight a special task which is attributed to Sokar e.g. in the Pyramid Texts: he helps the king's transformation into a god, purifying him and accompanying him to the sky in his bark.[99] Such a privilege seems now ensured to worthy people, whom the god 'favours' (*ḥsi*), and the final prize is 'justification' (*mȝʿ-ḫrw*). I wish to point out that some of the stelae's owners wear sandals, and notably white sandals,[100] and also the presence of fillets on their head, though not generalised, may be noted: are they important or meaningful details? Are the stelae which I have collected here as 'additional material', really significant in this respect? The cult of Sokar is widespread far from his original home already during the Old Kingdom, as the mentions of his Festival witness:[101] since when does he appear in Thebes? And, why there with that characterisation? Has Abydos a role? Is the 'coming forth' of the god, mentioned in stela JE 43215, connected with the Festival of Sokar, as we know it since the OK, or is it, together with the 'enjoying with the Akhu', a religious practice marked by the Osiris cult, though Osiris is not (yet) mentioned?

It must be stressed that for the moment the material is very scanty and that, moreover, some of the pieces look like they were made in the same workshop: a very 'rare' production? What is their importance, and why are the tablets themselves, wooden tablets, seemingly meaningful? Is it because barks are made of wood? Or because writing-tablets/boards are the appropriate place for a composition such as the 'Sokar-song'? Or for recording a 'justification' result?

While I wished to attain some actual results, I am concluding with a host of questions and rash conjectures: I do not want to risk overrating the importance of these documents. Nevertheless I think the issues they raise are interesting ones, deserving of attention and further study.

[98] The archaeological situation is far from clear and it should be ascertained anew: Winlock, *BMMA* 23, 7; Graindorge-Héreil, *Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, 41, n. 129. For tomb C 37, Asasif, see the following note by G. Miniaci.

[99] Brovarski, in *LÄ* V, 1057-8, nn. 49-51; *cf. Pyr.* §§ 620, 1429, 1824.

[100] See above, n. 26. *Cf.* also more recently Hagen in Veldmeijer, *Tutankhamun's Footwear*, 198.

[101] Brovarski, in *LÄ* V, 1063, with n. 161.

Note on the Archaeological Context of Tomb C 37, Asasif

Gianluca Miniaci

Panel stelae:
JE 43215, JE 43218, JE 43219

In 1910-11, Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon discovered at Thebes in an area called el-Birabi,[102] more commonly identified within the Asasif area, a large *saff* tomb, whose long central corridor was given the number 37,[103] which contained a large number of burials (64 coffins in total).[104] The dating of the structure proved difficult, since Carter noted the evidence for at least two phases of use:

> This great tomb, dating from the Late Middle Kingdom, was found to have been utilized for the storing of numerous stray burials of epochs ranging through the Intermediate Period down to the early part of the XVIIIth Dynasty[105]

The latest phase of use clearly dates to the very end of the Second Intermediate Period and the beginning of Eighteenth Dynasty.[106] In this phase the whole structure was massively occupied (including non-normative areas: niche, pit, corridors, passages) by a high number of depositions, which belong to a common material cultural phase (Fig. 12).[107] It is unlikely that the type of coffins and burial equipment can be dated earlier than the late Seventeenth Dynasty, all of them span from the very end of the Second Intermediate Period to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[108] The latest chronological limit for these burials is given by the reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmosis III, when the tomb was definitely sealed by the construction of the Deir el-Bahari valley temple complex.[109] Consequently, the archaeological context was left undisturbed since the structure was sealed, and no material later than the time of Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III can be found.

The chronological framework of what Carter called

[102] Miniaci, in Betrò, Del Vesco, Miniaci, *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu El-Naga*, 19.

[103] See Arnold, *Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970*, vol. I, 42.

[104] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 84-9.

[105] Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 64.

[106] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 101-2.

[107] Miniaci, in Taylor, Vandenbeusch (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Coffins*.

[108] Smith, *MDAIK* 48, 193-231.

[109] The construction of Hatshepsut's valley temple is dated to the seventh year of the queen's co-regency with Tuthmosis III, see Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 34-5, 39, 43-5.

the original/initial phase of use of the structure is much less obvious and his preliminary dating to the 'Late Middle Kingdom' must be reconsidered. The evidence provided by Carter is quite scant, although based on strong archaeological evidence:

> Our reasons for assigning this date [Late Middle Kingdom] to the tomb were the antiquities (Nos. 85, 86, 87) found in the layer of rubbish and burnt ashes that covered its floors; these were quite distinct from the coffins and other antiquities forming the cache which rested upon the rubbish[110]

As pointed out by Carter, a few objects (are those the only ones found by Carter or the only ones recorded in the published volume?) were all found in a layer just above the floor and mixed inside a layer of rubbish upon which the interments of the Second Intermediate Period/beginning of Eighteenth Dynasty were deposited. Therefore, at least two different phases of use must be assumed. In such a hypothesis,[111] Carter also produced good evidence for identifying the occurrence of a consistent lapse of time between an initial phase and the subsequent reuse of the structure: **A.** the different mortar (*tafle* and mud) for building the mud-bricks closure wall of chamber *C* shows an initial phase of closure followed by opening and reclosing; **B.** the martins' nests and mason-bee cells found adhering to the walls and ceiling indicate that the structure was left open for a certain period before the last use; **C.** the coffins of the Second Intermediate Period/early Eighteenth Dynasty were deposited directly *above* debris and heaps of stones that had fallen down on the floor over time and which covered the original layer.[112]

Although the reuse of older structures in the late Second Intermediate Period/beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty is rather common in the Theban necropolis,[113] some documented cases show the following sequence: used in the early Middle Kingdom, then a phase of disuse/abandonment before reuse in the Second Intermediate Period. In *saff* tomb K 95.1 at Dra Abu el-Naga, for instance, the German Archaeological Institute documented a large pottery repertoire, which can be dated with a certain precision to between the end of the Eleventh/beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.[114] In the same structure, the following phase of use dates to the Seventeenth Dynasty and beginning of the New Kingdom; no elements of continuity between the two phases were recorded.[115] Similarly, in tomb A17, in the area of the temple of Amenhotep II, a first use can be dated to the early Middle Kingdom and the successive phase of re-occupation in the Second Intermediate Period/early Eighteenth Dynasty.[116] Also, the archaeological situation of the large complex C 62 in the Asasif, adjacent to tomb C 37, calls to mind another re-occupation after a prolonged phase of abandonment: in the Second Intermediate Period/early Eighteenth Dynasty a ransacked structure belonging to an official called Intef, apparently dating to the early Middle Kingdom was re-occupied.[117]

Fortunately, Carter provides further details and specific archaeological contexts for the key-objects belonging to the initial phase of use of the structure:

> *Central Passage.* No. 85. *An ivory castanet*. Burnt, and with end shaped like a human hand; it differed from No. 82 by being straight. This was found in the layer of rubbish that covered the floor of the passage. It appears to belong to the original interment of the tomb
>
> *Hall (C).* No. 86. *A wooden statuette and fragment of a wooden coffin of the Middle Kingdom*. The statuette, broken, is covered with stucco and painted, and is of exceedingly coarse workmanship. It represents a woman carrying upon her head a linen basket. The fragment of coffin bore an inscription reading *perkheru*-offering for the devoted one *Henyt*. These antiquities were found in the layer of rubbish that covered the floor, and probably belong to the original interment of the tomb (some parts of the statuette came from the small chamber F)
>
> *Hall (C).* No. 87. *A wooden jewel-box*. […] Contents:–A *ka-hetep* amulet and necklace of blue faience (Pl. LXXII.87); a necklace of white and violet cylindrical faience

[110] Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 64-5.
[111] Carter concluded that such an unusual archaeological situation, shown by the large number of interments scattered in all the accessible rooms of the structure, was due to a reburial phase practiced by the workers on the Hatshepsut temple complex, a sort of ancient *cache*, made after they had disturbed or destroyed earlier tombs in the eastern area of Deir el-Bahari during the construction of her causeway and valley temple. However, what seemed to Carter to be evidence of looting and the disturbance by workers, is today considered instead to be the practice of family reuse, or the prolonged use of existing funerary structures from the late Middle Kingdom to the early New Kingdom, Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 65*, cf.* Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 92-101; Dorman, in Strudwick, Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 30-41, pls. 5-6. For a summary, see Grajetzki, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life and afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 16-34.
[112] Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 64-6.
[113] Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 83-4, *cf.* TT 81 (p. 323-6), -24- (p. 636). *Contra* see Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* 2007, 279-99.
[114] Polz *et al*., *MDAIK* 55, 387.
[115] *Art. cit.*, 370.
[116] Consonni, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt 2*, in this volume.
[117] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 92.

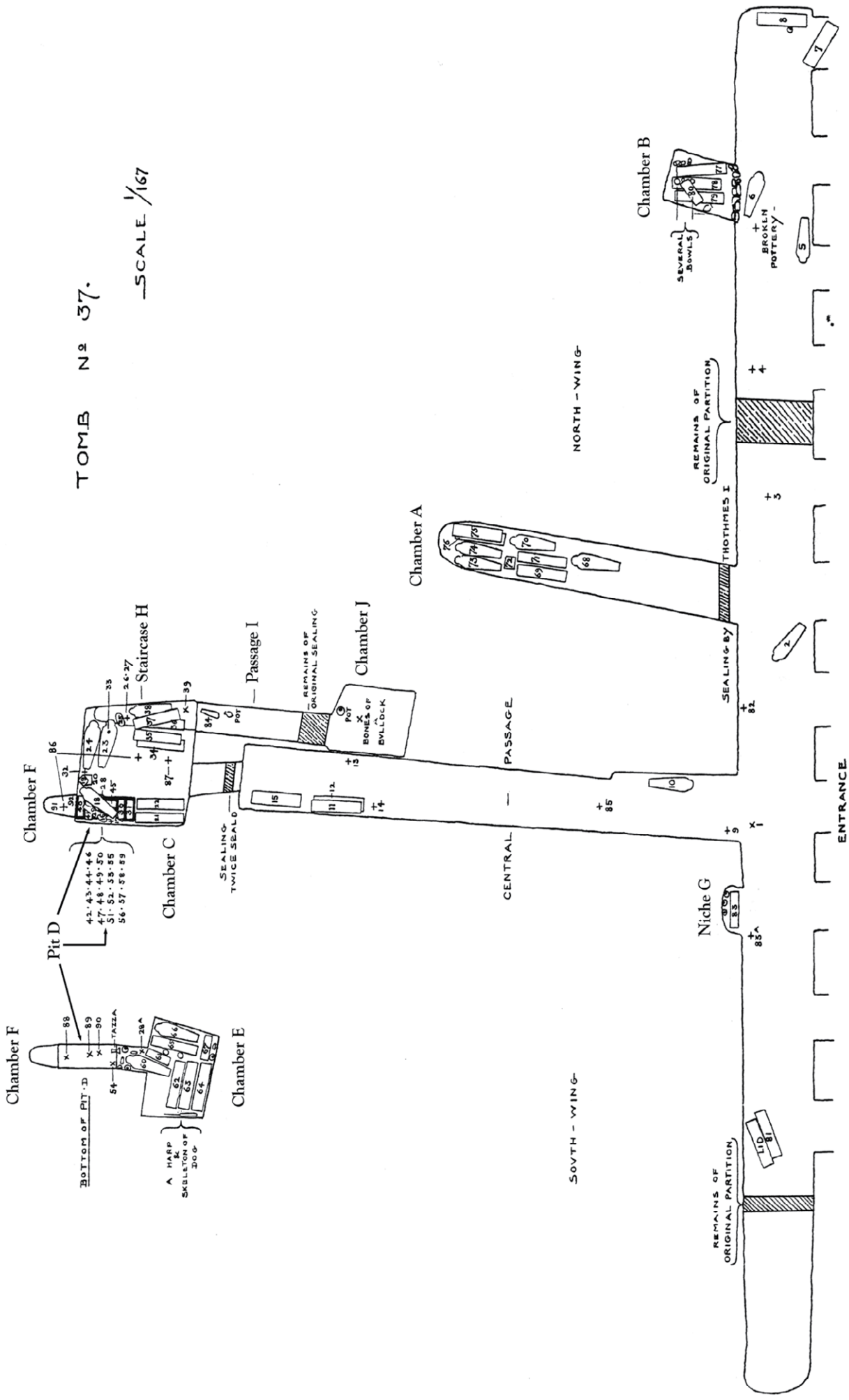

Fig. 12 – Plan of the tomb C 37, from CARNARVON, CARTER, *Five Years' Excavations*, pl. 30

> beads (Pl. LXXIII.87); a blue glazed steatite scarab (Pl. LXXII.87); a blue glazed steatite kohl-pot, made to imitate matrix of turquoise; a reel of white faience; and a copper fillet for the hair (see tomb No. 25, p. 55). These objects are all of the Middle Kingdom period, and were discovered in the layer of rubbish covering the floor of the chamber. They probably belong to the original interment[118]

The ivory clapper (object no. 85), without a proper photographic record (not provided by Carter), does not offer specific chronological evidence. Human-hand shaped ivory clappers, straight and not curved, are attested from the Sixth Dynasty[119] to the New Kingdom,[120] although a large concentration can be recorded during the whole Middle Kingdom.[121]

The wooden figurine (object no. 86) instead provides much more information, since, although not published in *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, a photo is conserved in the archives of the Griffith Institute at Oxford (Fig. 13). The object (de-accessioned MMA 12.181.251) represents a striding female offering-bearer with an upraised arm and the forward-positioned hand holding a *hes*-vase.[122] The closest parallels, although of larger scale and of finer quality, come from two wooden figurines from Pit tomb 5 in the upper colonnade of the northern court in the temple of Montuhotep at Deir el-Bahari:[123] British Museum EA 41673,[124] and MFA Boston 05.231.[125] Their hair, dress and pose closely matches that of the figurine from tomb C 37.[126] Although Pit 5 was entered and sacked in antiquity (during the Third Intermediate Period: Twenty-first Dynasty), part of the original contents of the tombs was still discovered *in situ*: a rectangular white limestone coffin, the remains of the deceased (young and female?), four wooden models (a boat, granary, bakery, and a group of soldiers), two statuettes of offering-bearers, an alabaster vase-stand representing vultures and an *ankh* sign, a piece of alabaster bowl, some terracotta vases and bowls, and small offering-saucers.[127] The funerary equipment is typical of the late Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty. Moreover, other pits discovered in the nearby area all belong to the early Middle Kingdom (only pit 13 is of probably earlier date).[128] However, in the Theban region, the type of offering bearer striding with an upraised arm and carrying a *hes*-vase is a feature that continues throughout the whole Middle Kingdom, as attested by the two other offering bearers found by Passalacqua in the tomb of Montuhotep,[129] dated to the mid-late Twelfth Dynasty.[130] However, the style and composition of these two models differs to some extent from the figurine from tomb C 37.

Among the objects contained in the so-called jewel-box, only the faience necklace of white and violet cylindrical beads with a *kꜣ+hetep* sign amulet might be chronologically diagnostic (Fig. 14). Arm and hand amulets were common in the time span from the late Old Kingdom to the early Midddle Kingdom,[131] but the combination of two arms forming a *kꜣ*-sign and holding a *ḥtp*-sign is not elsewhere known in this period.

However, the scarcity of evidence from this first phase of use of the tomb (more abundant remains expected) must imply a heavy pillage action or an evacuation (for reuse?)[132] of earlier burials/occupants. Such an action does not seem to be in connection with the last phase of reuse, since only a few earlier objects recorded in the late Second Intermediate Period/early Eighteenth Dynasty phase could be interpreted as reused objects.[133] Moreover, as specified by Carter, later burials/occupants were deposited directly *above*, and not among, the debris and heaps of stones that had fallen down over time, covering and sealing the original layers. This implies that at the time of the agglomeration of debris the original deposit was already largely missing, *i.e.* not present.

Carter recorded the three Cairo 'panel stelae', numbered 88, 89 and 90, at the bottom of pit *D* (Fig. 12). The details provided are quite scant; we are told that the stelae were all covered with white stucco and painted, and only stela no. 90 was made of "much thicker wood, and badly broken".[134] However, in the plan provided on plate LV, Carter makes a particular point of indicating

[118] Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 87.
[119] Brunton, *Mostagedda*, 99, tomb 10008.
[120] Hickmann, *Instruments de musique*, pls. 2-5, 10.
[121] Morris, in Miniaci, Quirke, Betrò (eds.), *Company of Images*, forthcoming.
[122] Tooley, *Wooden Models*, 195, pl. 35:2. I am grateful to Angela Tooley for her discussion on the piece and the reference provided.
[123] PM I², 2, 656.
[124] Tooley, *Wooden Models*, 192, pl. 35:1.
[125] *Op. cit.*, 192, pl. 34:4.
[126] The dress of both figurines has a distinctive green colouration, a diagnostic feature which cannot be compared with the figurine from tomb C 37, because at the moment the only available photo is in black and white.
[127] Naville, Hall, Ayrton, *The XIth dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahari*, 46-7, pls. 9-10.
[128] *Op. cit.*, 43.
[129] Berlin ÄM 22 and ÄM 10, see Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs*, 40-1, pl. 11; Tooley, *Wooden Models*, 193, pl. 37.
[130] *Cf.* Seiler, in Seiler, Schiestl, *Handbook of the Pottery*, 316, figs. 16-7.
[131] *Cf.* Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, vol. II, pl. 94.
[132] *Cf.* Betrò, Miniaci, in Taylor, Vandenbeusch (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Coffins*, forthcoming.
[133] Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 67.
[134] *Op. cit.*, 87.

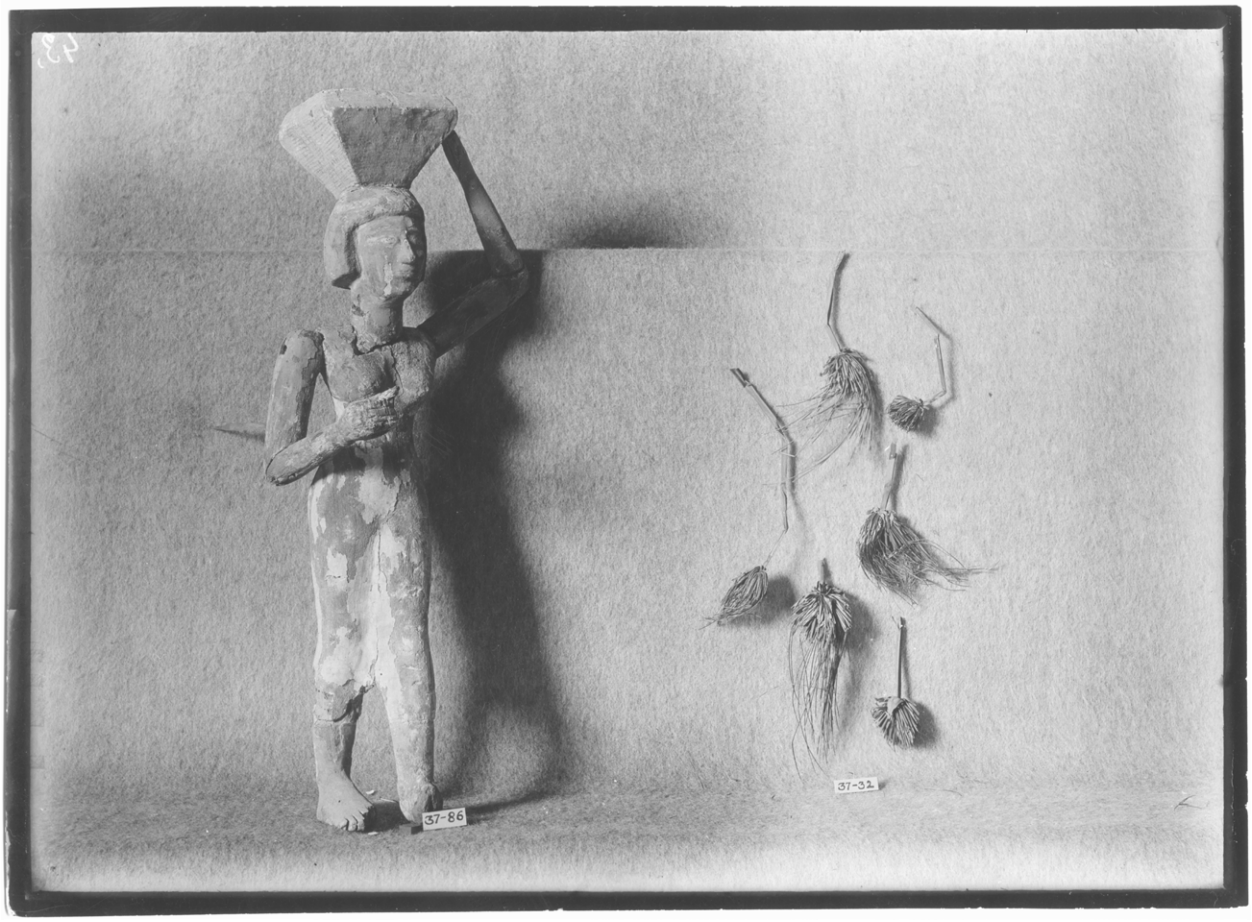

Fig. 13 – Photograph of the wooden model of offering bearer from C 37. Ms Carter i.J.087 courtesy of Griffith Institute, Oxford

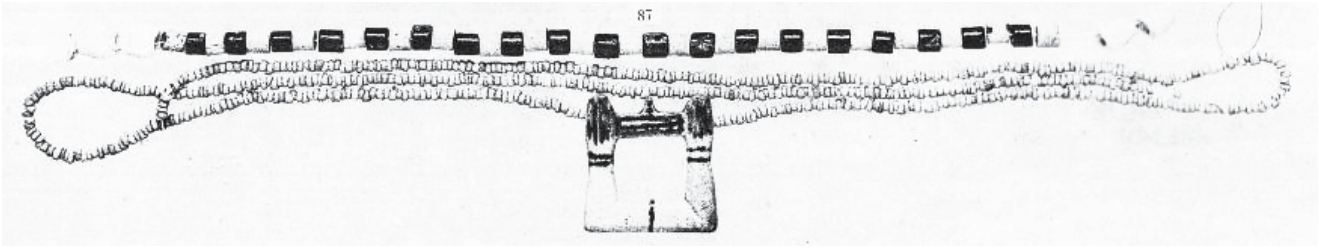

Fig. 14 - The necklace of white and violet cylindrical faience beads (above); The *ka* + *hetep* amulet and necklace of blue faience from Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Excavations*, pl. LXXIII.87

that the three panel stelae were all found exactly at the bottom of the pit.[135]

Pit *D* was piled from bottom to top with 18 coffins (nos. 41-59, excluding no. 54). One of the upper coffins (no. 53) piled into the shaft contained two scarabs, one bearing the name of the king's daughter Neferure and the other the *prenomen* of Tuthmosis III, while one of the lowest coffins (no. 59) contained two scarabs inscribed with the names of Tuthmosis II and Tuthmosis I. The sequence of filling the shaft seems to indicate a progressive filling from the time of Tuthmosis I onwards till the age of Thutmosis III, when the structure stopped functioning. From such evidence it appears clear that objects at the bottom of the shaft cannot have been deposited after the shaft was filled.

At the bottom of shaft *D* two chambers open on the shorter sides (north-west and south-east), respectively labelled room *E* and *F*, with the last being notably small-

[135] Lying at the bottom of shaft *D*, was also a pot with a hieratic inscription (object no. 54) typical of the Second Intermediate Period (dating provided by Möller on palaeographic grounds, see Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 90). Also on onomastic grounds, the pot can be dated to the Second Intermediate Period, including the name of Ahhotep, which was widespread during the early New Kingdom, *cf.* Ranke, *PN* I, 13, 8). However, differently from the three stelae, the pot was found in a perfect state of preservation and, as Carter noted on the plan, in close proximity to the entrance of chamber E, *i.e.* in direct relation with the Second Intermediate Period/early Eighteenth Dynasty burials.

er. Eight burials were stored in funerary chamber *E* (two *rishi* coffins –nos. 60, 66– and six rectangular coffins –nos. 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67–).[136] They all belong to the Second Intermediate Period/early Eighteenth Dynasty phase of use of the tomb. For this reason, when Möller wrote his chapter on the stelae, he incidentally reported "The legend is in hieratic writing typical of the Hyksos period",[137] perhaps influenced by the fact that they were found in association with Second Intermediate Period material.[138]

Nevertheless, in chamber *F* together with broken fragments of objects, such as arrows and bows, a wooden mallet, a wooden hoe, and a musical instrument,[139] were also discovered fragments of the wooden figurine found in the upper room *C* and belonging to the first phase of use of the structure (see object no. 86). This indicates that before the filling of the shaft, earlier objects were moved across different rooms, both entering or being removed from the lowest areas (chambers *E* and *F* + bottom of pit *D*). Therefore, the position of the stelae at the bottom of the shaft (*cf.* the burial equipment of Renseneb, dragged from his funerary chamber and left partially smashed at the very bottom of the shaft, Tomb 24, Asasif)[140] seems to suggest that they also belonged to the first phase of use of the tomb and that they were discarded or overlooked for some reason during the removal of the original equipment of the tomb.

Summing up, the documented evidence can lead to the following conclusions:

1. Objects nos. 85, 86, 87 were all discovered in the layer just above the floor of the chambers and below the layer belonging to the Second Intermediate Period/early Eighteenth Dynasty burials. They clearly do not belong to the last phase of use of the tomb. A convincing dating might range between the early Middle Kingdom and late Middle Kingdom.

2. The three panel stelae found at the bottom of shaft *D* do not necessarily belong to the Second Intermediate Period, since other material belonging to the first phase of use of the tomb was found in the shaft.

3. The stylistic and textual analysis carried out by Gloria Rosati on the three stelae found at the bottom of the shaft seems to lean towards an earlier date for the first use of this tomb.

4. The time lapse between the first use of the tomb and the reuse of the structure during the Second Intermediate Period/early Eighteenth Dynasty is documented and supported by multiple evidence (martins' nests, mason-bee cells, remains of the original sealing).

5. The last phase of use of the tomb dates to the late Second Intermediate Period/early Eighteenth Dynasty. This phase consists of an uninterrupted and intensive use of the funerary spaces for a prolonged and wide span of time.

Taken all together, the evidence suggests that the tomb could have been used both in the early Middle Kingdom (and not as suggested by Carter in the late Middle Kingdom) and in the Second Intermediate Period/early Eighteenth Dynasty, after a long break in use between the two phases (Fig. 15).

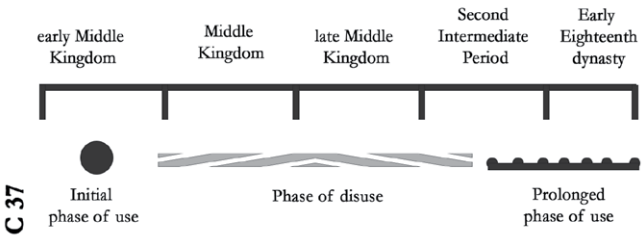

Fig. 15 – Hypothetical outline for the phases of use/disuse of tomb C 37

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[136] For detailed account of the contents of the shaft, see Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 79-83, 87-8.

[137] Möller, in Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 89.

[138] See above, n. 6. Rosati article.

[139] Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 87. This is the list of entries recorded by Carter; it is possible that it includes only a selection of what was found there.

[140] Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*, 90. Miniaci, Quirke, *BIFAO* 109, 364.

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Two Blocks of Sobekhotep from Hawara

Ashraf Senussi, Said Abd Alhafeez Abd Allah Kheder

Abstract

This paper deals with publication of two individual blocks, Kom Ausheim Museum no. 163 and Hawara no. 255. Block no. 163 is from Hawara and belongs to Sobekhotep. The main scene shows a simple false door which is decorated with the traditional scene of the owner of the tomb sitting in front on an offering table. The decoration includes wadjet*-eyes, offerings and the ḥtp di nsw formula dedicated to the god Osiris. Other scenes represent offering bearers and members of his family sitting in front of offering stands with their titles and names. The second block, also from Hawara, is decorated with two registers; the upper one is occupied with a scene of two female members of the owner of the tomb and the lower register shows a scene of offering bearers. This paper offers an explanation of the scenes, their symbolism, and translation of the texts as well as dating the two objects.*

Introduction

Over the course of three months starting from April to June 1974 the late Mutawe Balboush, who was then the chief inspector of Fayoum, conducted a rescue excavation in Hawara.[1] The excavation, located about 500 m south east of the pyramid of Amunemhat III, was undertaken in order to save a mud brick structure uncovered by military activity in the area. Mutawe Balboush discovered during three months 14 rock cut shafts dating to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. The tombs –according to the pottery types– seem to belong to a royal necropolis and therefore to members of the royal family and high officials. One of the shafts belongs to an official of the late Twelfth Dynasty, whose name is *sbk-ḥtp* son of *isn.* The shaft was found plundered and contained only a few artifacts; two of them date to the New Kimgdom indicating activity of this period; presumably to obtain the Middle Kingom blocks used to line the shaft walls.

Mutawe Balboush discovered a number of limestone blocks, most uninscribed. Two of the few which bear inscriptions are the subject of this article.

Block 1: Kom Ausheim Museum no. 163 (Figs. 1-4)

A loose block made of limestone measured 80 cm long, 44 cm wide and 16 cm thick, inscribed and decorated in sunk relief.[2]

The middle of the block takes the form of a false door framed on three sides by a plain torus moulding crowned by a curved cavetto cornice with parallel palm fronds; the scene in the centre shows the tomb's owner *sbk-ḥtp* sitting on a chair and extending his right hand towards an offering table loaded with bread and a collection of various offerings. Above the scene are two protecting eyes known as *wadjet*-eyes and either side and below are presentations of offerings consisting of sacred perfumed oil jars, linen, cloth, oxen, birds, cake, meat, vegetables, offerings, jars, and different kinds of bread, above the eyes is a hieroglyphic text arranged in three horizontal lines giving the *ḥtp di nsw* formula which reads:

ḥtp di nsw wsir nb ḏdw nṯr ᶜ3 nb 3bḏw di.f prt ḫrw t ḥnḳt k3 3pd snṯr mrḥt sšr mnḫt ḫt nbt nfrt wᶜbt ᶜnḫt nṯr im n k3 n imy-r pr sbḳ ḥtp ir.n isn mɜᶜ ḫrw

A royal offering of (*A boon that the king give (to)*) Osiris lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, giving the invocation-offering of bread and beer, cattle and fowl, incense and oil, linen and cloth, and every good and pure things on which a god lives, to the *ka* of the steward Sobekhotep, born of Isen, justified

To the left of the previous scene there are three regis-

[1] Leclant, *Orientalia* 44, 208, no.20.

[2] The block is mentioned in Franke, *Personendaten*, 352, Doss. no. 590.

ters, divided by double lines, the lower one shows three offering bearers facing left, the first figure bears an ox foreleg, most probably in procession to the main false door in the tomb or a representation of the owner of the tomb. The middle register shows three young girls sitting on the ground, each one holding a lotus flower to their nose. In front of each girl is a pile of offerings and above each the same phrase written in hieroglyphics:

s3t.f mryt.f ḫm

His daughter whom he loves Khem (attested as a name in the Middle Kingdom)[3]

The upper register shows three men sitting in front of a pile of offerings, they are kneeling on the ground with one knee raised, the left hand is shown extended on the knee and the right hand is held close to the chest. The attitude of these men represents them in a respectful gesture. The upper part is missing and had presumably the same kind of text that is written above the young girls.

To the right of the main scene are the remains of three registers, the lower one depicts two offering bearers, the middle one shows a woman sitting in front of a low offering stand and above her a text reads: *mwt.f mryt.f nbt pr isn*, "his mother, whom he loves, lady (mistress) of the house Isen" (Fig. 3). The upper register shows a man sitting in front of a low offering table. He is depicted in a respectful gesture, but here the right hand is extended on the knee while the left hand is close to his chest.

The personal names

1- sbk-ḥtp: An Old Kingdom male name that continues in use into the New Kingdom and is used as a male name in the Middle Kingdom.[4]

2- *isn*: A Middle Kingdom female name that also appears in the stelae CG 20742 and St. Petersburg no. 1081.[5]

3- ḫm: A Middle Kingdom male and female name.[6]

General comments

A) Like other Middle Kingdom false doors, here a pair of *wadjet*-eyes for protection appears as the main decoration. There are also the sacred oil jars which started to be used from the end of the Old Kingdom.[7]

B) The arrangement of signs in the horizontal writing of the offering formula is characteristic of the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Dynasty.[8]

C) *nṯr ꜥ3* 'the great god': the epithet *nṯr ꜥ3 nb 3bḏw* written horizontally appeared first in an offering formula in the tomb of Meru in the reign of Mentuhotep II,[9] though generally it is rare until the time of Senusert I.[10] The great god epithet can refer to either the living or the dead king in the Old Kingdom, refers to Osiris[11] in the Middle Kingdom, and is a common designation for various deities in the New Kingdom.[12]

D) The phrase *prt ḫrw* is common until the Eleventh Dynasty, after that *di.f prt ḫrw*[13] appears from the Twelfth Dynasty onwards.[14] The literal meaning here shows the importance of the oral component of the ritual – that the formula should be recited mainly by the priest or the son of the deceased.[15]

E) *prt ḫrw* is usually written with *t* bread and *ḥnkt* beer jar; both central to the ancient Egyptian diet and no meal was considered complete without them.[16] Beer-*ḥnkt* first appeared in Fifth Dynasty offering lists.[17]

F) The *n kꜣ n* comes before the name of the deceased,[18] or before the titles of the deceased followed by his name.[19] The form *n kꜣ n wsir* + name and titles is also attested.[20]

G) The open lotus in ancient Egypt is called *sšn* and is an emblem of the sun-god Nefertum and used as a symbol of resurrection.[21]

H) Most probably these daughters died during the life-

[3] Ranke, *PN* I, 269, 13.
[4] Ranke, *PN* I, 305, 6; compare Franke, *Personendaten*, 352, Doss. 590. Franke mentions stela St. Petersburg no. 1081 that lists a person with the name Sobekhotep begotten of Isen; compare Bolshakov, Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom Stelae in the Hermitage*, 85-7, n. x.
[5] Ranke, *PN* I, 46, 20.
[6] Ranke, *PN* I, 269, 13.
[7] Takenoshita, *When the Living met the Dead*, 62.
[8] Smither, *JEA* 25, 34.
[9] Selim, *SAK* 29, 325.
[10] Bennett, *JEA* 27, 79.
[11] Wb II, 361, 1-7.
[12] DuQuesne, *Jackal Divinities of Egypt*, 168 ff.
[13] Bennett, *JEA* 27, 72; see also Leprohon, *JEA* 76, 163-4; Leprohon, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, 528; Spanel, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, 769.
[14] Bennett, *JEA* 27. For more reading see Obsomer in Cannuyer, Kruchten (eds.), *Individu, société et spiritualité*, 163-200.
[15] Leprohon, in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. II, 570 see also Ikram, in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. I, 394.
[16] Samuel in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. I, 196.
[17] *Op. cit.*, 171.
[18] Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 170.
[19] Frankfort, *JEA* 14, 244.
[20] Negm, *The Tomb of Simut called Kyky*, 33-4.
[21] On the motif of smelling lotus see Derchain, *CdE* 50, 65-86. *Cf.* Robins, *DE* 17, 50-1; *cf.* Pflüger, *JAOS* 67, 130; Leprohon, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*; Malaise, *SAK* 5, 189.

time of their father and are represented as if receiving offerings; the first-born daughter was named *ḫm*, but unfortunately she died young and so her sister was named after her.

I) The hairstyle of the three girls takes the form of the side lock with rounded end and, as a symbol of childhood in Ancient Egypt,[22] indicates that they died young or even as newborns.

J) According to Fischer, the title *nbt pr* 'mistress (or lady) of the house' was used by married women only[23] and thus could belong to the wife, daughter and the mother.

K) Brovarski stated that the use of *wedjat*-eyes on the niche of false doors became a typical feature in the Sixth Dynasty and the First Intermediate Period. Moreover, the decorated false doors were always accompanied by inscriptions: mainly the *ḥtp-di-nsw* offering formula, along with the name of the deceased. The titles of the deceased were also added to the inscriptions in the Old Kingdom. Furthermore, other types of texts, such as (auto-)biographical texts, 'Appeals to the Living', the deceased's will or legal texts, were also carved on the false doors.[24]

L) Marriage was the normal state for Egyptian men and women. The 'wisdom literature' urged men to marry and found a household while they were still young.[25] As has been stated elsewhere, fertility and the cyclical nature (thus continuation) of life was a central aspect of Egyptian life, religion and culture. Infertility was even legitimate grounds for divorce. Infertility might have been perceived as a weakness of the woman, but both men and women gave votive offerings in the hopes that the gods would grant them a child.[26] Polygamy outside the royal family was uncommon in ancient Egypt.[27] However there was no legal or social barrier against polygamy[28] when the first wife died, was divorced or was infertile.[29] Besides helping his father in work, the son –in particular the eldest son– played an important role in funeral beliefs; he built the tomb for his father, buried him, presented offerings to him and appointed priests for his father's *ka*.[30]

> [(1)] That what he did as his monument, namely a tomb for his father, the count, the overseer of priests, Iti-ibi. It is his eldest son, his beloved, his heir, the possessor of all his possessions, the count, the overseer of priests [(2)] of Wepwawet, lord of Asyut, and Anubis, lord of Ra-qereret, the judge of that which one alone judges in the [palace], the true [overseer] of priests of Wepwawet, Mesehti-iqer

Children revived the name of their father so that they caused his name to live *sʿnḫw rn.f*.[31]

Block 2: Hawara no. 255 (Fig. 5)

A loose limestone block measuring 42.5 cm long, 31 cm wide and 14 cm thick. It has two registers, the lowest one shows two male offering bearers, one holding in each hand a goose by the wings, the other holding a conical loaf in his right hand and carrying a tray piled with offerings with his left hand. The upper register shows two women, the one on the right seated before a collection of offerings; above her a text reads *nbt pr ỉpw-m33* and above the second woman […] *m3ʿt ḫrw*. She wears a long wig, through which the outline of her shoulder and arms can be seen.

The personal names

1- ipw is used as male name during the Old Kingdom and a female name from the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom.[32]

General comments

The long straight wig worn by the lady occurs during the Middle Kingdom.[33]

Conclusion

The two blocks raise the question of what happened to Sobekhotep and his family. According to the information given in Block 2 Sobekhotep had more than one wife (probably more than two, as the block is broken, if we assume that the women depicted are the wives of Sobekhotep), one of them definitely died during his lifetime – as she is called 'justified'– and the other, whose name is *ỉpw-m33(?)*, may or may not have died before him (the text at this point is broken). In Block 1 the daughters' names end with an ideogram, the form of which could mean that his daughters also died during his lifetime or were stillborn. Perhaps by including them on his monument Sobekhotep hoped to have all his daughters and sons with him in the other life. At any rate, the two blocks

[22] Feucht in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. I, 262.
[23] Fischer, *Varia*, 76.
[24] Takenoshita, *When the Living met the Dead*, 8.
[25] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. I, 42.
[26] Basson, *The Goddess Hathor and the Women*, 35.
[27] Wilfong, in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. II, 342.
[28] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 31.
[29] Wilfong, in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. II, 343.
[30] *Op. cit.*, 262.
[31] Feucht, in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. I, 263.
[32] Ranke, *PN* I, 23, 16.
[33] Green, in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. II, 74.

provide rarely attested examples of two aspects of ancient Egyptian social life.

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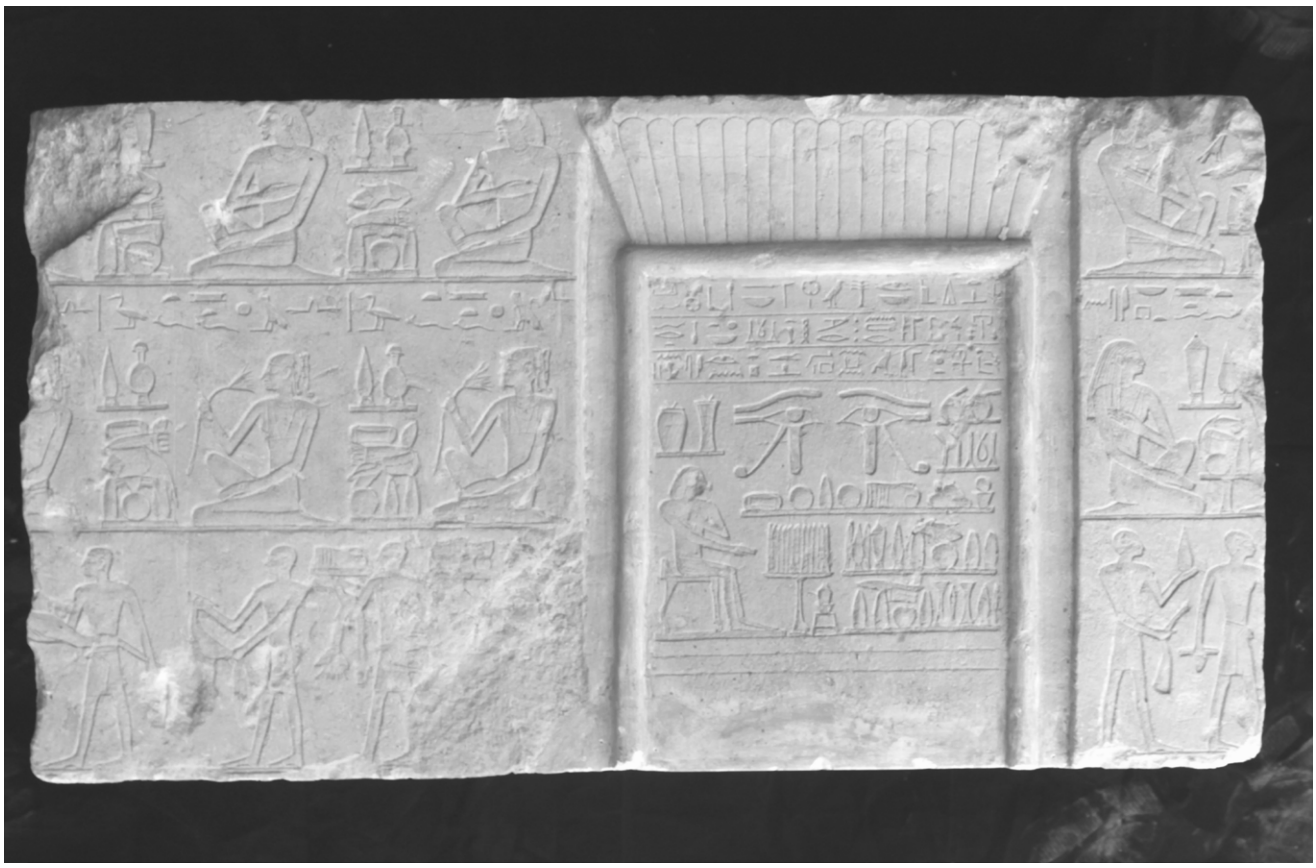

Fig. 1 – Kom Ausheim Museum no. 163

Fig. 2 – Kom Ausheim Museum no. 163 (detail, right side)

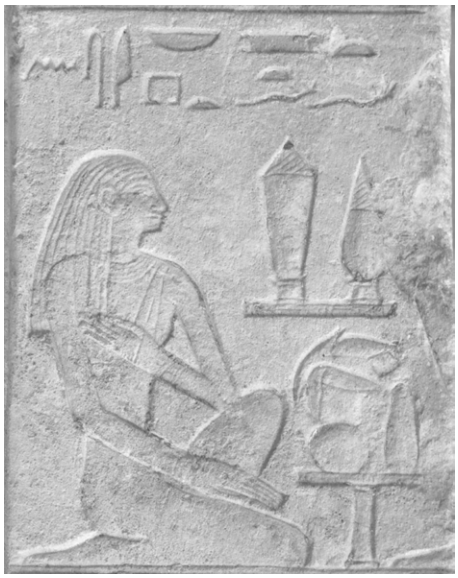

Fig. 3 – Kom Ausheim Museum no. 163 (detail, right side)

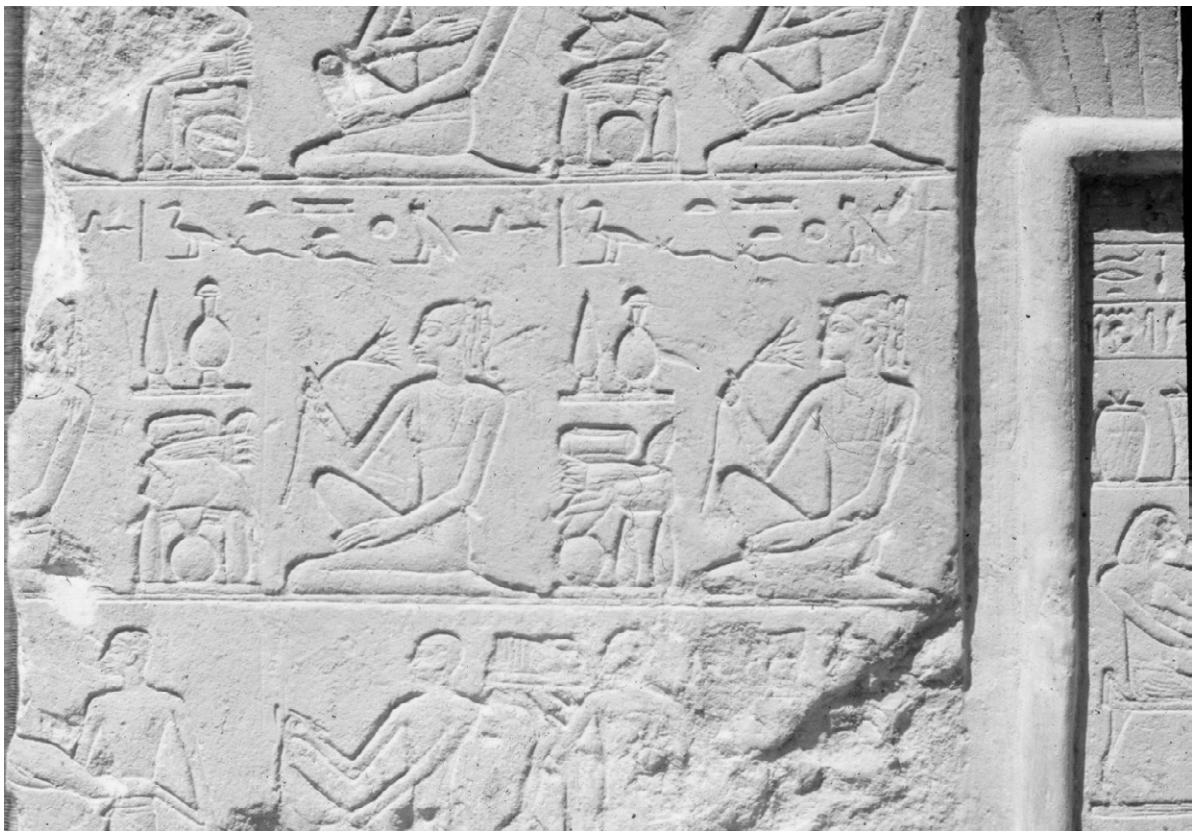

Fig. 4 – Kom Ausheim Museum no. 163 (detail, the left side)

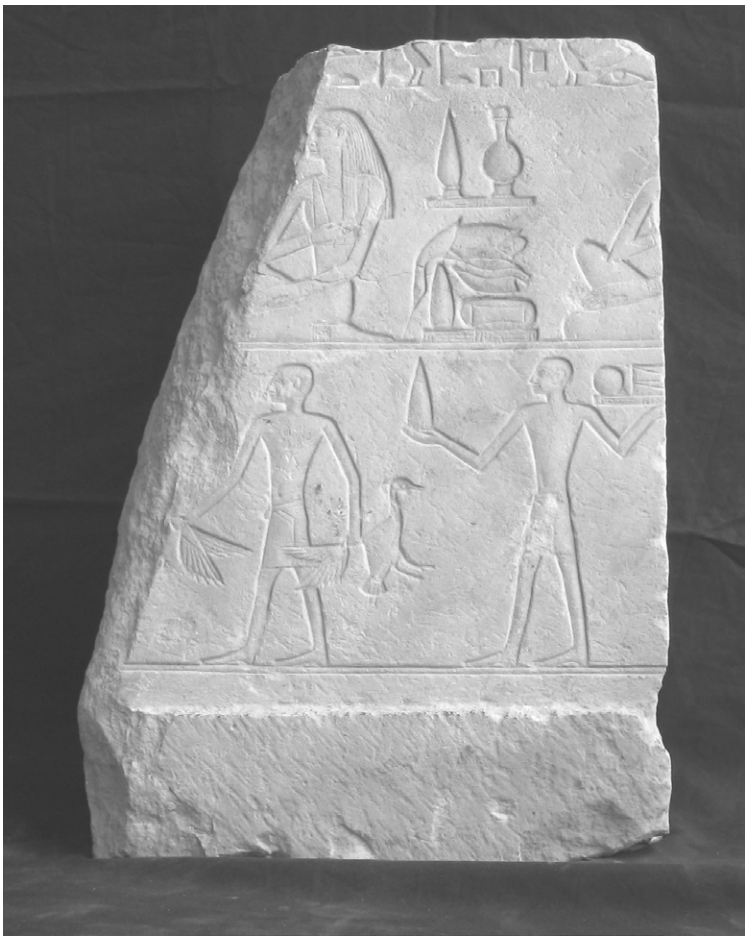

Fig. 5 – Relief fragment, Hawara no. 255

Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC) II,* MKS 2, London 2016, 243-248

An Unpublished Scarab of Queen Tjan (Thirteenth Dynasty) from the Louvre Museum (AF 6755)

Julien Siesse

Abstract
A previously unknown Thirteenth Dynasty queen scarab was identified in the Egyptian collection of the Louvre Museum (AF 6755). The queen is the only known wife of mid-Thirteenth Dynasty king Sobekhotep Khaneferra.

The first known royal scarabs of the Middle Kingdom do not appear before the reign of Senwosret III, even though some examples can name earlier kings. Their production reaches its maximum in the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, around a sequence of seven kings, the so-called 'Sobekhotep Group' (Sekhemra-Swadjtawy Sobekhotep, Khasekhemra Neferhotep I, Khaneferra Sobekhotep, Khahotepra Sobekhotep, Wahibra Ibiaw, Merneferra Aya and a king Sobekhotep, born of the royal mother Nubhotepti).[1] The majority of scarabs that name members of the royal family are contemporary with this production peak, as indicated by their related typology.[2] Among them, scarabs of queens are the most numerous, with about fifty recorded examples for less than a dozen of 'king's wife' or 'king's mothers'[3] (Table 1). Yet, it is almost never possible to associate one of those queens with a specific reign, since most of them are only documented by their scarabs and are not mentioned in any other source of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Up to this point, queen Senebhenas, known by four scarabs[4] (Table 1), was the sole exception. Indeed, she can be identified with one of the two royal spouses of Sekhemra-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep, who appears on a rock inscription from Wadi el-Hol (30. M 342).[5]

It is now possible to assign a new scarab, currently kept in the collections of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the Louvre,[6] to another well-known queen of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty (Fig. 1). It is registered under the provisional number AF 6755 and its exact provenience is undetermined, as is often the case for this kind of object. The scarab is made of glazed steatite and its state of preservation is fairly good. Its current grey-beige colour and the presence of brownish spots, notably

[1] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs*, 37-9.
[2] Siesse, *La XIIIe dynastie*, 64-6.
[3] *Cf.* Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 38-9; to be added: a scarab of queen Aya (Martin, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millenium BC*, 106); two scarabs of queen Ini (Ben-Tor, *Scarabs*, 39, pl. 22, nos. 10-11); a sealing from South-Abydos certainly made with a scarab of queen Nymaaten[...]ra ? (Smith, *Modeling the Mechanics of Temple Production*, 369-70, fig. 177); a scarab of queen Nubhotepti (Hornung, Staehelin, *Skarabäen,* 215, pl. 11, no. 128); a scarab of queen Nehyt from Tell el-Dab'a (Mlinar, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millenium BC*, 110, fig. 2, no. 3); a scarab of queen Khonsu (Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, pl. 18); and two scarabs of queen Satsobek (Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, 21, no. 201; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 344); the name of the queen recorded on UC 11595 should actually be read Ini and not Sathathor (Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, pl. 19, no. 14.A); a scarab from the former Tigrane Pacha collection, previously thought to mention an otherwise unknown queen Iahotepti (Newberry, *PSBA* 36, 39 (o), pl. 4, no. 12), should rather be assigned to queen Nubhotepti.
[4] Their assignment to two different homonymous queens, based on their different decoration and the more or less developed form of the titles mentioned, does not seem substantiated. The same can be said about the scarabs naming a queen Nubhotepti: *cf.* Siesse, *La XIIIe dynastie*, 64-6.
[5] Macadam, *JEA* 37, 20-8, pl. 6.
[6] I wish to thank Vincent Rondot, director of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the Louvre Museum, for authorising me to publish this previously unknown scarab. I identified it during an inventory proofing session with Catherine Bridonneau, whom I would also like to thank.

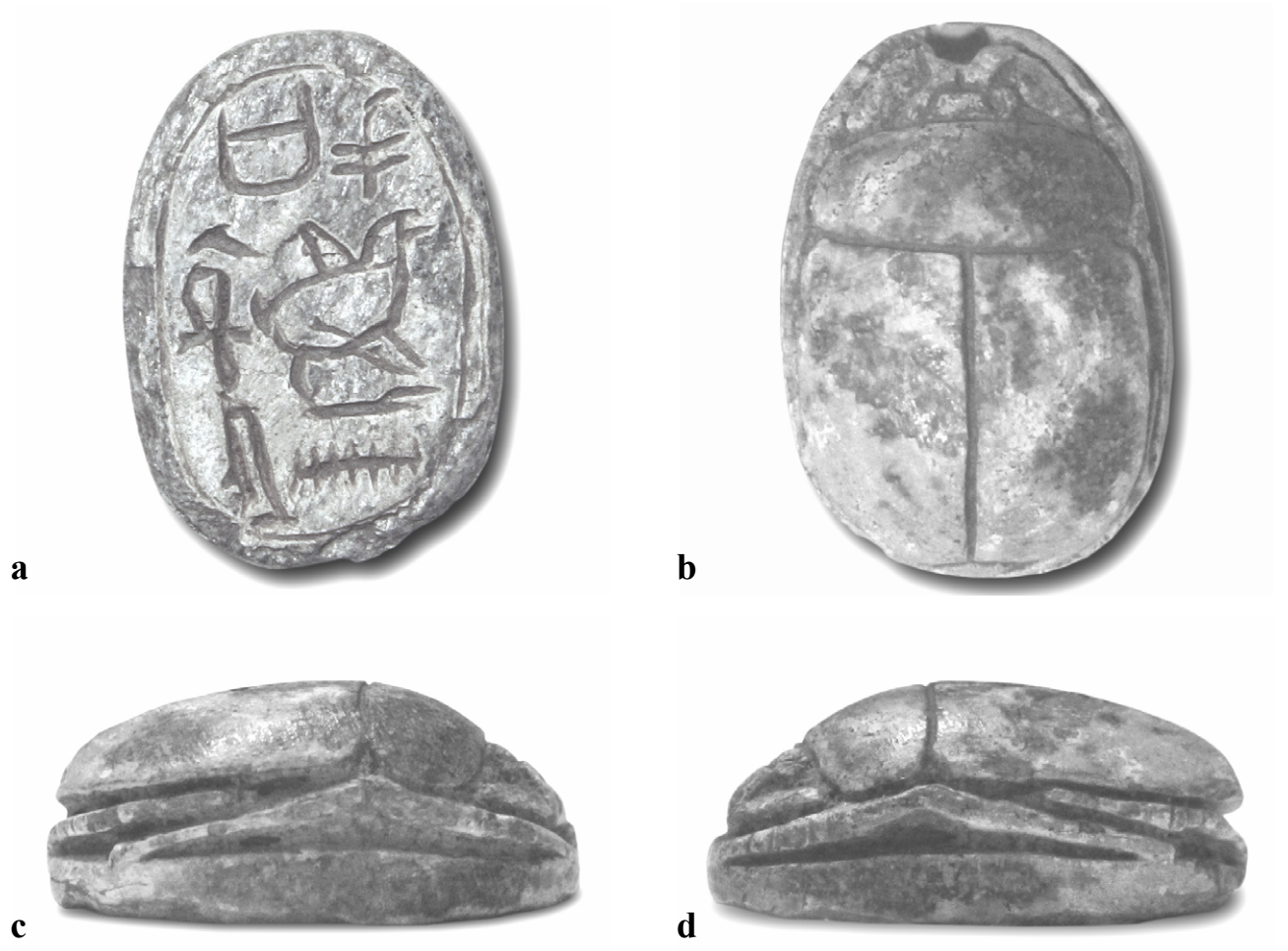

Fig. 1 – Scarab Paris Louvre AF 6755 © Julien Siesse. (a): Base; (b): Back; (c): Right profile; (d): Left profile

on its elytra, result from the loss of part of its glazing and colouring. Its length (2.3 cm) and width (1.64 cm) are well within the norm for a Thirteenth Dynasty scarab. However, its thickness (1.95 cm) is higher than usual.[7] It is pierced in its length.

The base is merely decorated with a single contour line (Martin's base type 3a).[8] That simplistic kind of base design is by far the most frequent among queen scarabs (Table 1), quite ahead of the triple scroll design typical of the Late Middle Kingdom (Martin's base type 1ad).[9] The back type of the scarab, characterised by its stylised and standardised aspect, with a square head and marked elytra, is enough to ascribe it to the Thirteenth Dynasty. Indeed, it displays all the features of Martin's back type 6,[10] which affiliates it with the majority of recorded royal and private name scarabs.[11] As for its abnormally thick profile type (Martin's profile type 2c),[12] even though it is less frequent during the Thirteenth Dynasty, it is still fairly commonly attested among contemporaneous private name scarabs,[13] especially on two examples of a well-known mid-Thirteenth Dynasty official,[14] the 'treasurer' (*jmy-r ḫtmt*) Senebsumai.[15] Typologically, this scarab is thus similar in every respect to mid-Thirteenth Dynasty royal examples, those belonging to the so-called 'Sobekhotep group', and to the queen scarabs of the same time.[16] Therefore, the

[7] The average length of Thirteenth Dynasty scarabs is located between 2 and 3 cm and their width around 1.5 cm. Meanwhile, their thickness is closer to 1 than 2 cm.
[8] Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pl. 49.
[9] *Op. cit.*, pl. 48.
[10] Probably back type 6c: *op. cit.*, 5, pl. 53.
[11] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs*, 39-40; Siesse, *La XIIIe dynastie*, 57-69.
[12] Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pl. 54.
[13] 141 of the 923 recorded scarabs displaying a back type 6 (about 15%) show a profile type 2.
[14] Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 119 (nos. 1541-1541a).
[15] Franke, *Personendaten*, 392-3, Doss. nos. 667-68; Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, 12-25; Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 57-9 (II.22).
[16] *Cf.* Ben-Tor, *Scarabs*, 39, pl. 22, nos. 5-15; I was able to check the typology of all the queen scarabs of known current location. They all share the same main typological features.

Fig. 2 –Line drawing of scarab Louvre AF 6755
© Julien Siesse

sole typology of the scarab Louvre AF 6755 is enough to ascribe it to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty.

The inscription confirms this date since the person mentioned is a well-documented queen of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, the king's wife Tjan, who is none other than the spouse of the best-attested king of this dynasty, Khaneferra Sobekhotep (Fig. 2). This is the only preserved scarab of this queen, which is in stark contrast to the seventy preserved scarabs of her royal husband.[17] The reading of its inscription is relatively easy, despite the apparent anarchical arrangement and the very crude carving of the hieroglyphic signs that are not unusual for this kind of objects. Consequently, the inversion of the signs in the funerary formula *wḥm ʿnḫ* ('repeating life') should not come as a surprise. It is encountered on several scarabs of close date,[18] and particularly on an example naming the 'singer' (*ḥsw*) Tjeni-aa,[19] which lived under the reigns of Khasekhemra Neferhotep I and Khaneferra Sobekhotep (Chicago OIM 18580).[20]

ḥmt nswt[a] *Tỉn*[b] *wḥm ʿnḫ*,[c]

the king's wife Tjan, repeating life

a *ḥmt nswt* is the only title mentioned in queen Tjan's documentation. The title of 'great king's wife' (*ḥmt nswt wrt*)[21] seems to appear shortly after the reign of her husband (Table 2). Indeed, the first precisely datable queen who bears this title is Nubkhas, the 'great king's wife' of a close successor of Khaneferra Sobekhotep. Both evidence of this queen, a contemporary stela from Abydos (Louvre C 13)[22] and a posthumous inscription (Sixteenth Dynasty) from the tomb of Renseneb at Elkab (no. 9),[23] which mention profusely her genealogy, shows that she belonged to one of the most influential family of high officials of the second half of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Her father, Dedusobek-Bebi,[24] was 'chief scribe of the vizier' (*sš wr n ṯꜣty*) in the time of Khaneferra Sobekhotep, while her uncle, Nebankh,[25] held the office of 'great estate overseer' (*jmy-r pr wr*) under the same reign.

b The anthroponym *Tỉn* (Tjan)[26] is very rare in the Middle Kingdom and only two known namesakes lived in the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty: in addition to the queen, this was also the name of a woman mentioned on the lower register of one of the two stelae from Qurna (CG 20429)[27] belonging to the 'herald' (*wḥmw*) Ibiaw-Intef.[28] The only recorded example of a more developed form of this name, *Tỉn-nwb* (Tjan-nub),[29] appears on the same register of this stela.

c The funerary formula *wḥm ʿnḫ* ('repeating life') is found for the first time in the last decade of the reign of Amenemhat III on private stelae from the Sinai,[30] then under Amenemhat IV both in the Sinai[31] and the Nile valley,[32] before becoming common during the Thirteenth Dynasty. While this formula appears frequently on private name scarabs (around a hundred

[17] *Cf.* Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 348-52 (13/29, nos. 3, 8-9, 11, 35); add two scarabs of unknown provenience, Jerusalem IM 76.31.2202 and 76.31.3988 (Ben-Tor, *Scarabs*, pl. 22, nos. 2, 4); and a third one found in tomb QDK I/48 of the Qila el-Dabba necropolis (Dakhla oasis), IF 4693 = N 1974 (Aufrère, Ballet, *BIFAO* 90, 10, n. 43).

[18] Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pls. 1 (25), 2 (2, 7), 10 (3), 36 (17), 38 (13).

[19] Franke, *Personendaten*, 427, Doss. no. 738; he usually bears the fuller title 'singer with the harp' (*ḥsw m bnt*).

[20] Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 133 (no. 1740), pl. 36 (17).

[21] Perdu, *RdE* 29, 85, n. 116; Grajetzki, *Ancient Egyptian Queens*, 38, 102; scarab BM EA 40855, which associates the name Aashayt, one of the wives of Mentuhotep II, with the title 'great king's wife' is certainly posthumous; as for the 'great king's wife' Meretseger, she only appears as a spouse of Senwosret III in New Kingdom documents.

[22] Spalinger, *RdE* 32, 95-103, pl. 8.

[23] Davies, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 223-30.

[24] Franke, *Personendaten*, 411, Doss. no. 765.

[25] *Op. cit.*, 201, Doss. no. 294; Grajetzki, *Die Höchsten Beamten*, 93-4 (III.25).

[26] Ranke, *PN* I, 389, 8.

[27] PM I^2, 800; Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. II, 25-6.

[28] Franke, *Personendaten*, 75, Doss. no. 64.

[29] Ranke, *PN* I, 386, 29.

[30] IS 51 from Year 38, IS 53 from Year 44 and IS 142 probably from Year 42: Gardiner, Peet, *The Inscriptions of the Sinai*, 78-80, 141-2, pls. 17-8, 53; Tallet, *La zone minière pharaonique du Sud-Sinaï*, 133-4, 136-8.

[31] IS 122 from Year 9: Gardiner, Peet, *The Inscriptions of the Sinai*, 125-7, pl. 45.

[32] Cosmetic box MMA 26.7.1438-9 from an el-Asasif tomb: Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations*, pls. 48-9; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. I, 245-6, fig. 157.

examples recorded), it is very rare on royal ones. In fact, only two examples are known to us: one names the 'king's son' (*sꜣ nswt*) Intef (MMA 26.7.118)[33] and is datable to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, whereas the other mentions the 'king's son' Seket from the Fifteenth Dynasty (BM EA 66161).[34] It is worth noting that in the case of Intef, it is possible that we are dealing with a 'titular king's son' and not a true son of a king.[35] The feminine alternative *wḥmt ꜥnḫ* is even more rare on scarabs: we know of only six examples, including two typologically similar to queen Tjan's.[36] The mention of the funerary formula *whm ꜥnḫ* on a scarab from the royal family is thus very exceptional. Eulogy formulae like *dj ꜥnḫ*[37] or *ꜥnḫ(.w)*/*ꜥnḫ.tj*[38] are preferred on this type of object.

The 'king's wife' Tjan is also known by two steatite beads (Cambridge E.GA.1358.1947[39] and BM EA 59603)[40] dedicated to "Hathor, mistress of Atfih" (*Ḥwt-hr nbt Tp-jḥw*) and above all by two fragmentary objects of her children. The first one is a wooden palette from Abydos (JE 34407) inscribed with the following text: "[... the 'king's son'] A[men]hotep, engendered by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khaneferra,

Queens	Location	Titles	Base Type	Number
Jy	Unknown	*ḥmt nswt ?*	?	1 scarab
Jnj	Basel 127; Berlin ÄM 314/73, 315/73, 316/73, 18486; Boston MFA 1979.600; Cairo JE 74971-74972; Jerusalem IM 76.31.3088, 76.31.4034; London BM EA 32311, EA 65573; London PM UC 11581-11583, UC 11586, UC 11595; Paris Louvre E 3454; Moscow 2171; New York MMA 22.1.332 from Lisht-North, 22.1.418 from Lisht-North, 26.7.83; former Blanchard collection; former Thilenius collection	*ḥmt nswt wrt ḫnmt-nfr-ḥḏt*	3a	24 scarabs
	Boston MFA, inv. no. unknown from Kerma			1 sealing
ꜥnḫ-m-ꜥ-r-j (?)	Berlin ÄM 317/73	*ḥmt nswt wrt ḫnmt-nfr-ḥḏt*	3a	1 scarab
Wꜣḏt	London PM UC 11516	*ḥmt nswt*	1ad	1 scarab
Ny-mꜣꜥt-n-[...]*rꜥ* (?)	South-Abydos 33782.4	*ḥmt nswt wrt ḫnmt-nfr-ḥḏt*	3a	1 sealing
Nwb-ḥtp.tj	London BM EA 40699; private collection; former Tigrane Pacha collection (x2)	*ḥmt nswt mwt nswt*	1ad	12 scarabs
	London BM EA 66155; New York MMA 26.7.70		3a	
	London BM EA 65964; London PM UC 11517; New York MMA 30.8.642; former Murch collection	*ḥmt nswt wrt ḫnmt-nfrt-ḥḏt*		
	Basel 128	*ḥmt nswt*		
	Former Tigrane Pacha collection	*ḥmt nswt wrt*	4 a/f	
Nḥyt	Berlin ÄM 319/73; Tell el-Dab'a Inv. Nr. 8622	*ḥmt nswt wrt ḫnmt-nfr-ḥḏt*	3a	2 scarabs
Rsw-nfr	London BM EA 32291	*ḥmt nswt wrt ḫnmt-nfr-ḥḏt*	3a	1 scarab
Ḫnsw	Unknown	*ḥmt nswt wrt ḫnmt-nfr-ḥḏt*	1s	1 scarab
Sꜣt-sbk	Jerusalem, inv. no. unknown	*ḥmt nswt wrt ḫnmt-nfr-ḥḏt*	3a	3 scarabs
	London BM EA 32265; New York MMA 30.8.643	*ḥmt nswt*		
Snb-ḥnᶜ=s	Berlin ÄM 9518, ÄM 10977; Cairo, inv. no. unknown	*ḥmt nswt*	1ad	4 scarabs
	London BM EA 40700	*ḥmt nswt ḫnmt-nfr-ḥḏt*	3a	
Ṯꜣn	Paris Louvre AF 6755	*ḥmt nswt*	3a	1 scarab

Table 1 – Scarabs of Thirteenth Dynasty queens (in grey: scarabs of which the typology could be checked by the author)

[33] Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 24 (no. 238), pl. 11 (18).
[34] *Op. cit.*, 127 (no. 1657), pl. 30 (2).
[35] On titular king's sons, see: Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel Sa-njswt*, 228-34,255-7; Miniaci, in Pernigotti, Zecchi (ed.), *Il tempio e il suo personale nell'Egitto antico*, 99-131; if he is a true king's son, he could be identical to the future king Intef IV Sehotepkara.
[36] Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 12 (no. 68), 52 (no. 619), 58 (no. 697), 61 (no. 734), 106 (nos. 1362-3), 124 (no. 1609).
[37] For example on a scarab from the former Tigrane Pacha collection naming queen Nubhotepti: Newberry, *PSBA* 36, 39 (o), pl. 4, no. 12.
[38] See for example the scarabs of queens Wadjet and Khonsu.
[39] Unpublished: http://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/61380, <accessed 10.14.2015>
[40] Andrews, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, vol. VI, 80, pl. 42 (570).

Queens	*ḥmt-nswt*	*ḫnmt nfr ḥḏt*	*ḥmt n-swt wrt*	*jryt-pʿt*	*wrt ḥst*	*wrt jmɜt*	*ḥnwt ḥmwt nbwt*	*ḥnwt tɜw tmw*	*mwt n-swt*	cartouche	Date
Snt	x			x	x	x			x		Late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty?
Wnt	x			x	x	x					Thirteenth Dynasty
Nfrt	x										Early/Mid-Thirteenth Dynasty
ɜbt-n=j	x										Mid-Thirteenth Dynasty?
Wɜḏt	x										Mid-Thirteenth Dynasty
Snb-[...]	x										Khendjer?
Jy	x										Khendjer?
Nnj	x	?		x	x	x	?				Sobekhotep Sekhemra-Sewadjtawy
Snb-ḥnʿ=s	x	x		x	x	x		x			Sobekhotep Sekhemra-Sewadjtawy
Snb=s-n	x										Neferhotep I Khasekhemra
Ṯɜn	x										Sobekhotep Khaneferra
Nwb-ḥʿ=s	x	x	x			x	x				Sobekhotep Khahotepra or Ibiaw?
Nwb-ḥtp.tj	x	x	x						x	x	Mid/Late Thirteenth Dynasty
Kmj-nwb	x										Mid/Late Thirteenth Dynasty
Rsw-nfr		x	x								Mid/Late Thirteenth Dynasty
Sɜt-sbk	x	x	x								Mid/Late Thirteenth Dynasty
Ḥnwt=sn									x	x	Late Thirteenth Dynasty
Jnj		x	x							x	Aya?
Nḫyt		x	x							x	Late Thirteenth Dynasty
ʿnḫ-mʿ-rj (?)		x	x							x	Late Thirteenth Dynasty
Ny-mɜʿt-n-[...]*-rʿ* (?)		x	x							x	Late Thirteenth Dynasty
Ḫnsw		x	x								Late Thirteenth Dynasty
Sɜt-mwt			x								Mentuhotep V or VI?
Mnṯw-ḥtp		x	x							x	Djehuty

Table 2 – Thirteenth Dynasty and early Sixteenth Dynasty queens: titles, cartouche use and date

true of voice, and born to the 'king's wife' Tjan" ([*sɜ nswt*] *J*[*mn*]*-ḥtp jr.n nswt bjty Ḥʿ-nfr-rʿ mɜʿ-ḫrw ms.n ḥmt nswt Ṯɜn*).[41] The funerary epithet *mɜʿ-ḫrw* ('true of voice') seems to indicate that Tjan outlived her royal husband. The second document is an Egyptian faience vase of unknown provenience and current location. It names "[the 'king's daughter'] Nebetiunet, born of the 'king's wife' Tjan, possessor of veneration" ([*sɜt nswt*] *Nbt-Jwnt mst.n ḥmt nswt Ṯɜn nbt jmɜḫ*).[42] Even though the title of this daughter of Tjan is not preserved, there is little doubt that Khaneferra Sobekhotep was her father.

Although no other queen of Khaneferra Sobekhotep is mentioned by the available documentation, it is unclear whether Tjan is also the mother of the remaining royal offspring of that king. It is worth considering that queen Tjan does not appear in the family list from Year 8 or 9 from the Wadi Hammamat,[43] which lists three other 'king's sons' (Sobekhotep-Miw, Sobekhotep-Dja-dja and Haankhef-Iykherneferet). On a final note, it should be pointed out that the 'king's son' Haankhef-Iykherneferet mentioned by that list is known by three scarabs (JE 74973, BM EA 66083 and former Michaelidis collection).[44] They are all typologically related to the scarab of Tjan from the Louvre Museum.

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[41] Newberry, *PSBA* 25, 134-5, 358; Dewachter, *RdE* 28, 67, n. 12.

[42] Newberry, *PSBA* 27, 101-2.

[43] PM VII, 322; Habachi, in Simpson, Davies (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt*, 78, fig. 6.

[44] Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 78 (nos. 980-2), pls. 19 (17), 29 (31).

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Literary exploitation of a craftman's device: the sandal-maker biting leather (Teaching of Chety, pSallier VIII, 12). When philology, iconography and archaeology overlap

Pascal Vernus

Abstract

As often elsewhere, the Teaching of Chety recourses to the device of caricature for belittling the condition of the sandal-maker, describing him as somebody who lives on corpses and bites leather. This awful description relies on the observation of two particular aspects of the sandal-maker's job. One of them is the gesture of clenching a leather strap between his teeth so as to keep both hands free for handling tools and objects. This gesture is sometimes depicted in the iconography. Something more: it accounts for an abnormality in the dentition of a woman who could have been a shoe-maker, according to the materials found in her burial. The New Kingdom tradition of the satire of trades keeps on caricaturing the sandal-maker, but via pointing out other aspects of his job.

«Wit and humour can be an aesthetic quality of literature as entertainment»
(R.A. Parkinson)

The Teaching of Chety[1] is one of the works which brought to its alleged author,[2] or rather to the probably fictitious personality to which the work was linked, such a fame that he was celebrated as the best writer by the Egyptians of the pharaonic Period.[3] Widmaier has recently stressed the interesting fact that this work, which deals with the conditions of craftsmen, was one of the most copied texts among the New Kingdom craftsmen of Deir al-Medina![4] However, the teaching does not seem to have gained great esteem among Egyptologists, among the *amateurs* of Egyptology, and, more widely, among the cultured audience, despite the Egyptomaniacal tsunami which has submerged our modernity. This may be due partly to the very pitiful state of the available manuscript tradition which blurs our good understanding of the work. Even its date remains controversial since we cannot easily gauge to what extent the Ramesside transmission, which encompasses the majority of the sources, could have modified the original versions.[5] The work was received in what could be a 'canon' (weak meaning of the term)[6] of the cultural 'literary' texts at the beginning of

[1] The name should be read Chety. It is time to dismiss other readings, not always convincingly supported; see Vernus, *Sagesses de l'Égypte pharaonique*, 256, n. 5. My position is now supported by the new discovery of graffiti with excerpts from *The Teaching of* Chety in a tomb in Assiut, see Verhoeven, *SAK* 39, 196, and the following note.

[2] Basic edition Jaeger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*. Some new attestations should be added :

- O BM 65597, *cf.* Fischer-Elfert, *GM* 207, 90.
- An ostracon found in the Kings Valley: Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige*, 159.
- An ostracon from the temple of Merneptah: Müller, *GM* 222, 47-8.
- Two extracts were copied on the wall of the Assiut Tomb N13.1, at the end of the Second Intermediate Period or at the beginning of the New Kingdom, see Verhoeven, in Moers *et al*. (eds.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, 143. Among the translations: Quirke, *Egyptian Literature 1800 BC*, 121-6; Vernus, *Sagesses de l'Égypte pharaonique,* 238-64.

[3] His fame is firmly established by the well-known pChester Beatty IV, v° 3, 1-11 and v° 6, 9-7, 2 = Vernus, *Sagesses de l'Égypte pharaonique*, 350-2; see also Moers, in Peust (ed.), *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf*, 44-52; Widmaier, in Moers *et al.* (eds.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, 487-8. Mathieu, in Zivie-Coche, Guermeur (eds.), *"Parcourir l'éternité"*, 842 has argued for his presence in the Saqqara list of great men.

[4] Widmaier, in Moers *et al.* (eds.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, 483-557. Parkinson, in Moers *et al.* (eds.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, 131, opposes this predominant location of the tradition of *The Teaching of Chety*, to the predominant location in the Ramesseum of the tradition of *The Teaching of Ammenemes I.*

[5] The problem of its dating has been recently thoroughly dealt with by Stauder, *Linguistic Dating of Middle Egyptian Literary Texts*, 468-76; see also the insights of Widmaier, in Moers *et al.* (eds.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, 534-46.

[6] See Vernus, in Ryholt (ed.), *Problems of Canonicity*, §1.3.1. and 7. Note that Fischer-Elfert, *Die Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn*, 333-41, has argued for a 'tryptique' made of *The*

the Eighteenth Dynasty,[7] which does not mean that it had not been composed or compiled before. Now, there are here and there some passages that show some true literary quality[8] insofar as we succeed in entering into their core meaning. Let us take the passage devoted to the condition of the 'sandal-maker' (*ṯbww*).[9] Indeed, the word refers etymologically to a craftsman whose job is making sandals, even though it encompasses processes that extend beyond the mere making of sandals,[10] and is often associated with other objects involving leather[11] in the representations.[12] Conversely, sandals could be made from materials other than leather, but this does not mean necessarily that they were in charge of craftsmen different from the *ṯbww*.[13] Be that as it may, the description in the *Teaching of Chety* is as follows (pSallier VIII, 1-2, Section XVIII):

ṯbww bjn sw rsy ḫr dbḥ.t=f r nḥḥ
wḏ3=f wḏ3 m-ᶜ ḫ3.wt psḏ=f m msk3.w=f

The sandal-maker, he is very bad, busy with his necessaries[14] for eternity.[15]If he is prosperous, it is in the way one is prosperous thanks to the corpses (*lit*.: it is in a manner-of-being-prosperous thanks to the corpses that he is prosperous)![16]
It is his skins that he has to put-between-his-teeth

For a full understanding of the passage, the grammatical structure of the second part should be highlighted. It is made up of two sentences, the constructions of which are parallel: each is built on a second tense, promoting the adverbial adjunct as the carrier of the element that the 'énonciateur' wants to stress and to mark the most salient (technically: the 'rheme').

The first of these two sentences, *wḏ3=f wḏ3 m-ᶜ ḫ3.wt*, is based on a well-known turn of phrase, the 'etymological complement', that is to say using as an adverbial adjunct an adverbial phrase that involves a word built on the same root as the very verb on which this adverbial adjunct depends.[17] *wḏ3*, here a *sḏm=f* functioning as a second tense, transfers the rhematic load on the adverbial adjunct which is headed by *wḏ3*, a *nomen actionis* built on the same verb *wḏ3* –which it modifies– and governing the prepositional phrase *m ḫ3.wt*. The *Teaching of Chety* shows another similar turn of phrase in the passage describing the condition of the field labourer (pSallier VII, 1):

wḏ3=f wḏ3 m-ᶜ m3j.w

If he is prosperous, it is in the way one is prosperous thanks to the lions (*lit*.: it is in a manner-of-being-prosperous thanks to the lions that he is prosperous)

It should be noted that *wḏ3* could also be interpreted as a pseudo-participle functioning as adverbial adjunct.

Teaching of Chety, *The Teaching of a Man to His Son*, and *The Loyalist Teaching*.

[7] Parkinson, in Moers *et al.* (eds.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, 131.

[8] An excellent insight into the literacy of the *Teaching of Chety* is afforded by Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 272-7.

[9] Data pertaining to the sandal-maker are collected by Veldemeijer, *Tutankhamen's Footwear*, 200-3.

[10] Desserle, *EAO* 57, 28; see also Seyfried, in *LÄ* III, 379-82. The most recent study on sandals is the catalogue of Veldemeijer, *Footwear in Ancient Egypt*, in which excellent notices on sandals are displayed and also a good bibliography.

[11] For leather work in Pharaonic Egypt, see Eyre, in Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 193-5; Hasanien, *GM* 161, 75-85; Schwarz, *Altägyptisches Lederhandwerk*; Van Driel-Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, chapter 12, 299-319; Desserle, *EAO* 57, 25-36.

[12] They are listed in Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten*, 7-17. For the possible organisation of such workshops, see Veldemeijer, *Tutankhamen's Footwear*, 200.

[13] Veldemeijer, *Tutankhamen's Footwear*, 206, observes that fibre sandals seem to be represented near the activities of the *ṯbww*.

[14] *ḏbḥ.t*, a doublet for *dbḥw*, means basically something like 'necessaries'. The jug determinative in some of the versions –one of them is the Eighteenth Dynasty tablet– might reflect the more or less conscious knowledge that the sandal-making process needed liquid products; but not too much rigid conclusions should be drawn from such uses of determinatives.

[15] Another interpretation has been put forward, based on the suggestion that *nḥḥ* refers here to sesame oil, *r nḥḥ* being a corruption of *n*(*t*) *nḥḥ*, see Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Weisheitslehren*, 57. While keeping the interpretation of *nḥḥ* as "sesame oil", some have attempted to keep the preposition *r*, which is present in all the manuscripts. Hence translations such as "with his stocks of more than oil" (Quirke, *Egyptian Literature 1800 BC*, 124). Veldemeijer, *Tutankhamen's Footwear*, 202, tried to conciliate *nḥḥ* "sesame-oil" and *nḥḥ* "eternity" by translating "under his jars (of oil) forever". Indeed, the reference to the sesame-oil cannot be excluded since oil –not necessarily sesame oil– may be used in the skin processing. However, no manuscript supports the interpretation of *nḥḥ* as "sesame-oil", a word that appears in the New Kingdom. If it was original, this would be a good hint for a late date of the teaching, but this would involve that the tablet of the Eighteenth Dynasty –elsewhere rather reliable– which shows *nḥḥ* "eternity", would already carry a reinterpretation.

[16] Correcting *ḫ3.wt* "corpses" into *ḫ3.wt* "skins", as suggested by Seibert, *Die Charakteristik Untersuchungen zu einer altägyptischen Sprechsitte,* 181, is unnecessary, as rightly pointed out by Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, 314.

[17] Vernus, in Cervello Autuori, Quevedo Alvarez (eds.), *Estudios dedicados al Prof. Jesus Lopez*, 193-202.

The meaning would be very close:

wḏ3=f wḏ3.w m-ᶜ ḫ3.wt

If he is prosperous, it is being prosperous thanks to the corpses

wḏ3=f wḏ3.w m-ᶜ m3j.w

If he is prosperous, it is being prosperous thanks to the lions

The second sentence, *psḥ=f m msk3.w=f*, involves *psḥ*,[18] a *sḏm=f* functioning as a second tense. Its effect is to transfer the rhematic load on the adverbial adjunct which is constituted by the prepositional phrase *m msk3.w=f*.[19]

A good understanding of these grammatical constructions allows for a better understanding of the passage. In *wḏ3=f wḏ3 m ḫ3.wt*, as in *psḥ=f m msk3.w=f*, the rhematic load is carried by the adverbial adjunct, that means that these adverbial adjuncts are viewed as conveying the 'vedette'. In other words, what is stated is not that the sandal-maker is prosperous or has something to put between his teeth, but that it is only[20] thanks to corpses that he is prosperous, and that it is only skins –and not other food– that he can put between his teeth. Needless to say, there is an obvious exaggeration. This exaggeration pertains to the literary form of caricature,[21] which is common in the *Satire of the Trades,* since it affords a good device to fulfill the satirical main aim of the work, that is to say belittling in a humorous manner[22] the manual trades,[23] and, by contrast, enhancing the advantages of being a scribe, or at least, of mastering writing.

In this passage, the basic intention is to caricature the sad fate of the sandal-maker, doomed to live on corpses and skins. Now, there is something more elaborate from a literary point of view. The pitiful and awful depiction of the sandal-maker, exaggerated as it may be, is not entirely without any foundation. It relies on the exaggeration of two real aspects of his job:

• Since the basic material –not the unique one– on which the sandal-maker works is leather, it is not entirely false, ultimately, that his professional success and more generally his life depends on 'corpses'. On a second level, there is a play on his depending on dead beings 'for eternity', when one wishes to 'be living for eternity' after the death, according the common belief.

• A particular gesture in the usual working process of the sandal-maker is alluded to in what could be viewed at first glance a pure imaginary creation. For pointing out that he puts skins between his teeth does not lack any real relevance. The craftsman is compelled to clench the leather strap between his teeth to keep his two hands free to handle his tools and/or the sandal on which he is working. This gesture was received as somewhat characteristic, since it is clearly depicted in the iconographic tradition pertaining to the sandal-maker, as shown by two representations.[24] The first one belongs to the celebrated tomb of the vizier Rekhmire (TT100).[25] Among the craftsmen busy with working leather, one is clenching between his teeth the strap he has passed through a hole in the upper part of the sole of a sandal he is holding with his two hands. A related scene from a Late Period tomb[26] relief shows a slight variation in the same ges-

[18] Interpreting *psḥ.t=f* as a relative form is indeed possible, and the meaning acceptable "what he has-to-put-in-his-mouth turns out to be corpses". However, I prefer the *lectio difficilior psḥ=f*, attested by two versions, and which I do not consider to be a 'Flüchtigkeitsfehler', *pace* Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen*, 179.

[19] For the term *msk3*, see recently Miniaci, *EVO* 37, 32.

[20] Often –not always– the rhematic load can be rendered by a restrictive turn of phrase; see Vernus, *LingAeg* 1, 344-5.

[21] Needless to say, the issue of the caricature in pharaonic Egypt cannot be dealt with in a few lines. Let us state that it involves, on one level, the iconography, on a second level, the literature. It requires also to give a clear-cut definition of the very notion of caricature, which is not so easy to build up; see Brunner-Traut, in *LÄ* III, col. 337-9; Morenz, *Kleine Archäologie des ägyptischen Humors*, 167-79. For instance, the very inspired contribution of Gilroy, *GM* 191, 35-52, seems to rely on a rather loose conception of caricature, not distinguishing between what pertains only to 'markedness' from what could be 'caricature' in a strong and narrow meaning, a meaning that implies exaggeration, belittling intention, and a shared knowledge of the caricatured model. For markedness in Egyptian art, see Moers, *IA* 1, 20, n. 51. Caricature, in the strong and narrow meaning, should rather be used for cases in which the exaggeration –not merely the markedness– is overwhelming, let us say, for instance the extremely emaciated foreigners and herdsmen so well pointed out by Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22, 249-52; see also Vernus, in Kothay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 109-17.

[22] The humorous component of *The Teaching of Chety* cannot reasonably be denied; see Widmaier, in Moers *et al.* (eds.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, 543.

[23] Another device for belittling a manual profession is the parody. For instance, the depiction of a monkey acting as a measurer (ODM 2283) may be a manner of mocking a not too highly regarded profession; see Vernus, in Legros (ed.), *Jubilé de la Mission archéologique française de Saqqâra*, 313, n. 15.

[24] For other cases in which the physical characteristics of manual workers in the *Teaching of Chety* fit in with tomb representations, see Moers, *IA* 1, 22-3. For craftsmen in tomb representations, see Widmaier, in Moers *et al.* (eds.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, 521-34.

[25] PM I, 211; Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-re*, vol. II, pl. 53.

[26] Florence 2606, dated to the New Kingdom by Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker,* 164, but dated to the Late Period, particularly the Saite Period, by others; see Berend, *Principaux monuments du musée égyptien de Florence*, pl. 10; Sauneron, *Villes et légendes d'Égypte*, 48, fig. 5; Volokhine, *La Frontalité dans*

ture: the sandal-maker holds the sole with one hand only, while the other hand is pulling through a hole in the sole a strap, the tip of which he is clenching between his teeth.

Thus, we can observe the process of a literary caricature. The 'author' of the *Teaching of Chety* starts from two real aspects that are characteristic of the sandal-maker's job he intends to belittle, the use of leather, on the one hand, the gesture of clenching a strap of leather, on the other hand. The former is a basic characteristic, the latter is but a detail in the complex process. Different as they may be, they are selected and then distorted so as to pinpoint the awful depiction of the sandal-maker's condition:

• The sandal-maker's basic material, from which he tries to make his living, is leather, that is to say parts of dead animals. Hence, according to the exaggeration inherent to the caricature device, he is supposed to live on corpses.

• The sandal-maker clenches leather straps between his teeth for keeping his hands free. Hence, according to the exaggeration inherent to the caricature device, he is supposed to eat –distortion of putting in his mouth– skins.

Now, something more. Not only can we observe a match between representations of the particular gesture of the sandal-maker in the so-called 'scènes de la vie quotidienne' and the literary working out of this gesture in a widespread composition, but by a mere piece of luck, an archeological discovery might meet with the iconographic and philological data. For instance, in a secondary burial inside the pyramid of king Pepy I, the Mission Archéologique Française de Saqqara discovered in 1997 the skeleton of a woman. Under the mat on which she was laying, at the level of the head, a pair of leather shoes and a leather purse[27] had been left. Fr. Janot, who is both an archaeologist and a dentist, devoted a thorough study to the burial, including an osteological examination of the skeleton. With respect to the dentition, he pointed out an abnormality in the upper incisors:

> [...] on constate une perte de substance en forme de coin, de dimensions constantes pour les incisives centrales. Les deux encoches créées au niveau des incisives latérale sont plus importantes, surtout du côté droit [...] en outre on peut reconnaître au niveau des surfaces palatines de dents considérées une zone d'usure consécutive à des frottemenents importants. Seul un mouvement fonctionnel répétitif, de roto-translation et de circumduction, a pu entraîner ce type de marque[28]

Janot recognised the mark of "une vie dédiée à une activité spécialisée" in this abnormality. He stated that it was characteristic of "l'acte de mâcher en vue d'assouplir des morceaux ou des lanières en cuir",[29] and concluded that the buried woman could have been a shoemaker.

It is fair to stress the fact that the burial is to be dated to the Roman Period, probably the Third or Fourth Century AD. Nevertheless, how can we not relate the abnormality of the woman's teeth to the gesture of the sandal-maker in representations and its literary working out in the *Teaching of Chety,* as does Janot? Note that the dental examination shows that the practice of the job involved not only clenching the leather strap, but also, chewing it, according to Janot. On this point, the pharaonic data are not eloquent.

Let us enlarge the perspective. From an epistemic point of view, we observe in the case of the sandal-maker a felicitous overlapping of the three kinds of data on which –as I have argued elsewhere–[30] modern Egyptology builds its three methodological 'discourses':

-the philological discourse;
-the iconographic discourse;
-the archaeological discourse.

Interestingly enough, we can point out an evolution in the manner in which the sandal-maker was caricatured in the satire of trades literary tradition during the New Kingdom. Indeed, at that time, the satire of trades tended to be restricted to the soldier and to the peasant.[31] However, other trades –most of them manual ones, but including also the prophet and the *wab*-priest!– still remain the target of the scribes' stigmatising efforts, as shown by some texts belonging to the so-called 'miscellanies'.[32] The link with *The Teaching of Chety* is not only merely thematic but also intertextual. For obviously, the following passage from the New Kingdom treatment of the satire of trades topic:

> The scribe is sitting in the cabin while the children of the high officials are rowing him[33]

l'iconographie, 35, 146, fig. 39; Andreu-Lanoë (ed.), *L'art du contour*, 26-7, 120, n. 1; Desserle, *EAO* 57, 33, fig. 16; Hasanien, *GM* 161, 83, pl. 20.

[27] Janot, *BIFAO* 100, 347-55.

[28] *Art. cit*., 351.

[29] *Art. cit.*, 351. The same author has given studies on the subject in dentists professional journals: Janot, *Bulletin de l'Académie Nationale de Chirurgie Dentaire* 46, 35-42; Janot, *L'Information Dentaire* 32, 2471-80.

[30] Vernus, in Bickel *et al.* (eds.), *Ägyptologen und Ägyptologien*, 457-79.

[31] Spalinger, in Spalinger (ed.), *Five Views on Egypt*, 5-49.

[32] Guglielmi, in Bietak *et al.* (eds.), *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten*, 44-72; Vernus, *Sagesses de l'Égypte pharaonique*, 252-5.

[33] pChester Beatty V r° 6, 6 = Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, pl. 25.

is clearly a reminiscence of the first section of *The Teaching of Chety*:

> Beginning of the teaching made by a man worthy of-traveling-in-the-cabin (*lit.*: a man worthy of cabin), Duau' son Chety, for his son called Pepy. Lo, he was sailing south to the Residence to place him in the writing school among the children of the officials, the elite of the Residence

The intertextual filiation looms up, provided one might consider that traveling in the *ṯ3r.t* "cabin" of a boat is a mark of eminence.[34] Both passages share the same mention of "the children of the high officials".[35] Now, pLansing 4, 2,5-7,[36] one of the New Kingdom texts dealing with the satire of trades topic, affords the following description of the *ṯbww*, here either in a broader meaning than 'sandal-maker' (see above), or at least, focusing on another stage of his activities, the process of staining leather:

> *p3 ṯbww (ḥr) šbn bḥw p3y=f stj sṯn ḏr.t=f dšr.tj m 'p mj nty wrḥ m snf ḥr nw n-ḥ3=f r t3 ḏr.t mj s gm=f jw=f*
>
> The sandal-maker/leatherworker mixes (*or*: mixes himself with) stain (?).[37] His smell is insistent (*lit.*: distinctive). His hand turns out to be red with madder[38] as one who is coated with his blood, having (or: and has)[39] a glance behind him at the black kite, like a man when he becomes aware that his flesh is bared (*lit.*: when he recognises[40] his flesh)

There is an obvious shift in the thematic. While the *Teaching of Chety* deals with sandal making, the New Kingdom satire deals with skin processing in general, and more particularly with staining. However, red staining of sandals is attested,[41] so that the mention to the sandal-maker is not out of place, after all. Be that as it may, the same literary device remains implemented. A trade is described by reducing it to two of its aspects, carefully chosen so as to give the worst idea of the condition it involves for those who practices it, and presented as characteristic. The first aspect is a basic one: the bad smell that is unavoidably connected with skin processing. Here, there is no need to exaggerate the facts. Just stating them is sufficient. With regard to the second aspect, which is but circumstantial in the whole working process, an elaborate and rather sophisticated working out is implemented to serve the belittling aim. The colour application of a red dye of madder, which was a common practice, is distorted in a pejorative manner. The madder-coated hand of the shoemaker/leatherworker is compared with the blood covering the hand of a man who, then, finds out that his flesh is bared because he has been wounded. Hence, he fears being a temptation for the scavenger bird. This involves a slight exaggeration, but exaggeration looms up as soon as satire recourses to caricature (see above). The scavenger bird is here represented by the black kite (*Milvus migrans*), which, indeed, was considered as such in pharaonic Egypt, sometimes in parallel with the jackal.[42] A characteristic of the black kite is that it likes to be in close proximity with humans, unlike other scavenger birds such as the vulture. That accounts for its being pictured perched on one of the poles of a butcher's work place, staring at the butcher clearly with the hope of stealing from him some piece of the goose he is carving in a scene from a tomb chapel.[43] How could we deny that this representation and the mention of the black kite in the New Kingdom satire of trades imply the same cultural background?

By the way, the allusion to madder used in dyeing skins can be partly contextualised: C. Van Driel-Murray[44] quotes a Nineteenth Dynasty ostracon from Deir el-Medina which deals with application of red colour involving *'p* (madder) mixed with alum[45]. The use of madder as a dye has been reported for some objects in the tomb of Tutankhamun.[46] With regard to literary exploitation of the sandal-maker's craft, I would like to draw attention to another passage from the Late Egyptian miscellanies,

[34] Vernus, *Sagesses de l'Égypte pharaonique*, 255, n. 4, with a discussion of the different versions and reinterpretations.
[35] *Op. cit.*, 256, n. 6.
[36] Loret, in *Kêmi* 3, 28-32; Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 103-4; Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 384-9; Veldemeijer, *Tutankhamen's Footwear*, 202; Vernus, *Sagesses de l'Égypte pharaonique*, 253; in my translation, correct the slip "se mêle au **tain**" into "se mêle au **tanin**".
[37] Unknown word; Lesko, 160, translates "tan".
[38] Charpentier, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques*, 115.
[39] The implied subject of *ḥr nw* may be *p3 ṯbww* (through the anaphoric *=f*), or *s nty*, then *ḥr nw* being parallel to *wrḥ*.
[40] Here *gmj* seems to be used in its meaning "recognise, identify", see Vernus, in Polis, Winand (eds.), *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian,* 405. The meaning is clearly "when he finds out that his flesh is bared, the skin having been stripped".
[41] Van Driel-Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 313, fig. XII.11 (c), reproducing the sandal Ashmolean Museum E.1889.1068, Eighteenth Dynasty-early Nineteenth Dynasty.
[42] See Vernus, Yoyotte, *Le bestiaire des pharaons*, 396: "le milan noir est un charognard infatiguable sans cesse en quête de cadavres d'animaux". See also Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Ma'at fallstudien*, 153.
[43] Tomb of Ipuy (TT 217), see Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt*, 37, fig. 53.
[44] Van Driel-Murray, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 306.
[45] For alum associated with madder, see Wissa, in Mathieu *et. al.* (eds.), *L'apport de l'Égypte à l'histoire des techniques*, 286.
[46] Nigel Hepper, *Pharaohs's Flowers*, 35-6.

which addresses the common topic of belittling the soldier's condition. The way the chariot officer conducts his chariot is described as follow:[47]

se ḥnw r ṯjṯj ḥr=s jry=f se m ṯb.ty n ṯbw.w ṯ3j=f se

He starts on trotting on it (=the chariot). He makes himself the sandals of a sandal-maker. He runs it (*lit.*: seizes it)

The allusion to the sandals of a sandal-maker baffled the commentators. Caminos[48] confessed "The meaning of this sentence escapes me completely". Spalinger spoke of "one of the troublesome portions of the account"[49]. I wonder whether we could not understand the comparison with the sandals of a sandal-maker in the following way: to drive the chariot, the conductor is compelled to take in his hands and pass around him the reins of the horses team, like a sandal sole bound with the front strap and the side-straps.

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[47] pAnastasi III 6, 8-9; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 27; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 96; Fischer-Elfert, *GM* 63, 43-5.

[48] Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 98.

[49] Spalinger, *Five Views on Egypt*, 41, n. 138.

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Boundaries of Protection. Function and significance of the framing (lines) on Middle Kingdom *apotropaia*, in particular magic wands

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Abstract

*On tools of defensive magic (*apotropaia*) that developed in the course of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, the evil repelling entities almost without exception are situated within parallel framing lines or elliptic lines. The following contribution deals with the question of the meaning of those framings. Are these purely decorative, do they only have a meaning to determine the typology of the different* apotropaia *or do they have also magical significance? By comparing other* apotropaia*, magic knives in particular, this article attempts to answer the question whether these framing lines do have magical significance and if so, why. In order to answer this question ancient Egyptian representations about the creation, the structure of the cosmos and the principles of magic will be taken into consideration. Because magic knives as a tool primarily were used during life and the material was susceptible to adaptation, especially fracture, wear and repairs will be analysed. The research into the borders on magic tools will be done from three interrelated dimensions: cosmic, mythical and magical-mythical dimensions.*

iw ts ‘*h*’ (*.w*) *ir* (*i*)=*f dqr.w* (pRam. I, B, 1.19)[1]

1. Introduction

In the literature on ancient Egyptian magic relatively little or no attention is paid to the aspect of the framing lines on apotropaic devices. For this reason, precise descriptions of such lines around which the image strips of the magic tools are arranged, are generally missing. Petrie considers a symbolic or religious function possible, but still sees the framing lines mainly as decoration.[2] Daressy only mentions the frame dutifully in the context of the description of an object or text,[3] without considering them in conjunction with their possible magical function. Although they are sometimes referred to in some specialised publications,[4] most modern authors overlook or consider the frames and framing lines mainly as a typological tool[5] or as a decorative element. In his studies on magical wands Altenmüller neglects their magic significance entirely, while Hornung and Staehelin simply describe the oval ring on the scarab as an ornament.[6] They consider only the cartouche on the seal amulet to be a protective magic ring,[7] whereas Ben-Tor uses the different frames only for determining the classification of scarabs.[8] While Robins notes the reed mat pattern as the boundary of the individual segments of magic rod MMA 26.7.1275,[9] but she does not consider its possible magical significance.[10] Only Rummel has recently interpreted the elliptic framing lines of the magical wand as an integral part of the procession of figures. She also interprets the closing panther’s head[11] at the blunt end and the head of a fennec fox[12] at the pointed end as the cardinal points in the space enclosed by an elliptical line in which the protective deities and demons represent the course of the sun in the celestial space;[13] thereby essentially repeating the mythological representation of the daily renewal of creation with the rising of the sun. By comparing in particular magic knives, this article attempts to answer the question as to whether these framing lines do have

[1] “A statement lasts if it has a framework”.
[2] Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art*, 11.
[3] Daressy, *Textes et dessins magiques*.
[4] E.g. at the numerous scarabs found in Tell el- Dab‘a mentioned in Bietak, Hein, *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 142 (Nr. 104), 143 (Nr. 105), 144 (Nr. 108), 148 (Nr. 122), 168 (Nr. 159), in which the oval rings at the base are casually described as “Begrenzung, Umrandung(slinie), Umrahmung or Abtrennung”, without considering their possible magical implications.
[5] In this contribution no attention is paid to the typological aspects of the frames or framing lines.
[6] Hornung, Staehelin, *Skarabäen*, 166.
[7] *Op. cit.*, 42.
[8] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*.
[9] For a depiction of rod MMA 26.7.1275, see Wegner, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and innovation,* 474, fig. 13.1 (drawing), however with the incorrect arrangement of the figures mounted at the top. For the correct arrangment, see <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/544110>, accessed 13.06.2014.
[10] Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, 115, fig. 124.
[11] On the meaning of the panther’s head: Hornung, Staehelin, *Skarabäen*, 129-30.
[12] About the desert fox: *op. cit.*, 113-4.
[13] Rummel, *IA* 2, 139-40.

magical significance and if so, why. Ancient Egyptian representations of the creation, the structure of the cosmos and the principles of magic will be taken into consideration. Because magic knives primarily were used during life, the material was susceptible to adaptation, especially fracture, wear and repairs will be examined. The borders on magic tools will be analysed from three interrelated dimensions: cosmic, mythical, and magical-mythical dimensions, whereby mythology is transformed into practical applied magic.

2. Cosmos, its boundaries and magic

2.1 The cosmos and its limitations

On the macrocosmic level, after people had rebelled against their creator, the original paradisiacal state of gods, humans, animals and plants living harmoniously together, was separated into three distinct areas: the sky where the gods retreated, the earth where the people lived, and in an underworld where they ended up after death.[14] The division between these three areas, which was the key to the ancient Egyptian view of the origin of the universe,[15] is displayed in its most elaborate form on the sarcophagus lid of Wereshnefer, MMA 14.7.1 (Fig. 1). On the earthly level, in which the land of Egypt was the centre, this division between the divine and the human world continued in the form of clearly defined areas. For ancient Egyptians, the border was neither a stable element nor did it have the connotations by which we describe a 'border' today.[16] A 'border' could be interpreted as a definite zone within the sovereignity of a state that has been established.[17] A 'boundary' or 'limit' reflects a line that demarcates a divine or moral zone. However, in ancient Egypt such 'borderlines' were considered both as a certain geographical separation conceived by the gods and humans (*t3s*) and to indicate a fixed cosmic barrier (*dr*).[18] A clear example of this aspect of the boundary is expressed by an Egyptian temple which was surrounded by a *temenos*, to which only priests had access. By the foundation ritual, architecture, and decorative program on the walls, the temple was conceived as a *pars pro toto* of the creation (myth) separated from the profane world.[19] Since this is true for all sacred domains, the question arises whether *apotropaia* can be understood as similar microcosmic 'areas' with demarcated borders as well. In the following I will try to show that this is indeed the case.

2.2 Religious and historical backgrounds of Egyptian magic

Though heaven, earth and underworld were strictly separated, these cosmic zones remained on the lines of magic in constant communication with each other, as is stated in *The Myth of the Heavenly Cow*:[20]

> I am he who created heaven [...] in order to place there the *b3w* of the gods. I am with them until the end of time, that is born through the years. My *b3* is magic, she is older than this [= time], while the *b3* works through the whole world

According to the creation myth, magic, personified as the deity Heka (*ḥḳ3*) was the oldest son of the creator. It was also the divine manifestation (*b3*) or the magical energy of Re –the binding and also the driving power throughout the universe– which formed a necessary condition for the (continued) existence of the world and on which even the gods were dependent.[21] At the end of the Old Kingdom this world was, from the elite's point of view, in acute danger. The collapse of the Old Kingdom, the disunity of the country and the subsequent decreased royal power was considered by the ruling class of the Middle Kingdom as an era of disorder and decline.[22] While there exists evidence for harsh physical realities at the First Intermediate Period, the degree to which the daily life of the avarage Egyptian did not change significantly as a result of this political situation is not known.[23]

As a result of this state of disorder and decline felt by the elite a different consciousness gradually emerged towards the creator-god who had allowed all this evil to happen.[24] In the *Instruction to King Merikare* (*c*. 2050 BC), for example, emphasis was placed on a more personal relationship between the creator-sun god and mankind. The

[14] Summarised after Raven, *Phoenix* 57, 5 ff.
[15] About the ancient Egyptian concept of the world: Allen, in Silverman (ed.), *Searching for ancient Egypt*, 24-30 and Allen, in O'Connor, Quirke (eds.), *Mysterious Lands*, 23-30 and Flammini, *Journal of World-Systems Research* 14/1, 60-3.
[16] Flammini, *Journal of World-Systems Research* 14/1, 60-3, 65.
[17] Distinguishing between 'border' and 'boundary' as argued by Quirke, in Nibbi (ed.), *Proceedings of the Colloquium The Archaeology*, 264, appears to be rather unclear and occurs to me merely semantic. Therefore, I introduced my own distinction between 'border' and 'boundary'. Because of its place within the cosmic order the ancient Egyptian state itself is a divine and morally defined entity.
[18] Flammini, *Journal of World-System Research* 14/1, 66.
[19] Westendorf, in *LÄ* VI, 1211.
[20] *The Myth of the Heavenly Cow*, verses 275-7, translated after Hornung, *Mythos von der Himmelskuh*, 46-7.
[21] Schneider, in Bachmann, Gloy (eds.), *Analogiedenken*, 46, with references to different texts, including CT 261.
[22] Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom*, 1-2.
[23] Wegner, in Wendrich (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology*, 120.
[24] Altenmüller, in Hartenstein, Rösel (eds.), *JHWH und die Götter der Völker*, 24-5.

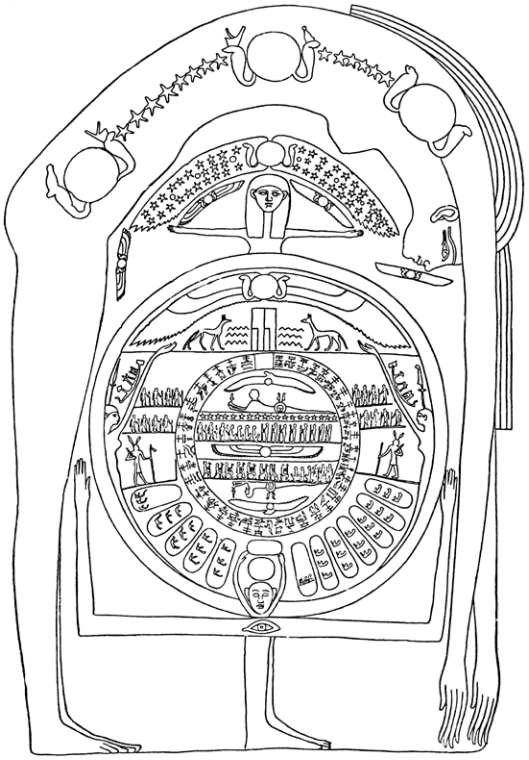


Fig. 1 – The division between heaven, earth and the netherworld with Egypt as centre of the universe, sarcophagus lid of Wereshnefer, MMA 14.7.1. Thirtieth Dynasty; 292 x 155 cm (after Allen, in O'Connor, Quirke (eds.), *Mysterious Lands,* 28, fig. 2.2)

impersonal sun god, increasingly identified with Osiris, became a god well-disposed to humanity not only in life but also after death, and who allowed non-royal individuals to be reborn after life. For that reason, it is expressly stated in the *Instruction to King Merikare* Merikare that:

> God knows the person who acted on his behalf,[25] since all the actions of the creator occurred for their sake: *n ib=sn*[26]
>
> Well cared for are this people, God's cattle. For their sake he created heaven and earth, [...] For their sake he comes (the sun god) to the sky.
> He created them for plants, animals, birds and fish to feed them.
> When they cry, He listens. He created rulers in the [...].
> Leaders to raise the back of the weak. He created for them the magic (*ḥkꜣ*) and weapons (*ꜥḥꜣ.w*).
> […] To ward (*ḥsf*) off the blow of events (*ḫprjt*).[27]
> Watching over them, by day and by night

[25] Quack, *Studien zur Lehre für Merikare*, 41.
[26] E130-137, translated after Quack, *Studien zur Lehre für Merikare*, 79 and Lichtheim, *Literature,* vol. I, 106.
[27] *ḫprjt* is sometimes translated as 'harm', thus forming the basis for apotropaic magic. However, from the iconography of the *apotropaia* from the Middle Kingdom arises a more ambivalent representation of magic reality. Although the figures on the *apotropaia* do have a primarily defensive character, in it elements of destructive magic can also be recognised, such as the destruction of human and animal enemies, see the discussion below.

The creator even revealed some of his magic to people. He also gave mankind the power of speech, with which he was able to recite magic spells or as stated in *The Myth of the Heavenly Cow*:

> A man must speak, so that he accomplishes his protection by the magic : "I am that pure sorcery, which is peculiar to the mouth and the body of Re" [...][28]

Then it was Thoth, 'Lord of Divine Words' who revealed the writing system, with which the words accompanying the magic could be recorded. Ptah or Khnum –in different versions of the creation story– gave people creative ability, that enabled them to create their own, two or three-dimensional, microcosmic reality.[29]

2.3 Magic – transferability of magic

From the *Instruction to King Merikare* we learn that the ability to use magic is primarily communicated to the pharaoh, since the king is first and foremost responsible for the conservation of Ma'at. In the fight against chaos, however, the pharaoh and the gods must rely on the help and loyalty of the people for which reason they have transferred part of their magic to them. The ability to transfer magic power proves ultimately to be based on a mutual agreement between gods and men (*do ut des*), with the king as mediator. As the son of Re had to protect the borders against the enemies of Egypt, who personified the forces of chaos and evil.[30] This transferability was necessary to achieve mythological equation, one of the most important magical principles when using *apotropaia* (see 4.2.1, below).

3. Magic 'border control' on *apotropaia*?

3.1 Introduction

Thus, at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, an environment was thus created where 'weapons to ward off the blow of events' could thrive and man, thanks to the creative power given to him by the gods, could assume all kinds of shapes. This did not mean, of course, that these *apotropaia* were at everyone's disposal.[31] Like the

[28] *The Myth of the Heavenly Cow*, verses 287-8 after Hornung, *Mythos von der Himmelskuh*, 47.
[29] Raven, *Phoenix* 57, 7.
[30] Helck, in *LÄ* II, 896.
[31] For a quite some time within Egyptology the prevailing view as regards the practices at this time saw a gradua 'democratization of the afterlife', a view which has proven to be obsolete, *cf*. Hays, in Strudwick, Strudwick (eds.), *Old Kingdom: New Perspectives*, 115-30 and Vink, *Ta-Mery* 5, 126-7.

Coffin Texts, they were reserved for the Egyptian elite, a restriction evident from the material[32] of which they were manufactured, as well as from the tomb contexts in which many of these *apotropaia* were found.[33]

The deities and demons depicted on these magical tools were always situated within a 'boundary', which may appear in different varieties. On a magic wand, that boundary would consist of an elliptic framing line,[34] (en-)closed at the ends by a panther-head and the head of a feline (Fig. 2). On a baby feeding cup in the form of a stylised turtle,[35] the figures within the frieze are bounded by two parallel lines and each end of the procession of figures fenced off by a turtle[36] (Fig. 3). In the same way an oval ring forms the usual framing device[37] of a scarab or seal amulet (Fig. 4). On a small ointment vessel[38] (Fig. 5), a frame of parallel lines is in addition delimited by vertical separation lines. The so-called magic rods (Fig. 6) are barred with a framed panther-head.[39] The four[40] sides of each face of the birth-brick from Wah-Sut (Abydos-South), also called 'meskhenet', form a limitation which results from (the nature of) the object itself (Fig. 7). This interpretation is supported by the so-called headrests[41] (Fig. 8), which seem, apart from other protective devices, largely to have taken over the role previously played by the magic wands as they gradually, *i.e.* from the Second Intermediate Period onwards, dissapeared from the apotropaic repertoire. Meskhenet represents both (the iconographic depiction of) the goddess of childbirth and the determinative O 39, which means 'tile'. The central scene on the top, showing Hathor and the young Horus, is also enclosed by four sides each representing certain aspects of the goddess.[42] The depiction of Hathor refers not

[32] Ivory was the principal material from magical wands were produced. There are reasons to assume that this particular material was distributed by or through the pharaoh (Krzyszkowska, Morkot, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 32), who not only owned the country, but subsequently its resources as well. This is also applicable to other materials from which magical knives were made, such as Egytian blue (Brooklyn Museum 16.580.145 and MMA 44.4.4 (Fig. 3); MMA 07.227.19, Fig. 17) and Egyptian faience (Brussels MRAH E 6654; BM EA 34214; Florence ME 7553 + MMA 26.7.974 + private collection Germany, all belonging to one and the same wand) and ebony (CG 9433, Fig. 11.1), all considered –at least during the Middle Kingdom– as very valuable materials. With regards to ivory: Caubet, in Aruz, Benzel, Evans (eds.), *Beyond Babylon*, 407. For wood in general: Gale, Gasson, Hepper, Killen, in Nicholson, Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 368, described as a 'scarce commodity', for ebony in particular, *ibid*., 338-40. For faience and related material: Bianchi, in Friedman (ed.), *Gifts of the Nile*, 22 ff. of which the production was also controlled by the state. Therefore, *apotropaia* were certainly not the "cheaper and more easily obtainable" replacements of the Coffin Texts as suggested in Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 15.

[33] At the end of the Twelfth Dynasty two types of burials had developed: the so-called 'court-type burials' of royal persons and court officials, in which the deceased was treated like the god Osiris, and burials of the non-Osirification type. In both there are *apotropaia*, including sometimes magic knives, given as tomb equipment: Miniaci, *RdE* 61, 114 ff.; Grajetzki, *Burial Customs*, 54-7.

[34] Comparison between different magic knives reveals that the frame appears in the following variants:
(a) The single elliptic line, e.g. Cairo E.2007.04.58 (Fig. 15); (b) The elliptic line where the outlines of the feline's and panther-heads are an integral part of the frame, e.g. Liverpool World Museum M 11001 (Fig. 2); (c) As described under (b), but with a complimentary delimitation, which is formed by a bud of a lotus which blooms from the feline's head, for example Budapest 2005.1-E (Fig. 18.1). Of these categories, there are all kinds of sub-variants with carved panther and feline heads. Sometimes between the elliptical line and the edge vertical notches in groups of three or four were made along the entire frame, *cf.* e.g. UC 15917 (Fig. 21) and Lyon MBA G 113/E 472 (Fig. 27). However, in many cases as a result of fracture and wear, the exact frame cannot always be determined as is clearly shown by the wands, Figs. 13, 19, 20, 22, and 24.

[35] For parallel forms of stylised turtles, *cf.* Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Representation of Turtles*, no. 33, pl. 6 and nos. 29, 99, pl. 7 and Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 116, no. 105.

[36] For examples of similar cups with a framing by single parallel lines: UC 16644 and fragment MMA 15.3.777.

[37] The oval ring is the standard frame, principally of all scarabs, but here too there are different variants, such as stylised snakes, mostly in the shape of paired scrolls usually situated within the oval ring, continuous scroll borders, rope borders instead of the single oval ring, *cf.* Ben-Tor, *Interconnections*, *passim*.

[38] Altenmüller, in Müller (ed.), *Ägyptische Kunstwerke*, 69.

[39] For the only complete example, *cf.* MMA 26.7.1275, also manufactured from glazed steatite and dating from the Twelfth Dynasty. For parallel segments: Beirut, National Museum, excav. Byblos, find nos. 15462-3 (inventory nos. unknown); Brussels MRAH E.9010a-b; Fitzwilliam E.426.1982 and E.2.1986, both published in Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 115, nos. 104a-b (Fig. 6, below); Hannover Museum August Kestner 1949.350; Lyon Musée des Beaux Arts G 102/ IE 1458 and MMA 10.130.1709.

[40] The magic number four, in ancient Egypt the number of totality and completeness, represented in itself a limitation of micro- and macrocosmic areas. Besides the four pillars of the sky, the architectural plan of pyramids and temples, the number four was directly related to groups of deities, shrines, altars and ritual objects. About the symbolic meaning of the number four: Wilkinson, *Symbol and magic,* 133-5 and Raven, *Egyptian Magic*, 134.

[41] Perraud, *BIFAO* 102, 309-26.

[42] Namely, Hathor (1) as a cat, hypostasis of the sun god; (2) as lioness representing the Eye of Ra, who defeats the enemies of the sun god; (3) as a cobra who represents beauty and

Fig. 2 – Liverpool World Museum M 11001, hippopotamus ivory. Provenance unknown, destroyed in May 1941. Frame with a plain elliptical line, *cf.* Fig. 18 for a wand with a complex frame. Late Middle Kingdom. L. 37.1 cm (drawing: Laura Brouwers, Maastricht)

only to her role as a mother goddess, but also emphasises her special significance in the afterlife, where she occupied the same status as Osiris.[43] Then the magic number four refers to the pillars of the sky and the wind zones, so that birth and rebirth in a sympathetic way is connected to the continued existence of the cosmos itself.[44] An amulet at the Herreya Raznah/Zagazig, Orabi Museum H. 820 (Fig. 9) has a double boundary, determined by its naos-shaped appearance (in which the pharaoh repels the forces of evil with the Harpoon of Horus),[45] and bounded also by a star-filled *pt*-sign. As on the seal amulets (Fig. 4, below), the king defends against the intruder in a cosmic area which is surrounded by a border. As guardian of the Ma'at this was pharaoh's main role which he as mediator between the gods and mankind had to perform.[46]

The question is however, whether there are indications for the aspect of border control which could be derived from the magical knives. Since there are no written sources which deal directly with a particular magic tool,[47] any statement concerning this question can be done only by a careful study of the entire object category. Therefore, we have to rely on the iconography, the inscriptions and certain aspects of the image medium: the material, wear, fracture and repair.

youth or in the shape of the goddess Renenutet, and finally (4) in her manifestation as milk-giving cow. For the iconographic interpretation of the figures on the faces of the birth-brick see Wegner, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 454-5.

[43] Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 143.

[44] Raven, *Egyptian Magic*, 134. About sympathetic relations and connections, see below paragraph 4.1.

[45] Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd*, vol. I, 99 ff.; vol. II, Dok. 133.a/.b. considers this scene as a summarised depiction of the royal harpooning ritual. However, there are indications that the scene, both on the scarabs (Fig. 4, below) and on the amulet, depicts the representation of the mythical conflict between Horus and Seth, because of (1) the presence of the *regalia*: the white and the red crown, the nemes headcloth and the uraei; (2) the chequered pattern on the body of the hippopotamus, that nearly always was connected with the colour red and its negative connotations and (3) the oversized extent of the hippopotamus towards the size of thing-hunter, which not only emphasises the extent of danger but first and foremost the power and strength of the pharaoh. About Seth as hippopotamus: te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 59. About the interpretation of the scene on the amulet in favour of the conflict between Horus and Seth, Brandl, *BEM* 2, 35. For the interpretation of the scarabs as pharaoh maintaining the Ma'at, Lacovara, *JMFA* 4, 21. About the colour red in connection with Seth, Wilkinson, *Symbol and magic*, 106; Brunner-Traut, in *LÄ* II, 124. However, an interpretation of the scarab in conjunction with its medium in favour of rebirth and regeneration would also be possible. If the depicted hunter is not a royal person (Fig. 4, below in the middle) then a harpooning ritual is out of the question, since only the king as 'Lord of the Rituals', is allowed to perform such ritual. For non-royal hunters on seal amulets, Ben-Tor, *Interconnections*, 35, pl. 20:10 and MMA 26.2.1 (with cartouche of Amenemhat III). Recently, Altenmüller related the royal harpooning to a ritual to subserve the inundation of the Nile, Altenmüller, *ET* 26, 44-55.

[46] Helck, in *LÄ* II, 896.

[47] The names of the amulets, mentioned in pBerlin 3027 are rather unclear. In many cases these are indicated in general terms.

Fig. 3 – Baby feeding cup MMA 44.4.4. Provenance: Lisht North, cemetery south-west of pyramid of Amenemhat I. Faience, Thirteenth Dynasty. L. 8 x w. 3.5 cm. (Photo: MMA; drawing after Patch, in Friedman (ed.), *Gifts of the Nile*, 207)

3.2 Iconographic,literary and epigraphic evidence

Many magic wands deal with a royal theme *par excellence*, namely 'the smiting of the enemy', in this case an aspect of 'border control'. Some examples include: Baltimore WAG 71.510: lion smites enemy; UC 15917: lion decapitates enemy (Fig. 21); Munich 2952: lions trample enemy; MMA 15.3.197 (Fig. 16): hippopotamus and lion god trample enemies and Louvre E. 3614 + MMA 26.7.1288: hippopotamus goddess tramples captured Asian. Because the Egyptians saw their country as the centre of the universe, that predominantly determined their views on borders and border control, foreigners were to be kept outside Egypt's borders. According to the official ideology of kingship,[48] boundaries were considered as territorial barriers, the protection of which was considered one of the principal duties[49] of the pharaoh as the guardian of the cosmic order. In the *Instruction to King Merikare*, defending the borders was already emphasised.[50]

Need for this was not just based on a virtual-ideological reality, but on the political situation as well. Especially during the reign of Senusret III the southern border of Egypt was constantly threatened by Nubian invaders. A stele of regnal year 8, found at Semna, Lower Nubia, specifically declares that this king established the boundary:[51]

> In order to prevent all *nehesyw*[52] passing it in travelling downstream by water or by land with a ship or with all cattle of the *nehesyw*; except when a nehesy will come in order that trading might be done in Iqen (Mirgissa) on or a commission. Any good thing may be done with them; but without allowing a boat of the *nehesyw* to pass in travelling downstream by Heh[53] forever[54]

From this time on, the maintenance of the new boundary was a legitimising act of kingship, as is confirmed by a stela from year 16 of the reign of Senusret III, also from Semna (Fig. 10):

> Year 16 [...]: the king made his southern boundary at Heh: "I have made my boundary further south than my fathers. I have added to what was bequeathed me. I am a king who speaks and acts. [...] Merciless to the foe who attacks him. [...] As for any son of mine who shall maintain this border which my majesty has made, he is my son, born to my majesty. The true son is he who champions his father, who guards the border of the begetter. But he who abandons it, who fails to fight for it, he is not my son" [...][55]

However, the second Semna stele is more than a simple border marker: it belongs to a small, but rather diverse group of Middle Kingdom laudatory and narrative inscriptions about royal deeds.[56] The stele was not only addressed to a contemporary audience, but also to the successors of Senusret III, for whom internal and external security were the main concern and duty. Thus the influx of foreigners is one of the major motifs that defines catastrophy and social disorder in the so-called 'pessimistic' literature of the period.[57] Moreover, fixed borders are not simply a means of political or military control, but both in a literary[58] and in a magical context an ideological and religous definition of the limits of social and cosmic order.

Also in the *Hymn to Senusret III*, the aspect of protecting borders from hostile intruders is highlighted. The

[48] However, the actual situation presented a much more nuanced picture, Schneider, in Wendrich (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology*, 146-8.
[49] Helck, in *LÄ* II, 896.
[50] Particularly in E 39, Quack, *Studien*, 26-7; E 81-108, Quack, *Studien*, 49-63.
[51] Flammini, *Journal of World-System Research* 14/1, 54. For a discussion about the two Semna stelae Berlin ÄMP 1157 and 14753, Eyre, in Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology*, vol. I, 134-65; see also, Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom*, 52-4.
[52] *nḥsjw:* people from Lower Nubia, Schneider, in Wendrich (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology*, 152.
[53] Possibly the ancient name for Semna: Lichtheim, *Literature*, vol. I, 120.
[54] After Flammini, *Journal of World-System Research* 14/1, 54.
[55] After Lichtheim, *Literature*, vol. I, 119-20.
[56] Eyre, in Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology*, 137.
[57] *Op. cit.*, 139-40.
[58] *Op. cit.*, 140.

Fig. 4 – Seal amulets, glazed steatite. Although they were used for sealing in the central administration from the Twelfth Dynasty onwards, scarabs are generally considered as amulets and/or as status symbols. The scarab, depicted in the top row, belonged to an Egyptian lady *iw.k-n(.i)*, whose name is previously unattested and bearing the title, designation or epitheton *b3kt nt ḥḳ3* ('servant of the ruler'). Its primarily amuletic function is not only shown by its medium, but also by the frames which consist of an oval ring at the base and two coiled snakes within the ring. The remains of mud, as shown on the photo, suggest a use for sealing purposes. This scarab like other examples with private names thus guarantees in the first place the constancy of an individual's existence and social status. Provenance: reportedly from Israel. The scarab shows the distinctive features of the so-called 'Sobekhotep group' scarabs, thus allowing a secure dating in the Thirteenth Dynasty (Photo: CNG, Inc, Lancaster, PA. Drawings: Carola Bronkhorst, Leiden). The scarabs in the register below show depictions of the royal hippopotamus hunt, most probably within the context of the mythological struggle between Horus and Seth. All scarabs unprovenanced. Date from the late Middle Kingdom to the Second Intermediate Period (Ben-Tor, *Interconnections*, pl. 20: 7-9 with kind permission)

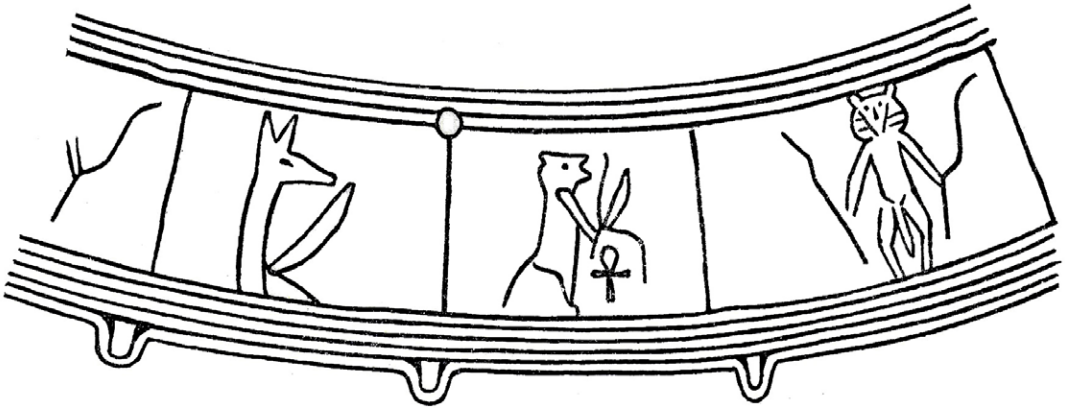


Fig. 5 – Procession of figures on the frieze of an ointment vessel, bone. Former collection Kofler-Truniger A 102, Luzern, present location unknown. Late Middle Kingdom. H. 3.8 cm (ointment vessel)
(after Altenmüller, in Müller (ed.), *Ägyptische Kunstwerke*, 69)

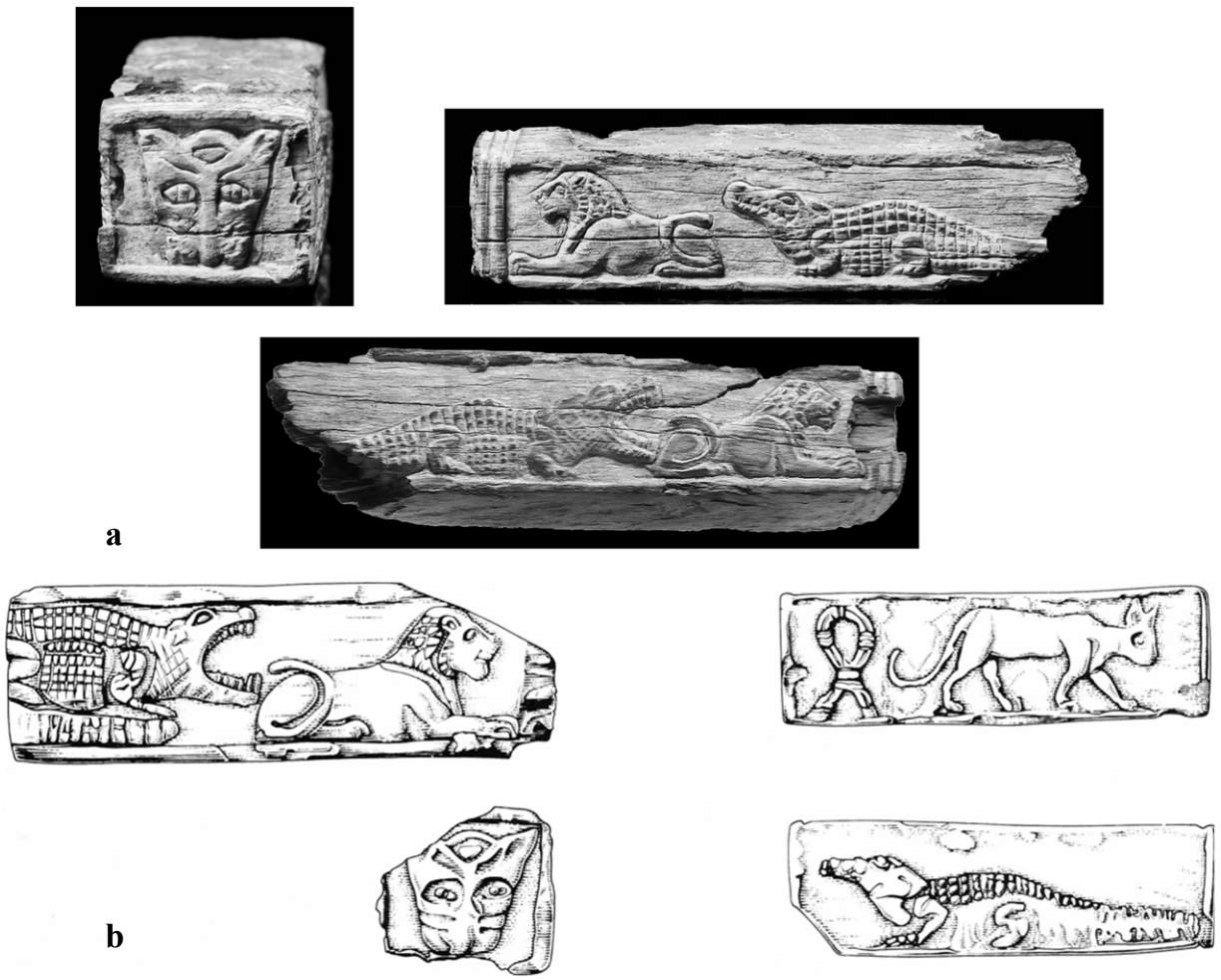


Fig. 6 – Segments of magics rods. Worn glazed steatite. a): former private collection Günter Grimm, Trier. L. 7.1 cm. b): Fitzwilliam Museum E.426.1982 (left), L. 5.8 cm and E.2.1986, L. 4.6 cm. Provenance a) and b): unknown. Late Middle Kingdom (Photos: Pierre Bergé, Paris and Henk Dijkstra, Rotterdam, all with kind permission. Drawings after Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 115)

third and the fourth hymn (III.10 and IV. 8) express the royal will concerning the defense of the borders:

> How great is the lord of his city, he is Sakhmet to foes who tread on his frontier! [...] He came and fought (on) his frontier [...] [59]

With the decline of the Middle Kingdom, the situation eventually resulted in the domination of Lower Egypt by the Hyksos during the Second Intermediate Period.[60] King Kamose briefly summarised the political situation at the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty:

> Let me understand what this strength of mine is for! (One) prince is in Avaris, another is in Kush, and (here) I sit associated with an Asiatic and a Nubian! Each man has his slice of this Egypt, dividing up the land with me! [61]

When boundaries were no longer taken into account, the country was in chaos, a cosmic catastrophy had taken place!

3.3 Points of reference in the inscriptions on magical wands

Subsequently the inscriptions on some of the magical wands might provide evidence in connection to the cosmic role that the pharaoh had to fulfill in the monitoring and protection of borders. First there is the inscription on wand CG 9433 (Fig. 11.1) bearing the cartouche[62] of

[59] After Lichtheim, *Literature*, vol. I, 200.
[60] About the political situation at the end of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, see Bietak, Hein, *Pharaonen*, 21-7 and Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 293-310.
[61] From the first Kamose stele, after Redford, in Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos*, 13.
[62] The cartouche, a stretched *šn*-hieroglyph, is a depiction of a protective magical ring by its very nature, see Wilkinson,

the birth name of king User-ib-Re, Seneb-kay, (Fig. 11.2) a pharaoh from a hitherto unknown dynasty whose tomb was discovered in January 2014 at Abydos South.[63]

Nfr nṯr nfr nb jrj-jḫt sꜣ-Rᶜ Śb-kꜣj ꜣs.t nṯr.t mrj

The perfect god, Lord of the Rituals, beloved by the goddess Isis

The king is named as 'Lord of the Rituals'. On that basis, the pharaoh in his role of god on earth was not only entitled, but also obliged to celebrate the cultic drama of restoring history. The performance of the ritual of the 'union of the two countries' (*smꜣ tꜣwy*), especially when the unity of the country was threatened after the death of the king's predecessor, was intended to restore the cosmic order. As in the mythological state when Seth was supposed to have slain Horus, when the gods were no longer represented by the king, which could mean at worst that the land in the real world fell apart. Violation of Egypt's internal borders would mean a cosmic catastrophe, which could only be prevented by the heir to the throne performing the ritual of unity.[64]

The defense of borders is again evoked in the inscription of magic wand Copenhagen NM 7795 (Fig. 12).

ḏd mdw j šᶜ tp ḥftj ḥftt [*mt mt.t ?*] *ʿḳ r ʿt tn ḫrdw ms.n Nbt-sḫt-rᶜ*

Words to be spoken: "Cut off the head of [any] enemy male or [female] entering this room of the children born to Nebet-sekhet-ra"

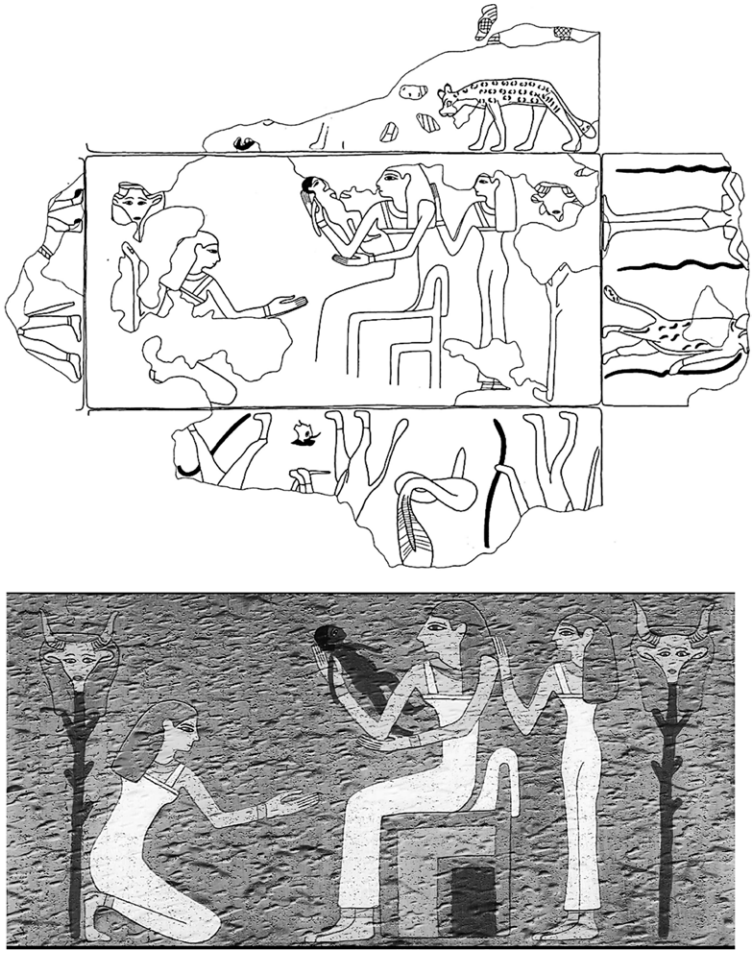


Fig. 7 – Magical birth-brick, painted clay. Found at the residence of the *ḥꜣty-ʿ* at Abydos-South (Wah-Sut), Thirteenth Dynasty. 35 x 17 x c. 13 cm (after Wegner, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 454, fig. 6 and 457, fig. 7, with kind permission)

The chamber, to which this inscription refers, is both in the mythological and in the real world the space in which the (re-)birth of the (solar-)child takes place and can thus could be regarded as a *liminal zone*, which provided protection against intruders like snakes and scorpions, the enemies of the sun god.[65] This inscription refers possibly to CT V, Spell [436] 287c with a more or less similar intent, which speaks about repelling the *rrk*-snake and the destruction of its poison. Although the text in question begins with the rather unclear phrase; "*O, Thou, who cuts off the head and separates the neck*

Symbol and magic, 193.

[63] Actually "located adjacent to tomb "S10" (belonging to Sobekhotep – probably Sobekhotep I) on the north-west side of the tomb enclosure of Senwosret III at South Abydos" (personal communication Josef Wegner, 16.1.2014). The difference between the orthography of the name on the wand (the *n*-sign N35 is left out) and the tomb might be explained by their different function. Altenmüller pointed out, that this particular wand was not made for an already existing child, but possibly for the resurrection of a statue as a form or manifestation of a rebirth. So the name 'Sebkaj' on the wand could be understood as a kind of pet name for the king-child to be born again, Altenmüller, in Roccati, Siliotti (eds.), *La magia in Egitto*, 140-1.

[64] About the cultic drama of restoring history and the ritual of unity, Barta, in *LÄ* III, 490-1.

[65] In addition, the inscription of Copenhagen NM 7795 as in the Coffin Text speaks about 'cutting off', so the name 'magic knife' or 'Zaubermesser' is not necessarily so bad at all, personal communication Altenmüller. However, Altenmüller, in Beinlich, Hallof (eds.), *Auf den Spuren des Sobek*, 20 suggested also the expression 'Knotenamulett – knot amulet', after pBerlin 3027, Spell O with particular reference to a magic wand, excavated at Thebes-Asasif (JE 91413), depicted in its original state, in Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*, 30, figs. 2-3.

from the enemies of Osiris, o ḥnbȝȝ-snake, who has no arms and feet. Are you proud, because this is on your mouth, that your mother has given?", but it makes nevertheless clear that it was particularly snakes against which protection is provided. Exceeding this limit represents a cosmic catastrophe: the young Horus is slain, while in the real world, the newborn child dies because of the activity of the enemy and the deceased is not born again. The deployment of a magic tool prevents such a disaster, because the enemies of the sun god/child will be defeated. Accordingly, it seems an attractive thought to see also magical boundaries in the vertical or horizontal parallel lines which enclose the hieroglyphs. To a certain extent this might be true: hieroglyphs represent both *mdw nṯrw* –words of the gods– as images of creatures and objects that could create and evoke evil forces. However, these lines had in the first place a functional significance, so that the written characters were able to be displayed aesthetically and in the right proportions.

3.4 Evidence, derived from the image medium

The material of the magic knives, into which the figures are engraved, was in most cases (hippopotamus) ivory.[66] Although ivory was a hard material, it became brittle and could break easily during and after the magical ritual. In addition, the knives often show signs of wear and tear. Many examples of magic knives show signs of having been repaired.[67] In some cases, repair as well as abrasion caused the loss of the original procession of figures depicted on the wand. Significantly, both the repair and the abrasion of the wand resulted in the adaptation of the frame or framing lines,[68] because the existing frame had been partially or completely renewed. When the magical wand was too worn to be reused, the remaining parts could serve as a burial gift, sometimes in a 'functional' form such as a reworked fragment of a wand from Kerma converted into a handle of a dagger,[69] MFA 20.1566 (Fig. 13). The magical implications of fracture, wear and repairs will be dealt with later in this contribution.

4. Magical principles to the application of *apotropaia*

4.1 Introduction

Apotropaia were regarded as magically charged objects which presented a microcosmic world created by man. The binding force between idea and reality was in fact (caused by) *ḥkȝ*,[70] the effect of which was enhanced by a variety of so-called sympathetic relationships.[71] According to the universal magical principle of similarity, this meant that the engraved gods on the magic tool took on a life of their own: what happened to the depicted imagination (microcosmos) happened also in reality of that depicted world (macrocosmos).[72] The sympathetic connection was not only based on the depicted figures, but also on the material and the typical shape of the object which is indicated by the many undecorated wands, which are in no way 'semi-finished products', but should be considered as full magic tools. Both undecorated and decorated wands served as burial gifts, e.g. Ashmolean AN1896-1908 E. 2223 and E. 2224 (both decorated) and excavated at Abydos Cemetery D, tomb 79, together with AN1896-1908 E.2256 and E.2257 (both undecorated).[73] The decorated wand JE 56273 and the undecorated pieces MMA 31.3.31 and 31.3.33, though admittedly from different finds in Thebes-Asasif, do date to the same period.[74]

4.2.1 Mythological equivalence

The lines from the *Instruction to King Merikare*, cited above, forms one of the most important texts for ancient Egyptian magic in that it makes clear that the gods had transferred a part of their magic to mankind. This trans-

[66] Exceptions: Brussels MRAH 6654; CG 9433 (Fig. 11.1); Florence ME 7553 + MMA 26.7.974 + private collection Germany and BM EA34214 (all made of Egyptian faience); Hannover Kestner 1935.200.152 (green schist); Brooklyn Museum 16.580.145 (Egyptian blue or frit) and the fragment from Kuban, Excav. C.M. Firth 1910-1911 (limestone or white steatite, which could be in fact petrified ivory) and Damascus NM 7021 + 7022 (ivory of an elephant). In respect of ivory, Vink, *Ta-Mery* 5, 130, n. 48.

[67] Berlin ÄMP 18805; Fitzwilliam E. 205.1900; CG 9439bis; BM EA 58794; BM EA 58794; UC 15917 (Fig. 21); UC 58633 and MMA 19.2.18 A-B.

[68] For examples of such adapted or renewed frames or framing lines: Berlin ÄMP 6714; Fitzwilliam E.40.1926; former collection Lady W. Cecil (Fig. 20), present location unknown; CG 9438 B (Fig. 28); CG 9439 A-B (Fig. 25); BM EA 6178 (Fig. 26); BM EA 17078 (Fig. 22, above); UC 15917 (Fig. 21); Lyon Musée des Beaux Arts G 113/IE 472 (Fig. 27); Munich Staatliche Museen ÄS 2826 and ÄS 2962; MMA 22.1.79 A-B (Fig. 22, below); MMA 22.1.153; MMA 32.8.5 and Ashmolean AN E. 1942.90.

[69] About this particular dagger, Petschel, *Den Dolch*, 170-75, 450, cat. no. 167.

[70] Allen, in O' Connor, Quirke (eds.), *Mysterious Lands*, 24-5.

[71] Sympathetic magic is is a type of magic based on imitation or correspondence. Frazer subcategorised sympathetic magic into two varieties: that relying on similarity, and that relying on contact or 'contagion', see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 11-48.

[72] Raven, *Phoenix* 57, 7.

[73] Randall-MacIver, Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901*, 88, 100, pl. 44.

[74] PM I^2, 652-3: "Cemeteries connected with temple of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre North Cemeteries, Cemetery 811-26; 831-9".

fer[75] of magic was necessary to achieve mythological equivalence or analogy, which is essential to preserve and maintain the cosmic order. Or, rather, to prevent its disintegration as Schneider puts it: "Die Analogien sind Fesseln, die eine weitere Desintegration des Kosmos verhindern".[76] In the case of *apotropaia*, a symbolic analogy could be derived from the shape, the material and the colour(s) of the particular magical tool, a point to which I shall return below. The gods and demons depicted on the *apotropaia* are derived directly from both the sun religion and certain aspects of the Egyptian ideology of kingship. In addition, certain constellations of figures, in particular depicted on magical wands and rods are strongly connected with the myth of the returning of the Solar Eye to Egypt.[77] The inscriptions on the reverse sides of the magic wands indicate the so-called spells for the proctection of the body (*Mkt-ḥ'w*),[78] of which the *Spells for Mother and Child* (pBerlin 3027)[79] and pRam. X, 1.1-2.2 = pRam XVI, 8.1-7 are the most important. Analogously, the deceased who is equated with the sun god provides the mythological basis for the use of *apotropaia* in the funerary domain, of which the scene depicted on the rear wall of the rock tomb of Bebi at el-Kab[80] is the main testimony (Fig. 14). Mythological equation meant that people (magicians, wet nurses and nannies)[81] participating actively in the rite, were legitimised on the basis of transferability of magic to conduct or undergo the ritual (mother and child). The decorated birth-brick from Wah-Sut (Fig. 7), which belongs to a type which remained hitherto undocumented in the archaeological record of the Middle Kingdom, is especially interesting in this context.[82] The blue coloured hair of both the mother and the accompanying women immediately indicates the divine status of the figures depicted and connects them with the concept of birth and rebirth.[83] The woman, seated on the divine throne at the top of the brick therefore represents the goddess Hathor, whereas the women depicted in front of and behind the goddess represent almost certainly the divine helpers who assist at the birth of the child Horus.[84] The central scene is the accomplishment of the process of mythological equation in which the assistants have taken over the role of the deities and demons, shown at each side of the *meskhenet*, whereas the birth-giving woman adopts the role of creator goddess. In much the same way the wet nurses and the 'nanny' in the scenes on the rear wall of the tomb of Bebi are probably substituting and thus playing the roles of the figures depicted on the magical wands they are carrying. This seems to be implied by the inscriptions on magic wands Brussels MRAH E. 2673 and Cairo E.2007.04.58 (Fig. 15) which designate the names of the protecting gods directly, while other inscriptions on magical wands designate them in a more general and anonymous way.[85] Equivalence to the gods meant that the magic act could be carried out in accordance with mythological precedent by he 'who is learned' (*rḫ-jḫt*) or by him (or her) 'who is beyond the secret' (*hrj-sšt3*).[86] Such a person could be a lector priest or a scribe, connected to a so-called 'House of Life' (*pr 'nḫ*), although

[75] For the transfer of magic, see Schoske, in *LÄ* VI, 1011 and Hubai, *SAK* 37, 187.

[76] Schneider, in Bachmann, Gloy (eds.), *Analogiedenken,* 60.

[77] Such as the baboon: Baltimore WAM 71.510; CG 9437; former private collection Kofler-TrunigerA 100 (currently Qatar National Museum, Inv. Nr. unknown); BM EA 24425 VS; BM EA 38192; Moskow Pushkin Museum 6736, reverse; MMA 86.1.91; Manchester, Inv. Nr. 1798; the jackal whether or not depicted as *wsr*-sign (Gardiner F12) with disk on legs: MFA 03.1703 and CG 9435; the jackal depicted as *wsr*-sign with uraeus: Philadelphia E 12912; the jackal with lion deity: Berlin 6710, with regard to these constellation of deities: Altenmüller, *SAK* 42, 20-4.

[78] pRam. X, 1.1-2.2 = pRam XVI, 8.1-7, which is in fact a sumarised version of pBerlin 3027, Altenmüller, *GM* 33, 10.

[79] Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, revised edition by Yamazaki, *Zaubersprüche*.

[80] PM V, 184, no. 8 bis; For the actual condition and activities to record the remaning scenes and texts: Davies, O'Connell, *BMSAES* 16, 102, 108, figs. 1-2, 109, fig. 3 and Davies, O'Connell, *BMSAES* 14, 52, 58-9, fig. 2. Other testimonies of the use of magical wands are depicted on the object frieze on the interior of the back panel of the outer coffin of governor Djehutynakht, MFA 20.1823: Vink, *Ta Mery* 5, fig. 5 (detail) and the relief from the tomb of Djehutyhotep at el-Bersheh, Vink, *Ta Mery* 5, fig. 6 (however with the incorrect arrangement of the fragments!).

[81] Altenmüller, *WdO* 14, 36-7; for attestations and the social position of the *mn't* see Stefanović, *The non-royal feminine titles*, 64-76, the *mn't* in Bebi's tomb, 64-5. For the educatress or nanny (*ȝṯj.t*): Altenmüller, *WdO* 14, 36.

[82] Wegner, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 448.

[83] Raven, *Egyptian Magic*, 60.

[84] For a complete exegesis of the four sides of the birth-brick: Wegner, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 455-71. See for the interpretation of the divine aspects of the goddess Hathor also above n. 45. About the interpretation of similar bricks with slightly different mythological precedents, compare pBerlin 3027, Spells F-G in Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, 24-8 = Yamazaki, *Zaubersprüche*, 24-8.

[85] Brussels MRAH E. 2673: "Words spoken by the fighter (Aha): 'I have come and extend the protection of the health around (the lady) Duat'"; Cairo E.2007.04.58, from the left to the right: (1) Words spoken by the lion. "(1) *I have come to extend <protection>;* (2) *Words spoken: 'I am he who carries over both wings of the griffin'.* (3) *Words spoken: 'I am the fighter (Aha). I have come and extend the protection of life'.* (4) *Words spoken: 'I am the sow. I have come and extend protection'*".

[86] Raven, *Egyptian Magic*, 33; Schneider, in Bachmann, Gloy (eds.), *Analogiedenken*, 56-8.

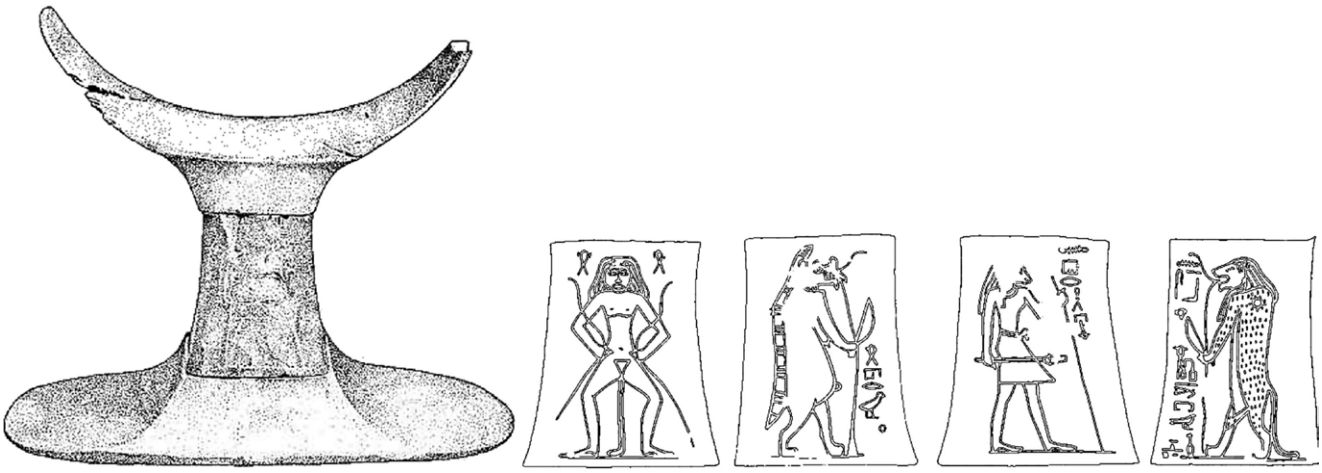


Fig. 8 – Headrest (JE 6143) with depictions of apotropaic gods, demons and hieroglyphic inscriptions on the middle section. From the burial equipment of Neferhotep, Thebes, Dra Abu el-Naga. Late Middle Kingdom. H. 20 cm (Miniaci, Quirke, *BIFAO* 109, 379, figs. 10b and d)

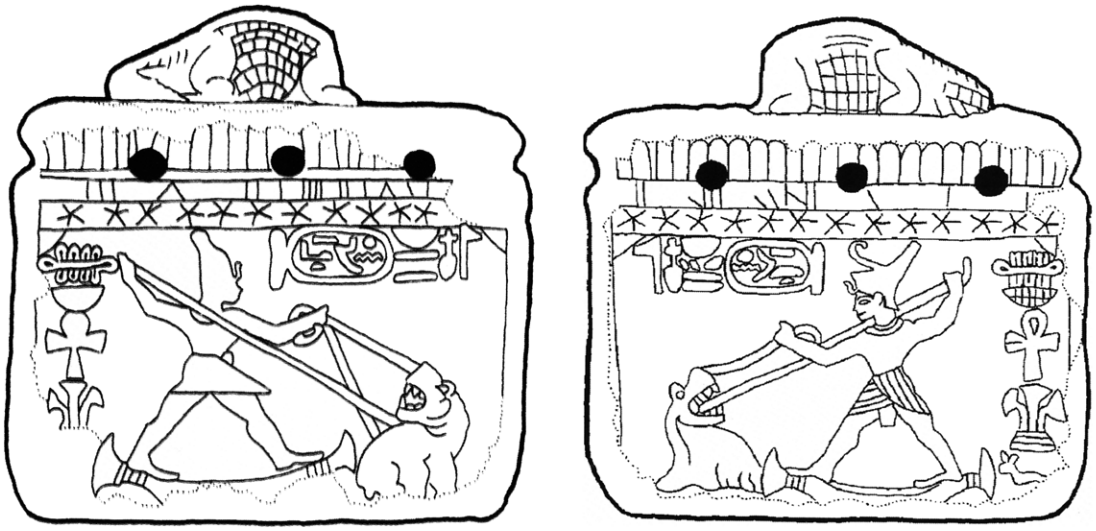


Fig. 9 – Amulet in the shape of a naos, bearing the cartouches of Amenemhat III. Worn glazed steatite. Orabi Museum, Herrya Razna/Zagazig Nr. H.820. Provenance: Tell Basta, Lower-Egypt. Present location unknown. Twelfth Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III or later. 2.8 x 2.2 x 3.1 cm (Brandl, *BEM* 2, 32, figs. 6, 8)

the wall decorations in the tombs of Djehutyhotep at el-Bersheh and Bebi at el-Kab clearly suggest the involvement in the performance of the manual rite by female cult personnel, to whom magical power could be transferred as well.[87] Mythological equation to the gods implied that for all that occurred during the rite the magician and his substitute helpers were fully responsible.[88] In CT 267 the magician was even considered as the god *ḥḳ3* himself, through whom he could exercise absolute power.[89] The mythological precedent itself (the rebirth of the sun god as part of the daily repetition of creation and the returning of the Solar Eye) was based on two related ideas. First, on the belief that what happened in the divine world also took place in the real world: what was good or evil to the gods, was therefore also good or evil to the people in the real world. Secondly, if the magical act was not performed at all or was not executed properly, a cosmic catastrophe would then occur: if the sun (god) did not rise (was not reborn) after his nocturnal journey or the Solar Eye did not return, the child or the deceased would not be (re)born or healed either. Thus, life, disease and death of the individual were embedded in the cosmic structures.

[87] See for magical equations of females, see Gnirs, in Kessler *et al. (*eds.), *Texte - Theben - Tonfragmente*, 130, 151 ff. and Altenmüller, in Roccati, Siliotti (eds.), *La magia in Egitto*, 131, 137.

[88] And not, as sometimes is suggested incorrectly that by adopting the divine role, he or they would not be responsible afterwards: Schneider, in Bachmann, Gloy (eds.) *Analogiedenken*, 65-6.

[89] Schneider, in Bachmann, Gloy (eds.) *Analogiedenken*, 66.

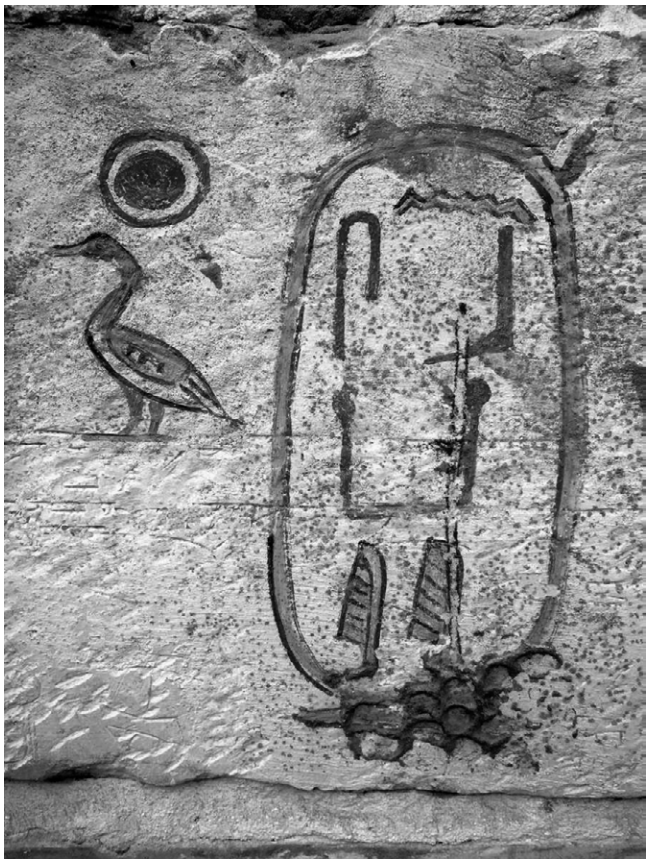
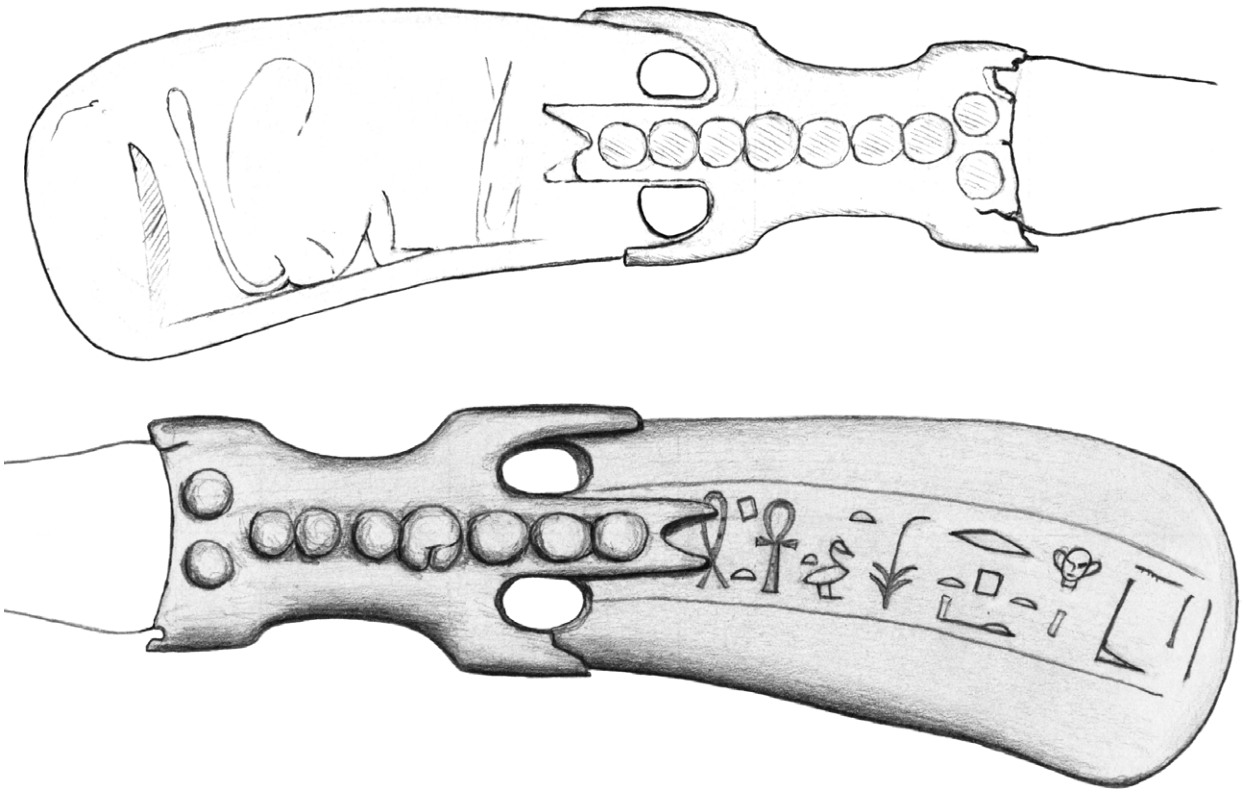


Fig. 10 – (above, left): Boundary stele from regnal year sixteen of Senusret III. Berlin ÄMP 1157. Note the stretched *pt*-sign under which the winged sun-disk and the hieroglyphic inscription are located. Late Twelfth Dynasty (Photo: after Magnus Manske, Wikipedia)

Fig. 11.1 – (below): Detail of the magic wand CG 9433 with the cartouche of Seb-kay as 'Lord of the Rituals' (photo by Gianluca Miniaci) and **Fig. 11.2 –** (above, right): with the cartouche of the full birthname of pharaoh Senebkay, as found in the tomb of User-ib-Re, January 2014. Second Intermediate Period. L. 35 cm (wand). Particularly striking are the paleographical similarities of the hieroglyphic signs *k3* and *s* in both cartouches (Al Ahram, Cairo 15.1.2014)

Fig. 12 – The reverse with inscription of magic wand Copenhagen NM 7795, which expresses both the aspect of a protective border and its primary function as a knife to 'cut off the head of [any] enemy'. L. 28 cm (Photo © Nationalmuseet Kopenhagen)

Fig. 13 – A reworked fragment of a wand into a handle of a dagger: MFA 20.1566. The photo clearly shows an upper and lower parallel line as part of an elliptic line –not shown in the drawing– which enclosed the original procession of protecting deities. The dagger was found as part of a magical weapon in the tomb of the 'King's daughter Anch' or 'Redi-n-ptah'(?). Provenance: Nubia, Kerma, eastern cemetery, tumulus K X, tomb K 1096, Nr. 9. Dating, c. 1700–1550 BC (Photo © MFA Boston. Drawings: Susanne Petschel, with kind permission)



4.2.2 Symbolic equation[90]

The utilisation of *apotropaia* during the magical rite was based not only on mythological analogy but also on symbolic analogy. A seal amulet, for example, is a hypostasis of the rising sun, who every day must be born again. That is why scarabs first of all represent amulets and not seals, although they were used as such.[91] Thus, text and/or subsequent figures are dominated by protection and regeneration. The interpretation of a baby feeding cup, such as MMA 44.4.4 (Figs. 3; 17) is more difficult to interpret, although Altenmüller recently tried to connect the deities and demonic animals with the turtles at both ends of the frieze.[92] Of course, its blue colour is deemed life-giving, while its shape stresses the turtle's positive qualities. For the magic wand the symbolic analogy is arguably even more difficult, not least because no ancient Egyptian name of this tool is known.[93] The inscription on the reverse of Copenhagen NM 7795, as discussed before, suggests a symbolic utilization as a kind of knife. Another symbolic-analogical indication for the wand as a magic weapon could be that the processed tusk represents the ultimate victory over the hippopotamus, which was already depicted (Figs. 4, below; 9) in the late Middle Kingdom as a potential threat to the cosmic order.

4.3 The magic of images

Apotropaia usually include representations of animals, mythical creatures, demons, anthropo- and zoo-morphic deities and protective hieroglyphic symbols.[94] The *Instruction to King Merikare* tells us that the concept of the magical weapon (*ḥ3.w*) was of divine origin. From the Middle Kingdom onwards, this concept was transferred into *apotropaia* with a decorative program primarily based on the sun religion. A craftsman processed this divine concept by shaping a hippopotamus tusk further into its typical curved form to engrave the procession of figures with a bronze (?) stylus.[95] However, in order to function magically, the *apotropaion* first had to be brought to life by performing the so-called 'opening of the mouth ceremony', originally intended for mummies and statues but later also applied to all kinds of magic devices.[96] With that the magician (or his helper/substitute) was able to exercise power through the depicted constellation of gods and demons.[97] According to the ancient Egyptians these figures did not reflect reality, but they were reality itself. Depictions of gods and demons, drawn or carved in relief, were namely *ḫnm* (modelled), '*ḳ* (entered) or settled in (*ḥnj*) the magic tool; in short the gods inhabited the image medium,[98] in a manner that can be compared to God's presence in the Jerusalem temple or a church.[99] Eschweiler uses in this context the notion of '*Präsentifikation*', which means in practical terms that the gods *et al*. are forced to dwell in the magic device.[100] On the other hand, hieroglyphs that appear frequently on *apotropaia*, such as the *ankh*-sign and the *wedjat*-eye, are magically activated, whenever *apotropaia* are ritually being used.[101] In essence, the entire magic of images was based on the principle of mythological analogy as well: as the creator god established cosmic order and animated it with the *b3w* of the gods, so man created in the real world a microcosmical order on a magic tool. Therefore, it is almost inevitable that the concept of the magical weapons has been elaborated and the tool itself was manufactured by those who were legitimized to act as a 'deputy' to the creator god.

[90] Nevertheless, symbolic equation, like the principle of analogy could also be considered as a sympathetic relation in terms of Frazer (see above n. 72). However, the unique character of ancient Egyptian magic makes the separate discussion of this and other principles necessary. About symbolic analogy: Borghouts, *Phoenix* 57, 31-3.

[91] Ben-Tor, in Ameri *et al.* (eds.), *Small Windows*, with reference to previous publications and other scholars. I am very grateful to Daphna Ben-Tor (Jerusalem) for her permission to refer to her article before publication. See also: Schulz, *Khepereru-Scarabs*, 106-13.

[92] Altenmüller, in Beinlich, Hallof (eds.), *Auf den Spuren des Sobek*, 15-29, in which the turtle is presented mainly as a creature with negative connatations. As an enemy of the sun god, which swallows the Nile water during the nocturnal journey of the solar barque, the turtle is held mythologically responsible for its stranding in the Nile. On an earthly level the lack of Nile water, necessary for unimpeded passage and thus being born again, is equated to the lack of breast milk, which can only be disestablished by letting the child drink from the cup, like the turtle spitting out the swallowed Nile water.

[93] Although some scholars suggested the name 'hand' (*ḏrt*), Borghouts, *Phoenix* 57, 24; Altenmüller, *Apotropaia*, vol. I, 182-4, with reference to pBerlin 3027, texts P-Q: Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, 39-41 = Yamazaki, *Zaubersprüche*, 40-3.

[94] For the distinction between their different categories: Altenmüller, *Apotropaia*, vol. I, 136-43 (enemies of the sun god); 143 ff. (helpers of the sun god). For a distinction from another perspective: Altenmüller, *WdO* 14, 33-5

[95] Altenmüller, *Apotropaia*, vol. I, 11-2.

[96] Raven, *Egyptian Magic*, 33; Grieshammer, in *LÄ* IV, 223-4.

[97] Assmann, in *Genres in Visual Representations, Visible Religion* 7, 10.

[98] Eschweiler, *Bildzauber*, 287-8.

[99] The divine presence of the Shechinah (**הניכש**) of JHWH amidst the people of Israel is a theological concept, a central theme in Judaism, goes possibly back to ancient Egyptian representations in this respect.

[100] Eschweiler, *Bildzauber*, 294.

[101] *Op. cit.*, 297.

4.4 Fighting evil with evil

Apotropaia are supposed to provide protection against the forces of evil. Yet, gods and demons which possessed essentially negative connotations regularly appear. The baby feeding cup MMA 44.4.4 (Fig. 3) depicts a frieze of protective figures within the parallell lines which is ended by a turtle at each side. On the one hand, the turtle was identified with the dark powers because of its hidden existence under the waters of the Nile,[102] and mythologically held responsible for the stranding of the solar barque in the Nile.[103] On the other hand, after being killed, the animal spat out the swallowed water, thus enabling Horus to continue his nocturnal journey, to be (re-)born again and a mother in the real world was able to provide her child with milk. [104] The decorative program on *apotropaia* also includes snakes, donkeys, lizards, hares and crocodiles,[105] creatures which at best possess an ambivalent nature. Snakes were feared mainly because of their poison, and for that reason they were considered as an enemy of the sun god,[106] but also were associated with rejuvenation and regeneration,[107] because of sloughing their skin. Examples of the protective qualities of the snake are to be seen on the many late Middle Kingdom scarabs[108] (Fig. 4), on magical wands in human form or zoomorphic as a cobra and entwined (pairs of) snakes,[109] and as a unique snake framing instead of parallel framing lines on fragment BM EA 20778 (Fig. 29). Magical protection is thus provided to combat evil with evil.

4.5 Magic by contact[110]

In wall decorations of the rock tombs of el-Bersheh and el-Kab (Fig. 14), magic knives were utilized in the context of a manual rite.[111] How this rite was performed is unknown, but it is certain that the 'cult personnel' took the magical tool in their hand at certain moments in the rite and physically brought it at some point into contact with the person to be protected.[112] Thus, they raised a magical barrier against external danger for these persons. Seal amulets were frequently worn strung around the neck or attached otherwise to a person,[113] in funerary contexts they were usually attached to the body of the deceased. In the case of her amulets with drilled holes for suspension physical contact is obvious, which is also clear for a baby feeding cup. The act of delivering a child was performed on a set of four birth-bricks, which served according to Ritner as the model for the use of magic rods.[114] Prolonged ritual application of magical wands in daily life[115] was one of the main causes of damage to wands made of fragile materials that could easily break and were prone to wear. Break and traces of use can be observed at both ends and in the middle section, which had radical consequences for the subsequent use of the magic tool.

4.6 Accompanying texts

The effect of a magic device was activated simultaneously by incantations of magic spells. Hence, there is

[102] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 116; Fischer, *Turtles*, 6-10.

[103] For the turtle as an outspoken enemy of the gods Altenmüller, in Beinlich, Hallof (eds.) *Auf den Spuren des Sobek*, 16-7.

[104] See footnote 82 and Altenmüller, in Beinlich, Hallof (eds.), *Auf den Spuren des Sobek*, 17-8.

[105] Snakes in different shapes are to be observed on most magic knives. Donkeys or donkey heads on: Berlin ÄM 8176; Brussel MRAH E.07063; JE 56273; BM EA 24426; Manchester Inv. Nr. 1798; MMA15.3.197 (obverse) and private collection Utrecht. Lizards, mostly depicted as 'captured enemy' appear on: Basel Inv. BSAe 991; Berlin ÄM 6709; BM EA 20772 and UC 16387. For depictions of hares, cf. Berlin ÄMP 14207; Leiden RMO F 1953/2.10 (?); MMA 26.7.974; MMA 15.3.197 (Fig. 16) and Louvre E 3614 + MMA 26.7.1288 A-B. Crocodiles at: Baltimore JHUAM 2121D; Basel BSAe 991; Basel LgAe NN36; Berlin ÄMP 9611; ÄMP 14207; ÄMP 14284; Brussels MRAH E. 2673; MRAH E. 07065; Budapest Szépm. Múz. Inv. Nr. 2005.1-E (Fig. 18.1); Fitzwilliam E. 40.1926; Highclere Castle H 86; CG 9435; Copenhagen NM 7795; BM EA 18175; BM EA 24425; UC 16384; UC 58601 (?); Lyon Musée des Beaux Arts G 113/IE 472 (Fig. 28); Madrid MAN 1980/91/793; Brooklyn Mus. 16.580.145; MMA 15.3.197 (Fig. 17); MMA 22.1.105; MMA 22.1.153; MMA 22.1.154 A-B; MMA 30.8.218; MMA 32.8.4; MMA 48.105.1; MMA 86.1.91; private collection Utrecht; Louvre E 3614 + MMA 26.7.1288 A-B; Geneva Fondation Gandur pour l'Art FGA-ARCH-EG-387 and Bonhams London, auction 7.11.2002.

[106] Altenmüller, *Apotropaia,* vol. I, 136-9 and the inscription at the back of Copenhagen NM 7795 (Fig. 12).

[107] Sabek, in Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Tierkulte*, 139; Hornung, Staehelin, *Skarabäen*, 146, n. 57.

[108] Ben-Tor, *Interconnections*, pl. XX.14, 16-18; pl. XXIII.12; XXIV.4, 6-9, 13, 16, 18; pl. XXV.16; pl. XIX.9-13 (with exception of the scarabs, depicted at pl. 20, all in stylised form).

[109] Altenmüller, *WdO* 14, 35.

[110] About the theory of contagious magic in general: Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 37-45. As regards ancient Egyptian magic: Raven, *Phoenix* 57, 7-8. Altenmüller, *Apotropaia*, vol. I, 178 for the application of magic wands.

[111] Altenmüller, *Apotropaia*, vol. I, 179, 184-6; Altenmüller, *WdO 14*, 36-8.

[112] Which is confirmed by pBerlin 3027, in particular texts O, P, U, and V: Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, 35 ff., 45 ff. = Yamazaki, *Zaubersprüche*, 36 ff., 48 ff.

[113] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 154, 157-8; Grajetzki, *Burial Customs*, *passim*.

[114] Wegner, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 472-4.

[115] Altenmüller, *Apotropaia*, vol. I, 185.

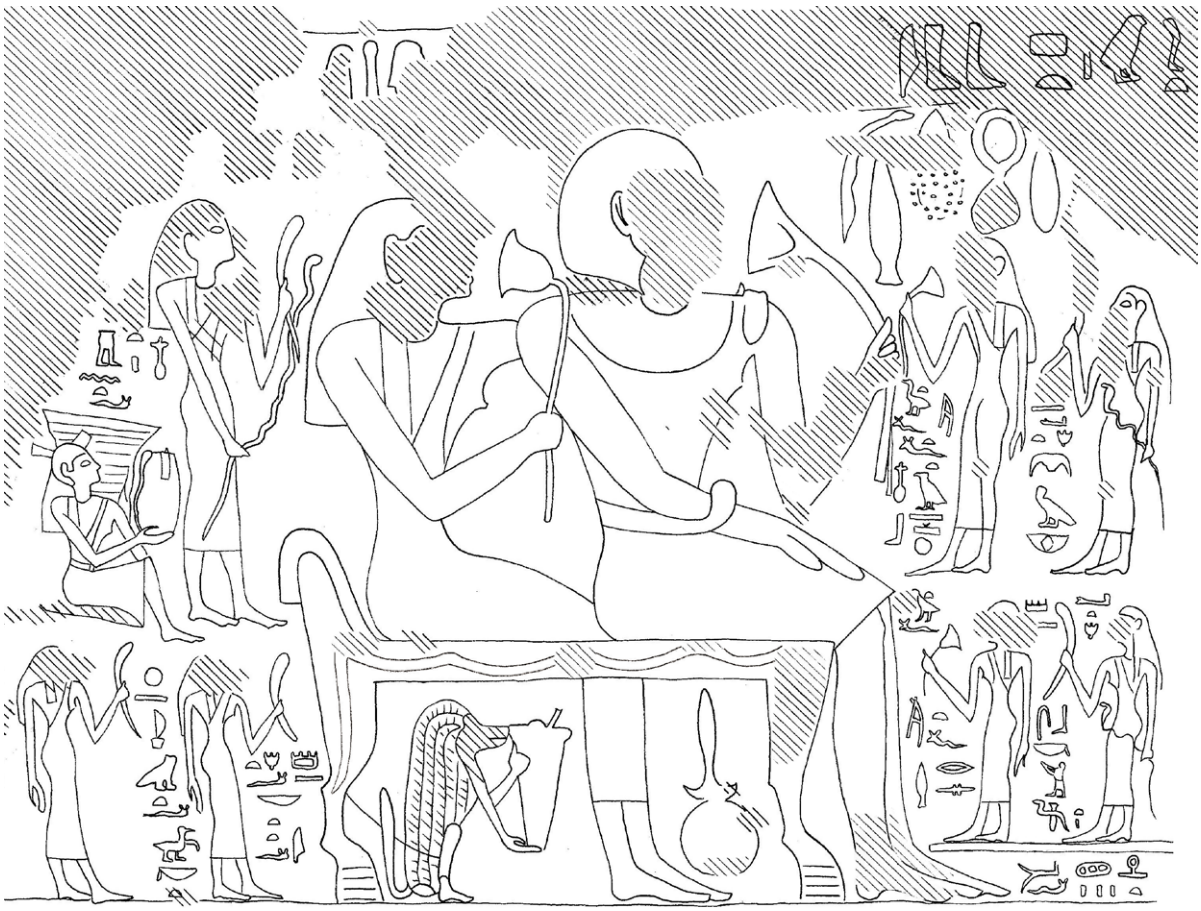


Fig. 14 – Decorations from the tomb of Bebi, 'commander of the crew of the ruler'(*3ṯw n ṯt ḥḳ3*), el-Kab, tomb 8 bis (PM V, 184), late Seventeenth Dynasty, showing the use of magic wands in the context of a manual rite. Prolonged ritual utilization was one of the main causes for wear and fracture and made repair and adjustment of their frames necessary (Drawing: Carola Bronkhorst, Leiden after Wreszinski, *Kairo bis Wadi Halfa*, pl. 36b and *LD*, Text IV, 52 ff.)

Fig. 15 – Magical wand, Cairo E.2007.04.58, found in Thebes, Dra Abu el-Naga, Area G, tomb K 95.1. Seventeenth Dynasty from the archaeological context, but possibly earlier. L. 26 cm (Voss, *MDAIK* 55, 391, fig. 18)

a performative act: acts that together formed the rite in which a magic weapon (*ʿḥ3.w*) repelled the forces of evil. These incantations were a concrete manifestation of one or more mythological precedents, which were embodied in the decorative program of the *apotropaia*. Precisely because of their mythological origin they often had a long tradition, as can be seen from the textual transmission of pRam. X, 1.1-2.2 = pRam XVI, 8.1-7,[116] which has its origins in a mythological precedent[117] from the primordial state, when there were no gods and men. This text, dating from the late Thirteenth Dynasty, served for more than a thousand years, albeit in modified form, as a magic formula. Such texts, like pBerlin 3027, provide a clear picture of the causal thought representation of the world, in which different cosmic dimensions try to influence each other.

4.7 Functionality

A final aspect of importance in this context, but one that cannot be regarded as a magical principle as such, is the element of functionality. Like any other creative expression, a magical tool –no matter how artistically manufactured– should not be understood as 'art', a word the ancient Egyptians did not even know.[118] While art nowadays is mainly assessed in aesthetic terms, the purpose of objects in ancient Egypt was essentially functional, which was closely linked with religion and the ideology of kingship. The *apotropaia* display large differences in technical execution. These differences may be explained because the producer was not a professional craftsman, but possibly someone who was primarily a *rḫ-jḫt*, *i.e.* magically legitimized, who in manufacturing the tusk and incising its figures brought into being a sympathetic relationship between maker and magical weapon. Hence, the manufacture of a magic tool can be considered as a creative act in itself, the ability of which was transferred by the gods to him or her, who where legitimized to substitute them. That the functional aspect is predominant is shown not only by the difference in technical execution of the wands –from very primitive to highly sophisticated–[119] but also from the repairs, including the buffed and abraded ends and the carefully adapted framing lines.

[116] About the textual transmission of pRam. X, 1.1-2.2 = pRam XVI, 8.1-7: Altenmüller, *GM* 33, 7-12.
[117] *Art. cit.*, 10.
[118] Robins, *The Art*, 12.
[119] Compare e.g. magic wand MFA 20.1780 (Fig. 19) to Budapest Szépm. Múz. Inv. Nr. 2005.1-E (Fig. 18.1). About the differences in the quality of the incisions: Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 114.

5. Technical and magical aspects of framing *apotropaia*

5.1 Wear and break

From the traces of wear and repairs, we know that magic knives primarily served as a magic tool for the living.[120] Wear was mainly due to frequent physical contact, possibly also caused by rubbing[121] the surface of the tusk within the context of magic by contact. In addition, stains and traces of discoloration, especially in the middle parts of the wand, also must be caused by prolonged human touch. Ivory, in particular that from a hippopotamus, is porous and very sensitive to moisture and fat (of the human skin).[122] Most of the magic knives appear to have been deliberately broken at the time of burial,[123] possibly in the context of some kind of ritual destruction, intended to deprive the object of its magical power[124] and to 'assimilate' it with the tomb owner.[125] Ritual destruction of *apotropaia* is to be suspected in the following cases:

(1) (Almost) complete *apotropaia*, broken into more or less even fragments, often in straight vertical lines, sparing the incised[126] or painted[127] figures or when one or both ends are missing;[128]

(2) Magical wands from which only the middle section has been preserved and its deliberate breaking results from vertical fractures which indicate the accuracy by which the engraved figures are ruptured;[129]

(3) Magical knives from which only the left or right half have been preserved.[130]

[120] Altenmüller, *Apotropaia,* vol. I, 185.
[121] Perhaps by means of organic material, as the linen in which magic wand JE 91413 was wrapped: Allen, *Medicine*, 30, fig. 2. Or perhaps human hair in which the large bronze uraeus-snake, found in tomb 5 of the Ramesseum, was entangled: Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, 3; Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 110, 113.
[122] Personal communication M. Marée (British Museum, Department Ancient Egypt and Sudan), 10.9.2010 and Clare Ward (British Museum, Organics Conservation), 5.10.2010.
[123] Lacovara, in D'Auria, Lacovara, Roehrig (eds.), *Mummies & Magic*, 128.
[124] Schoske, in *LÄ* VI, 1009.
[125] Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 148.
[126] E.g. Basel Antikenmuseum BSAe 991; MFA 03.1703; Brussels MRAH E. 2673; MMA 15.3.197 (Fig. 16) and Louvre E 3614 + MMA 26.7.1288 A-B.
[127] As it the case at the baby feeding cup MMA 44.4.4 (Fig. 3).
[128] E.g. Baltimore WAM 71.510; Basel Antikenmuseum LgAe NN36 and MFA 20.1780 (Fig. 19).
[129] Compare for example Athens D 171(?); Berlin ÄM 6710; MFA 12.1519 and Liverpool Garstang Museum Inv. Nr. 7007.
[130] E.g. Berlin ÄMP 6709; Berlin ÄMP 8176; Brussels MRAH

However, in the case of magic wand Cairo E.2007.04.58 (Fig. 15), for example, Voss pointed out that the fractures were actually caused by the weight pressure from debris in tomb K 95.2 at Thebes, Dra Abu el-Naga.[131] Ritual destruction can take the form of burning the object,[132] although archaeological conditions frequently do not give a clear answer as to whether the magic wands[133] were ritually burnt or not. For the two fragmentary wands, excavated by an Austrian team at Tell el-Dab'a we know at least for sure that they were not ritually burnt, but the turtle was spared, namely at the beak, where the baby could receive the life-giving liquid.

5.2 Magical effects of a deficient framing

Fracture implied that the space on a magical tool, in which the gods *et al*. were located, was disturbed. From the carefully performed repairs and adjustments of the frame (below § 5.3), it appears that the wand provisionally was inappropriate for magical purposes. The question is why

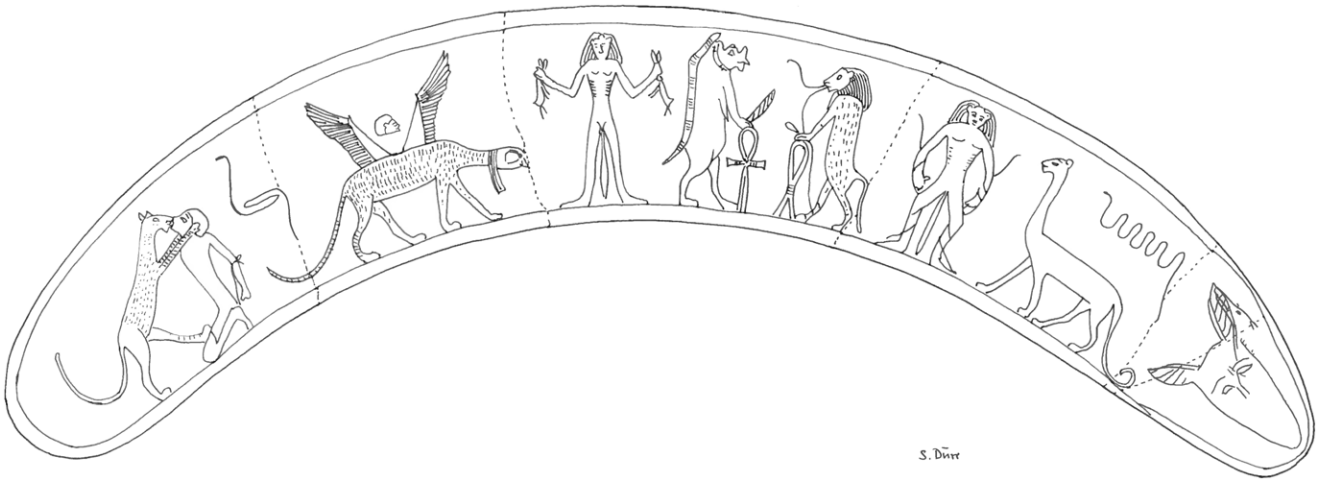


Fig. 16 – Obverse of magic wand MMA 15.3.197, Lisht North, tomb of Nakht (493). Late Middle Kingdom. L. 26.8 cm (Drawing: Susanne Dürr, Basel)

were damaged by fire in the Hyksos palace at Avaris.[134]

If an inscribed magic knife was deposited in a tomb, ritual destruction by breaking the material meant also the partial annihilation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions. Magical wands without inscriptions were broken right across in more or less even parts. The most striking feature of this practise was the sparing of the benign[135] entities, as can be observed e.g. on magic wand MMA 15.3.197 (Fig. 16) and the broken baby feeding cup MMA 44.4.4 found together with an amuletic crocodile in Egyptian blue (Fig. 17) at Lisht North.[136] Only one depiction of the Egyptians had this notion. The answer to this question is implicit again in ancient Egyptian cosmology. In the cosmic dimension –though by magic closely related– heaven, earth with Egypt at the centre of the universe and the netherworld are strictly demarcated areas. On the mythical level are the aspect of border control and the fight against the enemies of Egypt one of main duties of the pharaoh as an 'analogical' deputy of the gods on earth. Moreover, he is responsible for the maintenance of the Ma'at, symbolically represented on amulets (Figs. 4; 9) on which the king is trying to get rid of the forces of chaos that entered a 'liminal zone'. In the mythical-magical dimension, *i.e.* the level of the practical application of magic, result the magic principles of transferability and mythological equation in the belief that ancient Egyptians regarded *apotropaia* as divine domains, whose boundaries also must be taken into account. In addition, the defence of the borders was from the end of the Old Kingdom an element that became embedded in the texts and the current political situation in the Middle Kingdom, as described above. If the frame of a magic device becomes violated in one way or another, there will be a 'microscosmic' disaster that can only be reversed by repair. If the nature of fracture or wear is such that the deficiency cannot be eliminated, then follows in principle the ritual destruction of the magic tool.

E.293 and Brussels MRAH E.6361.

[131] Voss, *MDAIK* 55, 392, n. 168.

[132] Schoske, in *LÄ* VI, 1010.

[133] Other magic wands blackened by fire: Atlanta Michael C. Carlos Museum 2008.55.1; Berlin 18805 (lost); Munich ÄS 2826; MMA 15.3.124; MMA 19.2.18 A-B.

[134] Bietak, Forstner-Müller, *Ä&L* 19, 109-11; Bietak, Math, Müller, Jurman, *Ä&L* 22-23, 35, 37.

[135] *I.e.* the helpers of the sun god or beings helpful at (re-) birth, Altenmüller, *Apotropaia*, vol. I, 143 ff.; Altenmüller, *WdO* 14, 33-5.

[136] Craig Patch, in Friedman (ed.), *Gifts of the Nile*, 207. Although the basket, in which cup and crocodile were discovered, did not come from a tomb, the find spot suggests these apoptropaia were not intended for a specific child, but possibly for all children buried in the cemetery of Lisht North.

Fig. 17 – Baby feeding cup MMA 44.4.4 (*cf.* Fig. 3) most probably ritually broken, together with an amulet of a crocodile in Egyptian blue (MMA 07.227.19), as found in situ at Lisht North necropolis, west of the pyramid of Amenemhat I. Late Middle Kingdom (Photo © MMA, New York)

5.3 Repairs of fracture and wear

In order to repair broken wands, several drill holes[137] were made on both sides of the fault-line, to which leather straps, rope or other organic material was attached to keep the parts together as a sustainable construction. Sometimes the fracture was first provisionally glued.[138] The complete original repair is preserved in only one case, namely magic wand Budapest 2005.1-E (Figs. 18.1-2). Analysis has shown that arsenic has been added to the copper,[139] which must have given the alloy a silvery appearance. Thus, the copper, naturally a red coloured[140] metal, not only contrasted with the white background of the wand, but perhaps more importantly, avoided a negative sympathetic association with the colour red the repair was made in a 'magic-neutral' way. It is also striking that the holes almost always avoided the original decorated figures. If this was not possible, the fragment showing the major protective gods and demons was buffed at the edge of the fracture, in such a way that the result looked like a complete magic wand.[141] Sometimes this was poorly done, e.g. on BM EA 17078 (Fig. 22, above) and MMA 22.1.32, where the protective entities are partially removed or in the case of fragment MMA 22.1.79B, where the last figure shows only the abdomen of a lion (Fig. 22, below). This could be taken to suggest the hieroglyphic sign Gardiner F22, which means 'power' or 'magic'[142] and therefore could fit in the iconographic program of the *apotropaia* very well. In fact, parts of animal bodies which could be interpreted as hieroglyphic signs appear very often, such as the *wsr*-phonogram (F12), which also means 'power(ful)'. Another example is magical knife Moscow Pushkin Museum I, Ia 6736 depicting a scorpion which could be read as hieroglyphic sign L7. That a hieroglyphic symbol is indeed meant in these cases, is reinforced by its frame which was adapted to the new constellation of figures. On magical wand MMA 32.8.5, although the abdomen of the lion is partially obscured by traces of earlier engravings, the abrasion of the fracture possibly served the same purpose. In a number of cases the frame could not be adjusted at all: the wear of the lower and/or upper edge was so far advanced that new parallel lines would have eroded almost the entire procession of deities. This

[137] Magical knives with drill holes: Berlin 18805 (lost); Budapest Szép. Múz. 2005.1-E (Figs. 18.1-2); Fitzwilliam E. 205.1900; CG 9439 bis; BM EA 24426; BM EA 58794; UC 15917 (Fig. 21); UC 35310; UC 58633; Manchester Museum Inv. Nr. 1800; MMA 19.2.18 A-B and Ashmolean AN1896-1908 E. 3953.

[138] E.g. BM EA 24426 and BM EA 58794. Whether in all cases antique glue is concerned, this can only be determined by means of natural science, Hubai, *SAK* 37, 176.

[139] The copper-arsenic alloy is usually attested from the New Kingdom onwards, but does not exclude necessarily an earlier date: Hubai, *SAK* 37, 177. The design of the repair (Fig. 18.2), which shows a similarity with the crossed motive on the squatted lion on magic wand Baltimore Walters Art Museum 71.510 could also testify for a date in the late Middle Kingdom or the Second Intermediate Period.

[140] About the the ambivalent aspects of the colour red: Raven, *Egyptian Magic*, 59-60; for its outspoken negative connotations: Brunner-Traut, in *LÄ* II, 124.

[141] Altenmüller, *Apotropaia,* vol. I, 13, compare: Fitzwilliam E. 40.1926; BM EA 17078 (Fig. 22, above); Manchester Inv. Nr. 1800; Munich ÄS 2962 and Ashmolean AN 1896-1908 E.2336.

[142] Raven, *Egyptian Magic*, 19.

Fig. 18.1 – Magic wand Budapest 2005.1-E with a complex frame, consisting of an elliptic line, enclosing the procession of deities which is –in addition– limited by a blooming lotus between the ears of a fennec's head which together and in itself are limiting the figures as well. Left, the antique repair before the lotus petal (*cf.* Fig. 18.2). Provenance: unknown. Second Intermediate Period, c. 1700-1600 BC (Drawing: Laura Brouwers, Maastricht)

Fig. 18.2 – The antique repair of Budapest 2005.1-E. Holes were drilled at each side of the fracture, the construction was held together with copper wire (Photo © Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest)

is the case, for example, on MFA 20.1780 (Fig. 19), Fitzwilliam E. 40.1926 and a wand from the former collection of Lady William Cecil (Fig. 20), where an attempt has been made to incise a renewed parallel line, but had to be abandoned, presumably for this reason. An example of a magical knife that has been repaired several times, including adaptation of the frame, is UC 15917 (Fig. 21): the frame was completely re-made at least once, whether or not at the same time when the fracture was repaired. This is supported not only by the very tight space in which the protective deities are located, but also by their transparent[143] representation on the obverse and reverse. Reuse of the wand was in this case out of the question, not least because hieroglyphic inscriptions would have been affected by any new elliptic line, which would mean that the magical spell could not be recited properly.

Close inspection of other pieces shows that, instead of repair, the original depictions were removed and replaced by a whole new procession of figures, possibly with buff-

[143] Altenmüller, *Apotropaia,* vol. II, 21, 67.

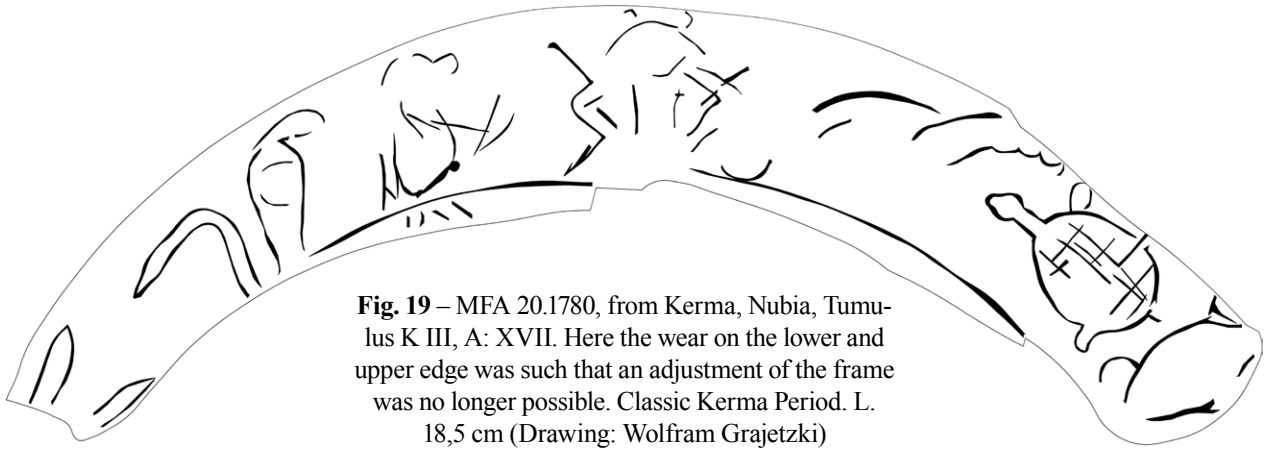


Fig. 19 – MFA 20.1780, from Kerma, Nubia, Tumulus K III, A: XVII. Here the wear on the lower and upper edge was such that an adjustment of the frame was no longer possible. Classic Kerma Period. L. 18,5 cm (Drawing: Wolfram Grajetzki)

Fig. 20 – Magic knife from the former collection of Lady William Cecil. Provenance: Aswan, Qubbet el-Hawa, tomb 22. L. c. 20 cm. Present location unknown. Late Middle Kingdom
(Drawing: Susanne Dürr, Basel, after Legge, *PSBA* 27, 145, pl. 14, fig. 23)

ing and abrasion of both ends.[144] Sometimes the abraded ivory had become so thin that the craftsman did not dare to remove all the figures since he feared the precious material would be broken. This seems to have happened at the pointed ends of MMA 15.3.197 (Figs. 16; 23):[145] remnants of the original incised figures are integrated as much as possible in the fennec's heads at both pointed ends. In other cases the decorations were removed completely and engraved again on the reverse (MMA 48.105 and Munich 2826) or abraded without a renewal of decoration at all (Hildesheim RPM, F14 and MMA 31.3.31). Those magic knives where fractures were buffed to a blunt end or which have a completely new sequence of figures incised, almost always display an adjusted or entirely new framing. The fact, that the medium has been used in many cases as some kind of 'palimpsest', means that their decorative program was prone to change. This has undoubted implications for dating the whole object category. Even in a secure and undisturbed archaeological context they are at most *terminus ante quem*, since they were 'objects of daily use', as their 'creation date' and the time that they were added to the tomb inventory *ipso facto* differ from each other. If the *apotropaion* is repaired one or more times during its magical active life, then it is clear that the magic wand as a genre within the whole of *apotropaia* may be older than the currently held ideas about their dating.[146]

5.4 Technical and magical aspects of repair

It could happen that the repair work on a magical wand –whether reconnecting broken pieces, disguising abrasions or the whole or partial replacement of its constellation of deities– caused further damage to the original figures or made them completely invisible. This apparently caused no problems: there are many examples of repaired magic knives which were considered suitable for magical reuse. What seems to have mattered most is that the repair was completed by incising either a modified or an entirely new frame. In the case of fragment Berlin 6714 (Fig. 24), at least the upper parallel line was re-engraved as can be seen by the angle of the line towards the back of the hippopotamus goddess. On Munich 2826 at least the lower parallel line has been re-incised: the original lower parallel line was worn away, leaving both the pedestal on which the double-lion is seated and the striding legs of the sun-disk crossed by the new frame. In contrast, an entirely new elliptic line was incised on the left part of CG 9439 (Fig. 25). It shows clear signs of an entirely newly incised elliptic line as indicated by the little space in which the figures are located, by the loss of the shrine on which the mummified cow is seated, and the interrupted legs and the dorsal appendage of the hippopotamus goddess. In the case of fragment BM EA 6178 (Fig. 26), the re-engraving can be deduced not only from the little space of the representation within the frame, but also from the dorsal appendage of the hippopotamus, interruption of the upper parallel line by the god *ꜥḥ3* and the head of the snake he is grasping in his right hand which has partially dissapeared. A similar interruption of an upper parallel line can also be seen on fragment Lyon MBA G113/E472 (Fig. 27), in particular on the lower left at the tail of the crocodile and above, where *ꜥḥ3* interrupts the upper parallel line again. How-

[144] As can be seen at: Brussels MRAH E. 06361; BM EA 58794; Manchester Inv. Nr. 1799; Moskou Pushkin Mus. I, Ia 6736; MMA 15.3.197 (Fig. 16); MMA 32.8.5 and Louvre E 3614 + MMA 26.7.1288.

[145] After abrasion of the original procession of deities from MMA 15.3.197 only a maximum thickness of 3 mm from the material was left over: Allen, *Medicine*, 28, but at both ends most probably much thinner.

[146] Altenmüller, *Apotropaia,* vol. I, 14 ff.; Grajetzki, *Burial Customs*, 57-8.

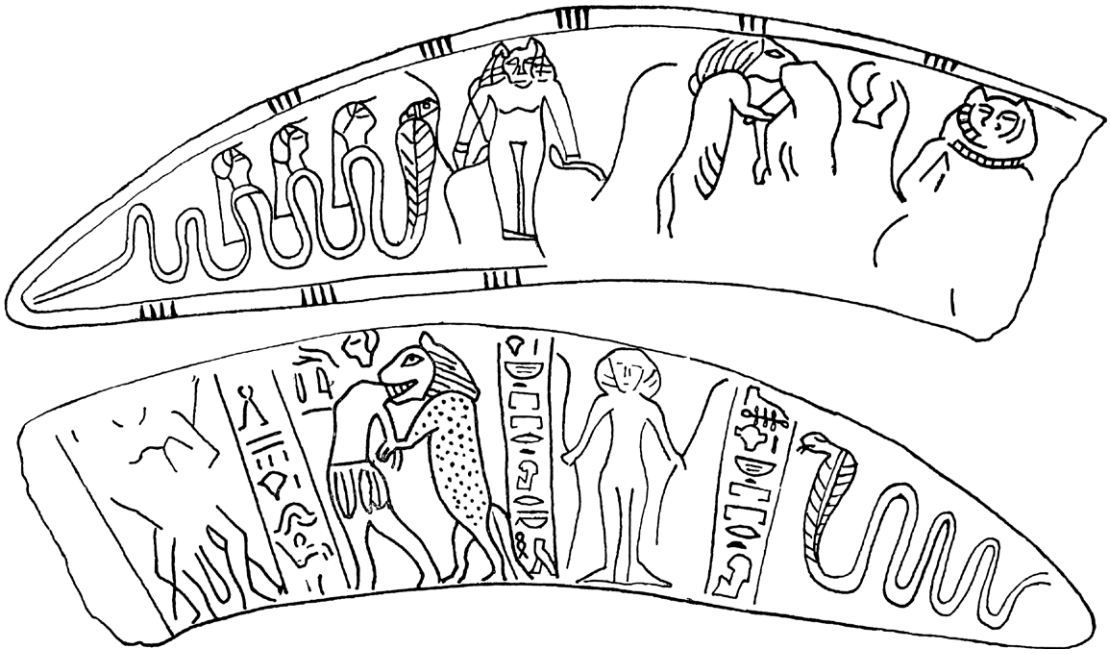


Fig. 21 – UC 15917. Provenance: Thebes? Second Intermediate Period (Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, pl. XXXVII.14)

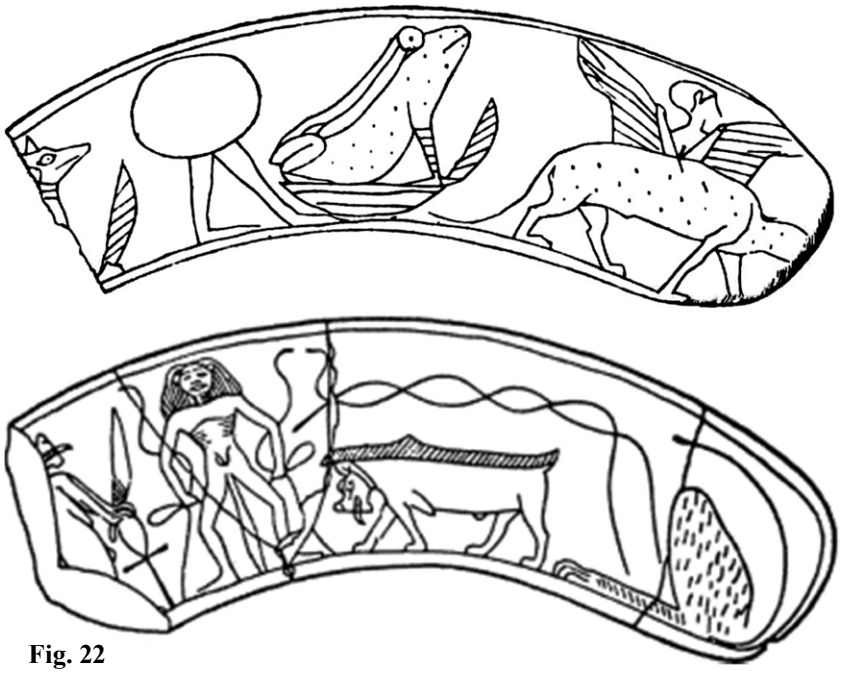


Fig. 22

Fig. 24

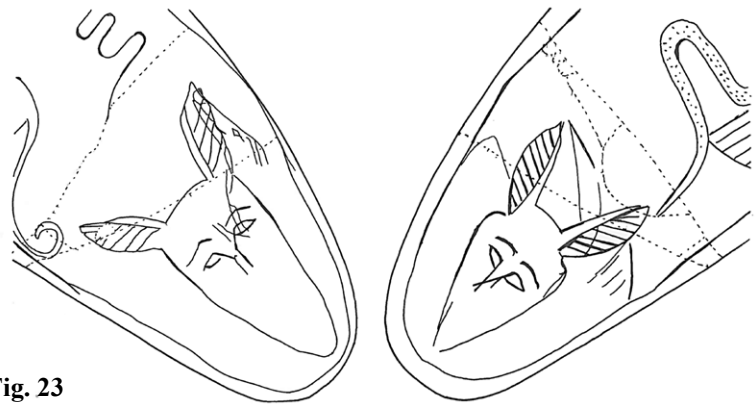


Fig. 23

Fig. 22 – The result of abraded ends. (above): London BM EA 17078 from Akhmim? Twelfth Dynasty, or earlier. L. 15.2 cm (Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, pl. 37M); (below): MMA 22.1.79B, Lisht North, c. 1850 BC. L 19.2 cm (Perraud, *BIFAO* 102, 326, fig. 3a)

Fig. 23 – The pointed ends from both the obverse and reverse of MMA 15.3.197 (fig. 16). The craftsman integrated the original incisions in the newly engraved sequence of deities (Drawings: Susanne Dürr, Basel)

Fig. 24 – Fragment of a wand, Berlin 6714, now lost. Provenance: unknown. Late Middle Kingdom. L. 3.5 cm (Legge, *PSBA* 27, 148, pl. 13, fig. 41)

ever, it cannot be excluded that this frame is the original one, since this fragment belongs to a group of typologically related wands,[147] with ends closed neither by the usual fennec's head nor by the head of a panther. The modification of the frame of fragment BM EA17078 (Fig. 22, above) follows from the way the griffin, at the top right, is displayed where the engraver was forced to respect the wings of this mythological creature – possibly because of its predominantly positive characteristics–[148] whereas he saw no problem cutting off its right foreleg. If the head of a creature was worn away, the magic wand would not continue to function as a magical weapon. When the original pointed end of CG 9438A-B (Fig. 28) was badly abraded, for example, it was not possible to re-engrave the original frame of the fennec's head from which a lotus flower emerges, because the head is a part of the framing.[149] That may be why the craftsman engraved the procession of deities within a whole new type of frame, whereby the initial concept of framing was partially abandoned. The size of the panther's head on the left –which must have given some idea of the original width before its was worn– was cropped in a three-dimensional way. In addition, a hole was drilled at what had been the original end, which was no longer functional from a magical point of view. Perhaps the hole was drilled so that the fragment could be worn either as a 'knot amulet' as mentioned in pBerlin 3027, Spell O[150] or otherwise in the context of magic by contact. Other examples of a partially modified frame are to be observed on Florence Museo Egizio 6883, Manchester Inv. Nrs. 1799 en 1800, Munich 2962, MMA, 22.1.79B (Fig. 22, below), MMA 22.1.153 and MMA 22.1.154A-B. All display a lower parallel line that remains intact since the legs or feet of the standing and striding figures figures are not interrupted. As a result, it seems that the engraver of the lower parallel line sought to give it a certain functional significance, namely as a base line. On the other hand, the space for the procession of figures on the upper side is in most cases very tight; in a number of cases, as a result of the re-engraving of the upper parallel line, the body parts of the individual entities are even partially sacrificed as a result of the re-engraving. Apparantly, the repair nullifies the temporary deficiency of the magic tool, and while individual figures may be compromised, their true essence remains visible; in a single case (MMA 22.1.79B) it is sublimated to a figure that fits into the decorative program of the *apotropaia*.

6. Summary and conclusions

Magical tools for apotropaic purposes emerged in the course of the Middle Kingdom in the context of the events of the preceding period, in which the creator sun god gradually became a more caring god that was well-disposed to humanity. In examining whether the frame or framing lines on various magic tools implied magical boundaries, three dimensions were taken into consideration.

In the cosmic dimension the boundary symbolises, according to the ancient Egyptian conception of the world, the closedness and the division of the individual domains of the cosmos, which are closely connected and interact through magic and which are maintained by the concept of Ma'at. Because creation must be repeated every day again, but at the same time is constantly threatened, the limits of all cosmic levels should be observed.

In the mythical dimension, the boundary which encloses the procession of figures on an *apotropaion* comprises a direct connection with solar theology and the mythical aspects of ancient Egyptian kingship which are also connected with solar religion. The birth and rebirth of the sun child, represented by Pharaoh as the son of Re, as well as the removal of evil powers that violate the limits, apply in the real world as mythical precedents for exercising defensive magic.

At the level of the practical application of magic (the mythical-magical dimension) the procession of figures on *apotropaia* are actually existing entities, which allows the magician to exercise absolute power. Scrutiny of the various types of repairs leads to the conclusion that the ancient user of the wand highly valued the frames for their magical tools. Numerous examples show that the framings, in particular on magic wands, are adjusted again or partially modified. If the deficiency could not be resolved, there remained a final destination, however in a ritual destroyed condition, as part of tomb equipment.

The frame thus represents initially a fixed microcosmic domain (*ḏr*) for which, partly because of the negative connotations of a number of gods and demons, it served as a

[147] Berlin 14207 (reverse); Brussels MRAH E 2673; MRAH E 7065; CG 9437; E.2007.04.58 (Fig. 15); Florence ME 9345; Copenhagen NM 7795; BM EA 18175; BM EA 20772; BM EA 24425; UC 16387; UC 15917 (Fig. 21); Madrid MAN 16303 + 16304; MAN 1980/91/793; Moscow Pushkin Mus. I, Ia 6736; MMA 22.1.103; MMA 22.1.153; MMA 22.1.154 A-B; MMA 86.1.91 and Louvre E 3614 + MMA 26.7.1288 and Bonhams (London), Auction 7.11.2002.

[148] Extensively discussed in Altenmüller, in Flossmann-Schütze *et al*. (eds.), *Kleine Götter – Grosse Götter*, 11-28.

[149] This type of frame belongs to typologically close group with a procession of deities chararacteristic for the Middle-Egyptian cult area, compare Altenmüller, *Apotropaia*, vol. I, 54. To this group also belongs Budapest 2005.1-E (Fig. 18.1).

[150] Yamazaki, *Zaubersprüche*, 36; Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, 31, points out that signs for protection are in fact depictions of man-made knots.

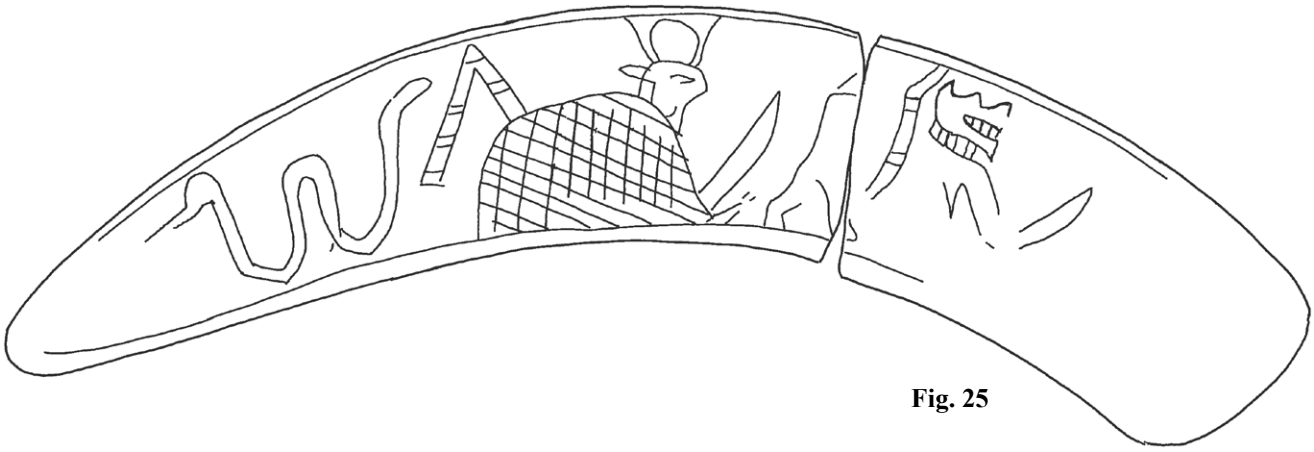


Fig. 25

Fig. 25 – CG 9439 A-B. Provenance: unknown. Late Middle Kingdom. L. A: 14 cm; B: 8 cm (Drawing: Susanne Dürr, Basel)

Fig. 26

Fig. 26 – BM EA 6178. Provenance: unknown. Late Middle Kingdom. L. 12.8 cm (Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, pl. 36C)

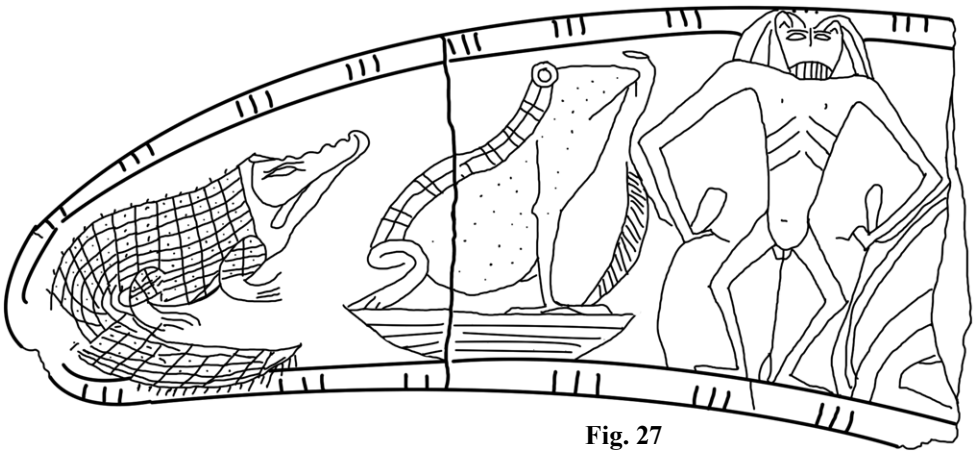


Fig. 27

Fig. 27 – Lyon Musée des Beaux Arts G 113/E 472. Provenance: Thebes, Sheikh Abd el- Gurna? Late Middle Kingdom. L. 15.3 cm (Drawing: Mathilde Roorda, Utrecht)

Fig. 28

Fig. 28 – CG 9438A-B, Lisht, east of pyramid of Senusret I. Second Intermediate Period. Original wand perhaps earlier. L. A: 4.2 cm; L. B: 10.5 cm (Drawing: Susanne Dürr, Basel)

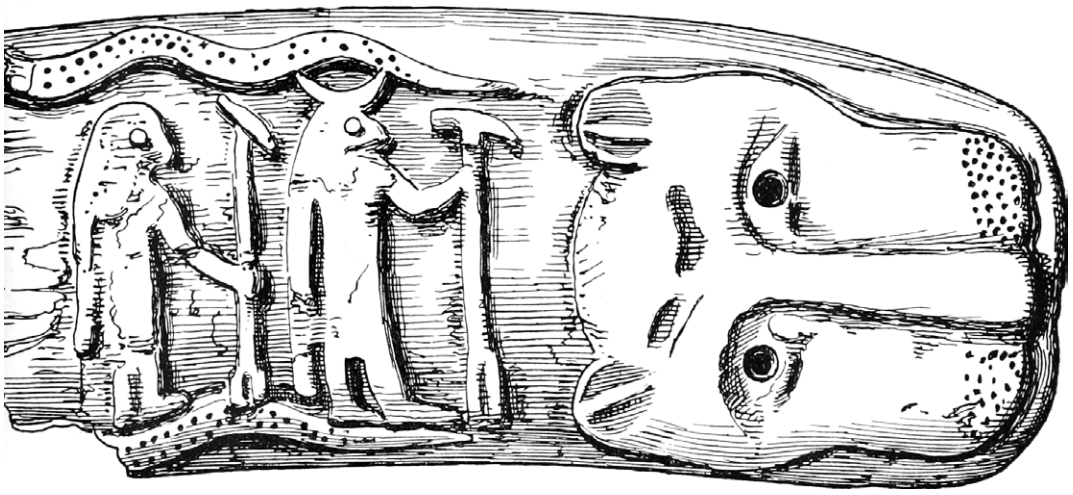


Fig. 29 – Fragment of a wand BM EA 20778 with a unique 'frame' by means of protective snakes instead of the usual elliptical line. Provenance: Thebes. Late Middle Kingdom, or earlier. L. 15.4 cm (Legge, *PSBA* 27, pl. 12, fig. 27)

barrier against these evil forces, while, at the same time, contains them within the limits. In addition the frame expresses the completeness and closedness that was intended by the original sequence of figures, a concept which could be revised or even abandoned. Consequently, the frame constitutes a direct reference to the heavenly space in which the figures are situated, and, thus, to the mythological precedents upon which the magic tool is based. Finally, the lower parallel line on magical wands also seems to serve a functional purpose as a position line on which the figures stand, sit or proceed.

Thus, the efficacy of an *apotropaion* will last only as long as it has a frame.

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On the Context and Conception of Two 'Trademark' Styles from Late Middle Kingdom Abydos

Paul Whelan

Abstract

This paper discusses two groups of remarkable late Middle Kingdom stelae and freestanding monuments, all virtually certain to have come from Abydos; the first group is defined by the use of one or multiple half-round mummiform figures in their layout; and the second by a large central pierced-work ankh symbol as their dominant feature. Evidence for their original contexts within the cultic milieu of Abydos is discussed which raises the possibility that certain objects belong to a previously unconsidered architectural setting. Analysis of their physical attributes, pictorial scenes and inscriptions, and especially the presence across both groups of uncommon spells and formulae, reveals that aside from the familiar food-offering elements found on more 'traditional' stelae of the period, there is a distinct emphasis on the deceased's revivification. In some instances, these parallel liturgies associated with the actual mummy – or sʿḥ - of the deceased, performed during the annual festival of Osiris. In this respect, it is proposed that these monuments provide a tangible developmental link between the otherwise relatively subtle Middle Kingdom sources relating to the sʿḥ-mummy and the overt religious and ritual practices evident from the early New Kingdom.

Introduction

One cannot overstate the value of the textual and pictorial data offered by Middle Kingdom stelae for improving our understanding of socio-cultural, political and artistic trends in this important period. Of all the archaeological sites in Egypt yielding Middle Kingdom stelae, Abydos has proved the most fertile hunting ground with thousands recovered initially from the undocumented activities of antiquities agents such as Bernardino Drovetti and Giovanni D'Athanasi and then from official excavations beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century with those of Auguste Mariette and thereafter many other missions that take us up to the present day. There is still much to be gained from 'mining' this vast corpus as this present study of two small groups of quite remarkable objects aims to show.[1] The first (hereafter referred to as Group One) comprises fourteen stelae and two freestanding *monobloc* monuments all distinguished by having one or more niches cut into their surface containing single or groups of mummiform figures carved in half-round relief (Fig. 1).[2] While all sixteen objects have been published, mostly as catalogue entries, to date only eight have been discussed in any depth or with much comparative analysis.[3] The second corpus (hereafter Group Two) comprises three complete and two damaged stelae whose decorative schemata are dominated by a single central pierced-work *ankh* (Fig. 2). This smaller group has received a little more attention, most recently in an insightful article by Jane Hill.[4] As can readily be appreciated from the illustrations in Figs.1 and 2, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna stela ÄS 109 falls within both groups, incorporating as it does several half-round mummiform figures in niches as well as a large pierced-work *ankh*.[5] This object alone suggests that a common ideology underlies the conception of these otherwise visually distinct styles, yet this aspect has until now received only passing attention.

[1] Not all of the objects from these two groups have firm Abydene provenances but, as the data presented in this article will attempt to show, even those lacking such information almost certainly come from the site.

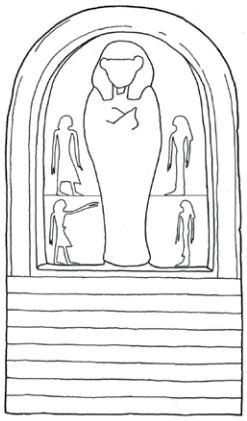
[2] All drawings in this article are by the author.

[3] Musée de Bâle III 5002: Hornung, *Le Don du Nil*, 46 and pl.153; Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Bruxelles E 4860: Whelan, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 130-54; National Museum Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427]: Kitchen, Beltrao, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection*, vol. I, 47-9, vol. II, 25-6, no.11; Vienna ÄS 109: Hein, Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 37-44; MMA 65.120.1 and MMA 65.120.2: Doxey, in Oppenheim *et al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 266-7; MMA 2014.283a-b: Lapp, *MDAIK* 50, 231-52, tfln. 37-41; Tadross Collection monument: Vernus, *RdE* 26, 101-14. Although sold at auction recently by Pierre Bergé & Associates (<http://www.kunicki.eu/Kunickiexpertise_UK/PBA-29-November-204-Chapel.html>, accessed 01.12.2014). I have retained the original collection name for the object. A more extensive (though not up to date) bibliography for all Group One objects can be found in: Whelan, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 144-54.

[4] Hill, in Hawass, Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees*, 227-47 (with additional bibliographical references).

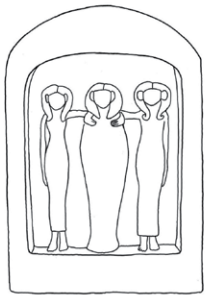
[5] These illustrations highlight only the principal image(s) under discussion and do not show all incised decorations or inscriptions.

GROUP ONE

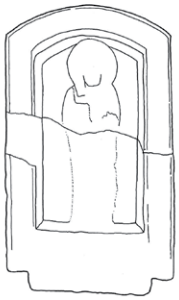


Musée de Bâle
Switzerland III 5002

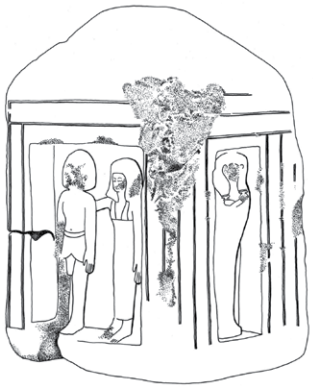
Egyptian Museum
Cairo CG 20038



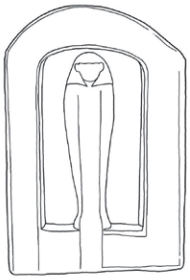
Egyptian Museum
Cairo CG 20097



Musees Royaux d'Art
et d'Histoire Brussels
E.4860



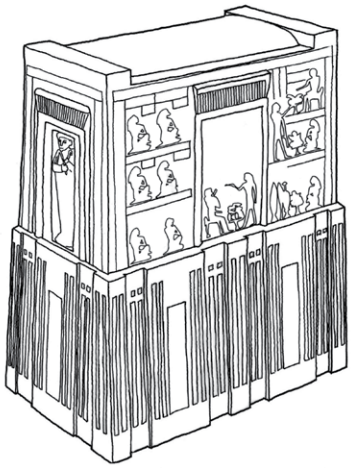
Tadross collection



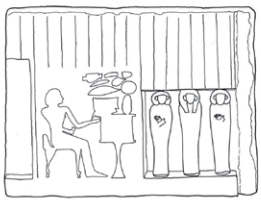
Egyptian Museum
Cairo CG 20569

National Museum
Rio de Janeiro
635+636 [2427]

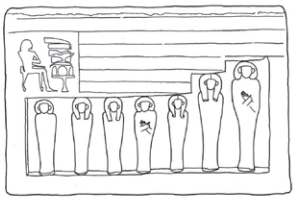
Kunsthistorisches Museum
Vienna ÄS 109



Metropolitan Museum of Art
2014.283 a-b

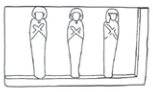


Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMA 65.120.1



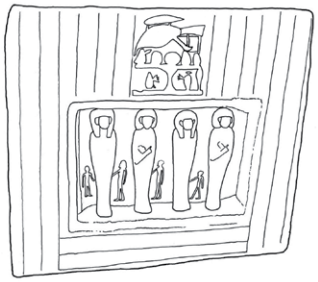
Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMA 65.120.2

Museo Egizio Turin
1630



British Museum
London
EA 8893

Egyptian Museum
Cairo CG 20497



Musée du Louvre
Paris C44

Petrie Museum
of Egyptian Archaeology
London
UC14347

Shown to scale

0 30
cm

Fig. 1

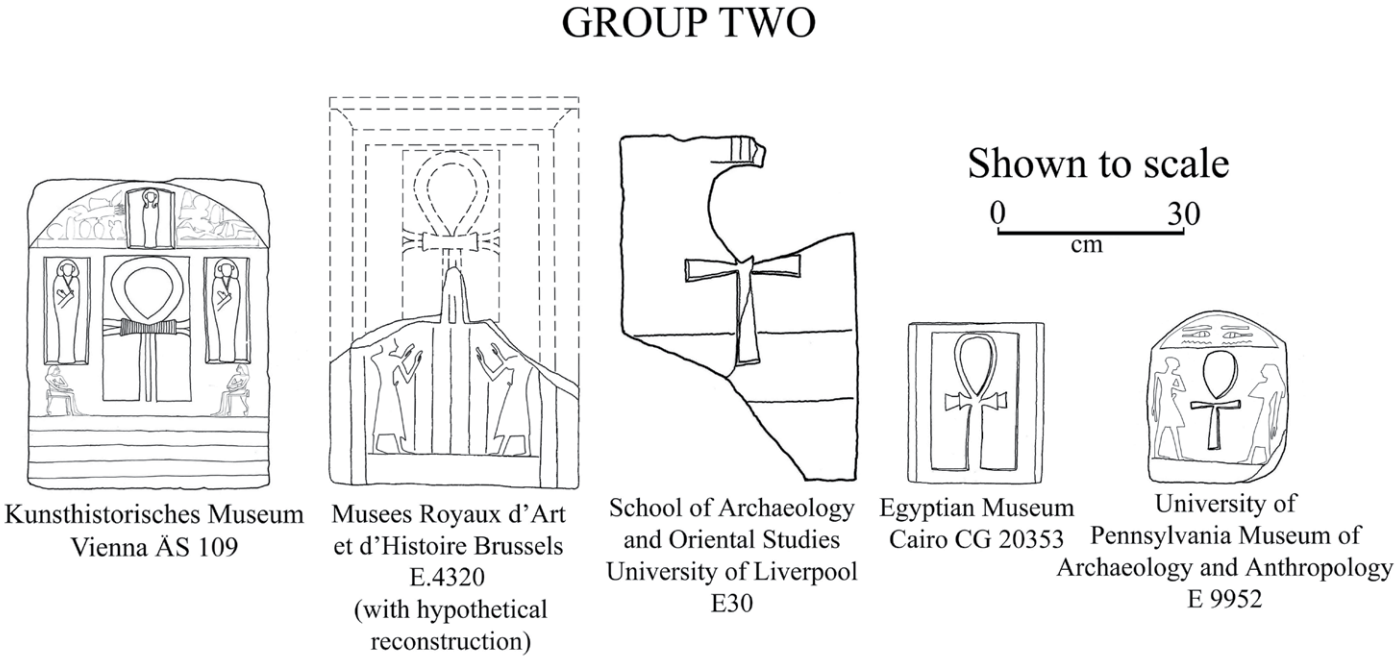


Fig. 2

The first part of the article gives brief descriptions of the objects making up Groups One and Two and presents evidence for their provenance and dating (summarised in Table 1).[6] Then follows an attempt to contextualise these objects in the physical environment of Middle Kingdom Abydos, initially by reconciling them against the funerary and votive settings for stelae established some years ago by William Kelly Simpson and for objects that fall outside their scope, offer an alternative context (summarised in Table 2). The final section discusses socio-cultural aspects of these monuments (to which Table 3 relates) and then offers a hypothesis for the conception and role they played in the cultic environment of Abydos.

Group One Objects

Arch-topped stelae

Seven objects in this group take the form of arch-topped stelae of which all but two are essentially intact. Of the two with damage, stela National Museum Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427] (limestone, 44 cm high x 43.5 cm wide), is missing its very top, part of the left side and lower half, but the curve of the arch either side of the central shrine motif is intact leaving one only to speculate whether the shrine's top extended above the line of the arch or was fully contained within it. In the centre of the shrine is a niche containing a single mummiform figure now missing its head; the damage at this point makes it impossible to determine if the niche was originally arched top or rectangular. Beneath the niche are three horizontal lines of inscription, two with *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae for the stela's owner the 'steward' Khenty-khety-hetep (*imy-r pr ḫnty-ḫty-ḥtp*) and the third lists the names and titles of five standing figures depicted in an offering scene below. A further six individuals named in a fourth line were likely depicted in another scene in the missing lower portion of the stela.

The second damaged stela, Brussels E 4860 (limestone, 46.5 cm high x 26.5 cm wide), was broken in two in antiquity and the lower half of the single sizeable mummiform figure in the arch-topped niche deliberately chiselled away. The niche is framed with the opening sections of two mirrored offering formulae both of which are incomplete where one would expect to find the name of the deceased, indicating that the stela was probably a prototype or stock item awaiting a purchaser.

Despite having an overall rectangular outline, it is clear from the carefully executed decorated surface of Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna ÄS 109 (limestone, 45.5 cm high x 35 cm wide) that the finished stela was intended to be arch-topped. In the centre of the lunette is a single niche with a shallow arched top containing a mummiform female figure sporting a Hathoric wig; piled either side are various food offerings carved in sunk relief. Beneath them and in the centre of the stela is a large rectangular aperture with a pierced-work *ankh* flanked by two rectangular niches each containing a single mummiform male figure wearing a bag wig and framed by a vertical columns of inscription giving two *ḥtp-di-nsw*

[6] More detail will be given to the descriptions of objects that previously have received little attention.

formulae and a version of CT 788.[7] All three mummiform figures bear a single column of inscription down their front giving the owner's name. Immediately beneath each niche is a seated male figure in sunk-relief facing towards the *ankh* symbol and a short hieroglyphic inscription giving their names and titles. The lower register consists of four horizontal lines of inscription on behalf of the stela owner Senbef (*snb.f*).

Stela CG 20038 (limestone, 35 cm high x 29 cm wide), the smallest of the group, is dedicated to the well-known official Iykhernofret (*iy-ḫr-nfrt*) and belongs to the first of Simpson's Abydos North Offering Chapel groups (Fig. 3).[8] The raised border running around the front of the stela framing the main composition is inscribed with two mirrored *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae both for Iykhernofret with a third arranged in two horizontal lines in the upper part of the lunette. Beneath is an offering scene executed in sunk relief depicting four family members or colleagues followed by yet a fourth *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula inscribed in a single horizontal line. The remaining approximately three-fifths of the stela is dominated by a single niche containing half-round figures of two women in tight-fitting strap dresses that end just above the ankles, and two male figures each clad in what can best be described as a shroud-like garment which leaves the feet and ankles exposed. Similar garments are depicted on a number of other late Middle Kingdom male

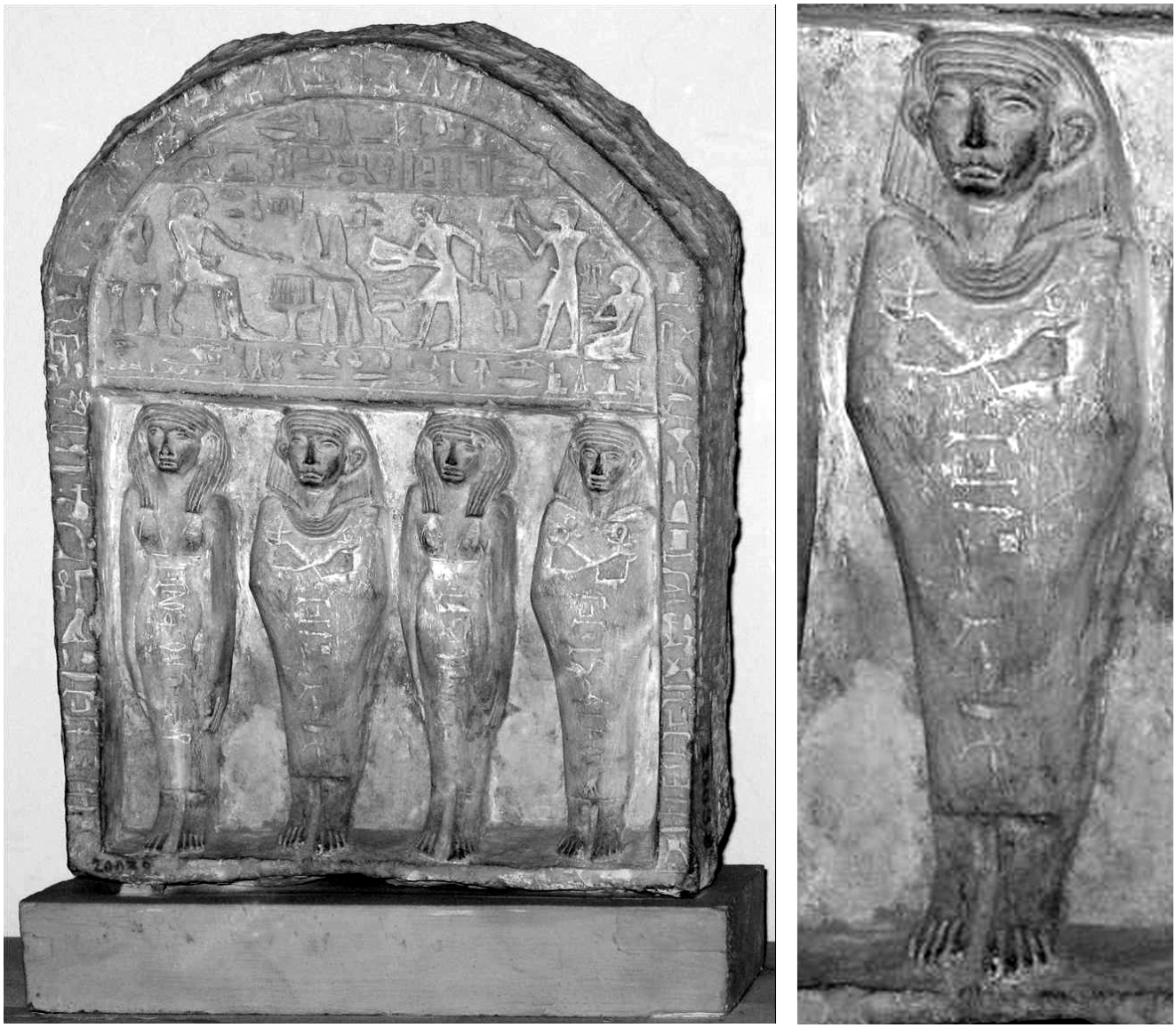


Fig. 3 – Cairo Museum, CG 20038. Close up of second figure from left. Photograph by Gianluca Miniaci. Published with the kind permission of the Egyptian Museum Cairo

[7] Versions of the spell (presenting the *wn-ḫr* formula) appear on a variety of objects and these have been studied in some detail, principally by Lohwasser, *Die Formel 'Öffnen des Gesichts'*; Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 246-51.

[8] Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, 17.

statuettes.[9] CG 20038 is the only object from both groups with figures that are not in the strictest sense mummiform. However, while they lack the all-enveloping mantle expected of a mummy, it is reasonable to assume that they represent a style of shroud that was soon replaced (at least in funerary iconography) by the tight enveloping wrappings of the characteristic mummiform body. In addition, both CG 20038's male figures grasp *ankh* symbols most often associated with freestanding shabtis/funerary statuettes and thus represent the earliest example of this tradition.[10]

Another Group One stela closely related to CG 20038 seems to mark this transition in the attire of the deceased from shroud to fully wrapped body. Basel III 5002 (limestone, 65.5 cm high x 44.5 cm wide) belongs to the same Iykhernofret ANOC 1 group and has in its arch-topped niche a single recognisably mummiform statuette. The niche is framed by two mirrored *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae both dedicated to the 'interior-overseer' Sa-satet (*imy-r ꜥḫnwty s3-styt*). The single large mummiform figure within the niche sports a lappet wig with hands visible over its tight fitting shroud and a single column of inscription giving Sa-satet's name and title and naming his mother Sat-khety-wer (*s3t-ḫty-wr*). The figure is flanked by four smaller human-form figures carved in sunk relief – two men on the left side and two women on the right. Arranged below the niche are seven horizontal lines of text which include CT 788, an 'Appeal to the Living' and *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula also dedicated to Sa-satet.

CG 20097 (sandstone, 46 cm high x 33 cm wide) displays a niche with a low arch top containing a single mummiform figure flanked and embraced by two female attendants in tight-fitting dresses and sporting Hathoric wigs. With its delicate carving, assured rendering of facial features, wigs, garments and overall harmonious arrangement, the stela ranks amongst the finest example in the group. The border surrounding the niche is carefully smoothed and bears no trace of an inscription,[11] which suggests that, like Brussels E 4860, it represents an unfinished stock product or even a fine sculptor's prototype.[12] The presence of stelae produced speculatively for sale hints at a degree of popularity for a style that belies the otherwise modest number of known examples.[13]

CG 20569 (limestone, 43 cm high x 30 cm wide) is inscribed for the 'steward of the storehouse of the controller of work' Senbef (*imy-r pr n*(*y*) *wḏ3 n*(*y*) *ḫrp k3wt snb.f*) and is undoubtedly the crudest of all the arch-topped stelae in Group One (Fig. 4). It is almost entirely covered with red pigment contrasted only by the incised hieroglyphs coloured pale green and the black-painted mummiform figure, sporting a wig and with no hands visible. The central arch-topped niche is surrounded by

Fig. 4 – CG 20569. Photograph by Gianluca Miniaci. Published with the kind permission of the Egyptian Museum Cairo

[9] For example: Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire*, 130, E 10914; Peet, Loat, *The Cemeteries of Abydos. Part III*, pl. 9. The vee-neck formed by the cloak is similar to that on statues of king Nebhepetre Montuhotep from Deir el-Bahari, which are the earliest royal statues defined as 'Osiride form' and sport an even shorter knee-length cloak (Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep*, 46-9, pls. 25-7).

[10] Grajetzki, Whelan, *SAK* 37, 125-30; Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 180-2.

[11] It is possible that the stela once bore inked inscriptions that have now worn away. Examples of finely carved stelae with inked inscriptions are known, for example: Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. IV, pl. 24, CG 20325; pl. 54, CG 20720.

[12] Also CG 20497 described below. See also: Whelan, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 137.

[13] As has already been suggested for the production by temple workshops of human-form group-statues (Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet*, 101).

inscriptions; the left side bears a *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula and around the right is a short 'Appeal to the Living': "O people who shall pass by this road (going) downstream or upstream[14] may you say a thousand of bread, beer, cattle and fowl [...]" (*i r(m)ṯ sw3.t(y).sn ḥr w3t.ṯn m ḫd m ḫnty ḏd.ṯn ḫ3 m t ḥnḳt k3 3pd* [...]). This seems to be an abbreviated and partly garbled redaction taken from the Abydos stela of the deputy treasurer Sehetepibre (CG 20538).[15] The execution and layout of the hieroglyphs running around the niche is awkward to say the least, even though the signs were drafted in black ink before carving (traces of outlines are still visible). To make matters worse, not enough room was allowed for the dedicatory text in the vertical column on the mummy, necessitating its continuation down beyond the figure on to the bottom of the stela and, even then, still required the concluding epithet *nb im3ḫ* to be placed to one side! Perhaps this stela was a stock-product like Brussels E 4860 and CG 20097 and the sculptor ran into difficulties accommodating a longer-than-anticipated personalised portion of text for its purchaser.

Provenance

Only three of these arch-topped stelae come from documented excavations at Abydos. CG 20569 and CG 20038 were excavated by Auguste Mariette in the "nécropole du nord"[16] and Brussels E 4860 by John Garstang just beyond the (local) western limits of the Frenchman's concession on the (local) north side of the main *wadi* where a large Middle Kingdom cemetery had developed.[17] As mentioned above, Basel III 5002's connection to the same Abydene memorial chapel as CG 20038 is virtually certain. An Abydos provenance can also be proposed for Vienna ÄS 109, which was acquired from the Austrian collector E.A. Burghart,[18] partly from an entry in the museum's object records[19] and partly because its lengthy inscriptions include several references to Abydene locations including the 'Terrace of the Great God' as well as a distinctly Osirianised version of CT 788 (lines 2-4):

(Vertical columns)
(1) *ḥtp-di-nsw 3sir nṯr ꜥ3 prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt k3 3pd šs mnḫt n k3 n(y) ipt ir.n snbi* (2) *wn-ḫr nw snbf.pn m3.f nb 3ḫ.t ḏ3i.f* (3) *ḫr.t ḥms i.f m ḫnt(y) itr.ty 3ḫ.t di.k ꜥ.k snḫn n 3sir* (4) *ḥr nḫt ir.n kmḫ.t(w)s m3ꜥ ḫrw ꜥnḫ ir.n kmḫ.(tw?) s* (5) *ḥtp d nsw wpw3wt nb t3 ḏsr prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt k3 3pd n k3 nw snbf ir.n mri* (6) *ipt ir.n nb im3ḫ snbi* (7) *ḫnmw ir.t s3t-ḥt-ḥr* (8) *prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt k3 3pd šs*

(Horizontal lines)
(9) *nb.f mry m3ꜥ ḥsy.f n(y) st-ib.f ḥm-nṯr wꜥb ḏbꜥw wdpw iri ꜥḥt nṯr sn* (10) *ḏf3w ḥr ḫ3wt ḏwi psḏt r šbw mr-st snbf* (11) *ḏd.f ir.n.i n.i mꜥḥꜥt ṯw s3ḫt.s mnḥ st.s r rd(w) n nṯr ꜥ3 nb ꜥnḫ ḫnty 3bḏw* (12) *ḥr wꜥrt(y) nb.t ḥtpwt sn.i snṯr pr m ḫnt s3w.i m nṯr idit*

(Vertical columns)
(1) An offering which the king gives to Osiris great god, a voice offering of bread, beer, ox, fowl, alabaster and linen for the *ka* of Ipet born of Senbi. (2) Opening the sight of this Senbef (so that) he sees the lord of the horizon cross (3) the sky (as) he dwells in front of the horizon of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt so that you may give your hand to guide for the Osiris (4) Hornakht born of Kemehtus, the justified; Ankh born of Kemehtus (?) (5) An offering which the king gives to Wepwawet lord of the sacred land, a voice offering of bread, beer, ox and fowl for the *ka* of Senbef born of Meri (6) Ipet born of the possessor of veneration Senbi (7) Henemu born of Sat-hathor, (8) a voice offering of bread, beer, ox, fowl and alabaster.

(Horizontal lines)
(9) Truly beloved of his lord, his praised one of his affection, the god's servant and the priest pure-of-fingers, cupbearer, chamber-keeper of the god's farmland, (who) supplies (10) provisions upon the table of offerings, the one who summons the Ennead to food-offerings (by) the store overseer Senbef. (11) He says: I made for me this memorial-chapel beautified it, established its place at the Terrace of the Great God, Lord of Life, one foremost (of) Abydos (12) (and established for it) offerings from every district, and I smell incense coming forth and I am satisfied by the god's fragrance

With the definite Abydene provenance for three stelae and virtual certainty for two, it is not unreasonable to assume the same for uninscribed CG 20097[20] and also Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427], whose connection oth-

[14] The writing of 'downstream or upstream' is abbreviated here using just two opposite-facing boats.
[15] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 145-50.
[16] Mariette, *Catalogue générale des monuments d'Abydos*, 341, no. 952, CG 20569; 221-2, no. 746, CG 20038.
[17] Whelan, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 134-5.
[18] Brief details about the activities of Burghart can be found in: Coenen, *Orientalia* 68, 99.
[19] "In der Beschreibung von 1826 ist als Herfkunftsangabe 'Ypsambul' genannt, womit zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts auch Abydos bezeichnet wurde" (Hein, Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 39).
[20] CG 20097 is the only object from Groups One and Two made from sandstone (an uncommon material for Middle Kingdom stelae in general). Sandstone is not local to the Abydos region and would have been imported from one of the quarries between Esna and Aswan or even Nubia (for the quarries see: Klemm, Klemm, *Stones and Quarries*, 167-213), but this only shows that the material's origin lay elsewhere and does not unduly question an Abydene provenance.

erwise comes only from having the generic invocation 'Osiris-Khentyimentiu lord of Abydos' in its offering formula.

Dating

Of all the objects in Group One, only Basel III 5002 and CG 20038 can be precisely dated. Both are associated in one way or another with the treasurer Iykhernofret who served under Senwosret III[21] and represent, together with a further nine stelae Simpson's ANOC 1.[22] Roughly the same date can be argued for Brussels E 4860 on the grounds that it shares with CG 20038 an extremely uncommon arrangement of the signs composing the mirrored *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae framing the sides of its niche.[23] The execution and style of the figures and overall quality of CG 20097 is closest to those of CG 20038 and may indicate a similar date. The remaining stelae in this group can be placed between the terminal Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasty based primarily upon prosopographical and genealogical data. Oleg Berlev places CG 20569 in the second half of the Middle Kingdom on account of its 'Appeal to the Living' being inscribed in the raised border around the niche;[24] a dating Detlef Franke refines to the end of Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty since the owner Senbef is known also from an offering-table naming his children who in turn are linked to several other monuments, the latest of which belongs in the early Thirteenth Dynasty.[25] We can be reasonably sure that it was made sometime after the reign of Amenemhat III because its 'Appeal to the Living' is inaccurately copied from the stela of Sehetepibre erected under this king. Stela Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427] is assigned variously to the late Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty,[26] though the prefixing of the title 'overseer of fields' (*imy-r ȝḫwt*) to 'seal-bearer of the king' (*ḫtmw bity*) belonging to one of the officials on the stela favours a date at the end of this range.[27] Vienna ÄS 109 has been tentatively assigned to the penultimate reign of the Twelfth Dynasty on the basis of prosopographical data linking one of the individuals named on it to an administrative document from Kahun bearing a regnal year 1 believed to be that of Amenemhat IV.[28] However, the title *wdpw iri ʿḥt nṯr* is suggestive of somewhat later in the Thirteenth Dynasty when roles developed around the title of *wdpw*,[29] and a dating closer to those proposed for the other stelae from Group Two (discussed later).

Fig. 5 – CG 20497. Photograph by Gianluca Miniaci. Published with the kind permission of the Egyptian Museum Cairo

Rectangular slabs and stelae

The first aspect to note about the rectangular slabs in this group is that unlike the arch-topped stelae, they *all* incorporate *multiple* mummiform figures carved in high-relief, ranging in number from two up to eight. The second, less obvious aspect, is that in terms of their composition and inscriptions, only three slabs, CG 20497, Louvre C 44 and Turin 1630, appear to be intact and/or display a seemingly complete and self-contained range of dedications and formulae.[30]

CG 20497 (limestone, 54 cm high x 34 cm wide) has

[21] Franke, *Personendaten*, 56, Doss. 27; 92, Doss. 94; 332, Doss. 551.
[22] The relationship between individuals mentioned in the inscriptions and Iykhernofret are discussed in detail by: Leprohon, *JARCE* 15, 33-8.
[23] Whelan, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 135-6.
[24] Berlev, *КСИНА* 46, 49 and 61.
[25] Franke, *Personendaten*, 379, Doss. 643; for the other related documents see: 141, Doss. 181; 372, Doss. 630.
[26] Kitchen, Beltrao, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection*, vol. I, 47; Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung*, 133; Stefanović, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles*, 128, Doss. 682.
[27] Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung*, 137; see also Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt*, 91.
[28] Franke, *Personendaten*, 382, Doss. 650 (=Griffith, *The Petrie Papyri*, 64-5, pl. 26a, l. 11). The Twelfth Dynasty dating is followed in the recent Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition catalogue (Yamamoto, in Oppenheim *et. al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 267-8.
[29] Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 55.
[30] As this discussion will show later, this does not mean that they are to be treated as isolated stelae, but represent individual elements of more complex multi-part monuments.

a rectangular niche containing two mummiform male figures and a living-form female in a tight-fitting strap dress, each with their names and titles inscribed down their front (Fig. 5). Although the name on the central figure can no longer be read, the still-preserved title 'interior-overseer' (*imy-r ḫnwty*) belongs to the monument's owner Amenemhat (*imn-m-ḥ3t*), whose wife is named in the inscription on the female figure. Of the second mummiform figure only the title is preserved leaving us to guess at his relationship to Amenemhat. The overall shape and layout of the slab with the remains of a cavetto cornice modelled directly above the three figures, themselves framed by vertical border lines, resembles a familiar type of Middle Kingdom 'false-door' stela.[31] It is unlikely to have been trimmed from something larger as the five horizontal lines of inscription immediately beneath the niche present a complete 'Appeal to the Living':

(1) *imy-r ḫnwty imn-m-ḥ3t dd.f ir.n.i n.i mḥt tw s3ḫt(i) smnḫ st.s r rd n*
(2) *nṯr ʿ3 nb ʿnḫ ḫnt 3bḏw ḥr wʿrt nb.t ḏf3(w) ḥr wʿrt nb.t ḥtp.t sn.i*
(3) *snṯr pr m ḫnt ḥtmw.i m ỉdt nṯr i srw* (4) *imyw 3bḏw wnwt .i mi ḳd.s mrr.ṯn wpw3wt nṯr.ṯn bnr mrwt*
(5) *ḏd.ṯn ḥtp-di-nsw ḫ3 t ḥnḳt k3 3pd ꜣs mnḫt snṯr mrḥt n k3 n(y) imy-r ḫnwty imn-m-ḥ3t ir.n iwi*

(1) The interior-overseer Amenemhat he says: I made for me this offering chapel, it being made effective, its place being made excellent at the Terrace of (2) the Great God, Lord of Life, one foremost (of) Abydos at the district of *Nebet-djefau* (and) at the district of *Nebet-hetepet*, that I might inhale (3) the incense that comes forth and that I be provided with the fragrance of the god. O officials (4) in Abydos and the entire temple priesthood, as you love Wepwawet, your god, sweet of love, (5) (so) may you say an offering which the king gives a thousand (of) bread, beer, ox, fowl, alabaster, linen and incense for the *ka* of the interior-overseer Amenemhat born of Iwi

Below the text is an undecorated and roughly cut rebate running across the width of the slab,[32] approximately half the depth of the niche and about the same height as the panel of text above, which presumably served as a tenon for attachment to some other element (discussed further in the physical setting section of this article).

Turin 1630 (limestone, 35 cm high x 45.5 cm wide) has finely executed decoration occupying two registers;[33] the top half is occupied with sunk relief depictions of the principal deceased, the 'overseer of the army' Sahur-hetep (*mr-mšʿ s3-ḥr-ḥtp*), seated on the far left before a table piled high with food offerings with his wife Ity (*ity*) to the right of it, both of whom are each attended by one of their children. To the right of this is a scene on a slightly

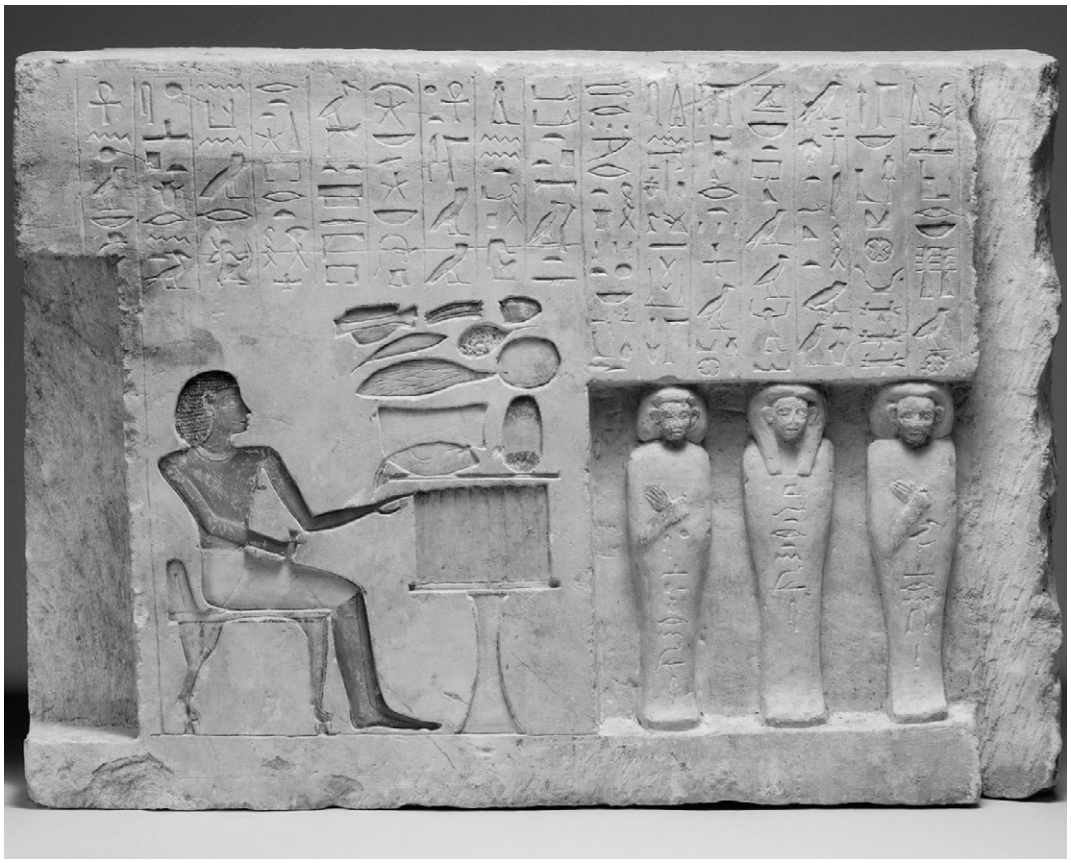


Fig. 6a – MMA 65.120.1,
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[31] Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, vol. II, 484.

[32] There are a few markings on the rebate but these appear to be of little significance ("Roh. Einige Kritzeleien ohne Bedeutung" as noted in: Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 89 f.).

[33] For a colour photograph of Turin 1630: Donadoni Roveri, *Egyptian Civilization: Religious Beliefs*, 111, pl. 148. A detailed edition of the inscriptions has yet to be published and my observations are taken from notes made during a visit to the museum.

smaller scale of another seated couple, Re-pep-Ptah (*rʿ-pp-ptḥ*) and Itu (*itw*), facing towards Sahur-hetep and Ity. The lower register comprises a horizontal niche running almost the entire width of the slab incorporating eight mummiform figures with their names inscribed in the spaces between them. The whole composition, which is framed by columns of mirrored inscription, appears essentially complete.[34]

Both MMA 65.120.1 (limestone, 30.5 cm high x 42 cm wide) and MMA 65.120.2 (limestone, 30.5 cm high x 48 cm wide) (Fig. 6a-b), were made by the same careful hand and must come from the same monument belonging to another 'overseer of the army' Sehetepibre (*mr-mšʿ sḥtp-ib-rʿ*).[35] MMA 65.120.1 has a niche in the lower half of the right side with three mummiform figures, two male and one female. To the left, Sehetepibre is depicted seated before a table piled high with offerings realised in sunk relief, and behind part of a second niche (?). The upper half of the stelae is filled with sixteen columns of inscription. The lower half of MMA 65.120.2 is occupied by a wide niche containing seven mummiform figures, three male and four female; the top of the niche has two taller steps on the right to accommodate the two larger mummies of Sehetepibre and his wife Djehuty-hetep (*ḏḥwty-ḥtp*). Above the niche on the left Sehetepibre is shown seated before offerings similar to MMA 65.120.1 but on a smaller scale. The remainder of the slab is filled with six horizontal lines of inscription.

It is suggested that originally they were set up at right angles to one another to form the internal corner of a chapel, resulting in an L-shape stela displaying a single continuous niche with ten mummiform figures, with MMA 65.120.2 as the back wall.[36] Initially, this reconstruction appears totally secure, especially as there is a vertical rebate on the right edge of MMA 65.120.1 seemingly designed to locate with the left hand side of MMA 65.120.2, and because both slabs share the same overall height and have matching base lines for their niches.[37] However, a

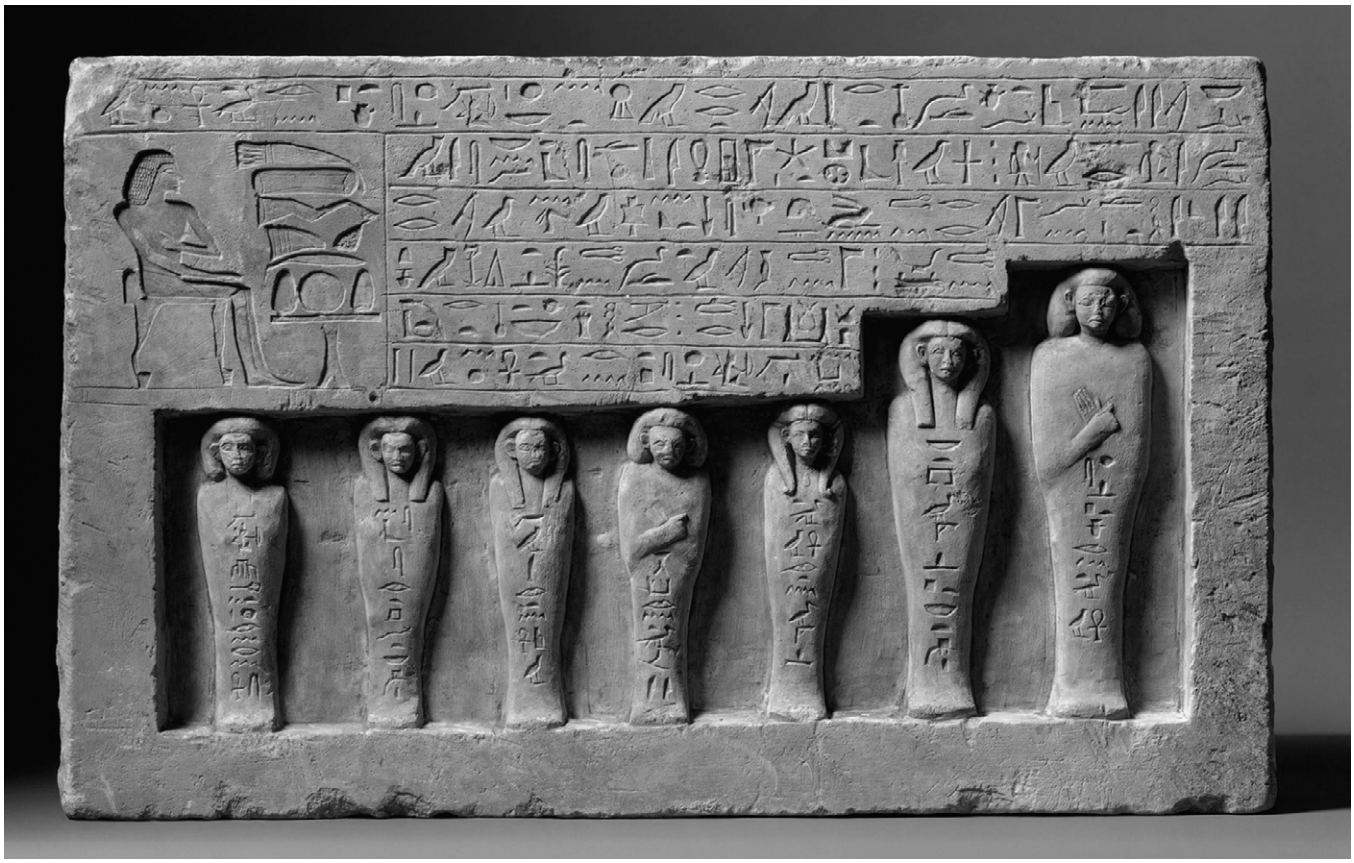


Fig. 6b – MMA 65.120.2, Open Access for Scholarly Content www.metmuseum.org

[34] Despite the badly worn lower register and significant chipping elsewhere, it is possible to see an outer vertical margin line on the left and right sides running the height of the slab.

[35] Doxey, in Oppenheim *et. al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 266-7, cat. 202.

[36] Lilyquist, in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 66. Doxey, in Oppenheim *et. al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 266.

[37] In its present condition, the left edge of MMA 65.120.2 could not have been placed flush to the surface of MMA 65.120.1 as this arrangement would leave a void visible at the right edge

closer examination of the two objects reveals a number of issues that cast some doubt on this arrangement. Firstly, the rebate running along the right edge of MMA 65.120.1 is of insufficient depth to accommodate the left edge of MMA 65.120.2 so as to create the appearance of an uninterrupted right-angled niche with the other slab; and anyway, such a reconstruction would partly obscure the last hieroglyph in the horizontal inscription above the seated figure on MMA 65.120.2. The rebate probably relates to another, now missing, element of the monument from which the two slabs come or is evidence of a carefully executed later adaptation.[38] The narrow open-sided recess on the left of MMA 65.120.1 has no obvious purpose and possibly represents one side of a niche, but suggests that the slab was once wider or was connected to another element that completed the niche – the latter possibility is incompatible with the proposed three-sided chapel format. The recess/partial niche is itself a later addition to the original decoration since the top of it partially crops the final hieroglyphic sign of the word *im3ḫ* in the last column of inscription.[39] It should also be noted that the proposed back wall does not display the symmetrical layout using mirrored text and/or figures and/or sometimes centrally positioned motifs frequently defining the focal point slab of such chapels.[40] Furthermore, whereas there is no reason to doubt that MMA 65.120.1 preserves its original height principally because its sixteen columns of inscription are essentially complete, the same may not be true for MMA 65.120.2 whose text appears to belong to a longer composition. The text opens with an epithet string, *mry nb.f m3ᶜ n*(*y*) *st-ib.f*, which is usually preceded by preliminaries such as the name of the individual,[41] and may therefore be missing at least one additional line of text. A complete form of this arrangement is conveniently demonstrated on Vienna ÄS 109, which has a similar epithet string *mry nb.f m3ᶜ ḥsy.f* opening the four horizontal lines of text in the lower half of the stela, but as a continuation of a dedicatory inscription beginning in the vertical columns above (see full text above). It seems unlikely that the inscription on MMA 65.120.1 would have provided the preliminary section since its width is 6 cm narrower than MMA 65.120.2 and would have looked at odds if placed directly above it and unbalanced if arranged on an opposite wall of a chapel.[42] This difference in width is also relevant in considering the arrangement – usually the wider slabs form the side walls of the chapel, whereas this reconstruction would have a longer back wall. An alternative solution for the original arrangement of these slabs will be discussed later in the section on physical context.

The inscriptions on MMA 65.120.1 and MMA 65.120.2 present us with extensive offering formulae and an unusual version of the 'Appeal to the Living', which combined represent the longest funerary texts of any object in this group:

MMA 65.120.1

(1) *ḥtp-di-nsw 3sir nb ḏdw* (2) *nṯr ᶜ3 nb 3bḏw wpw3wt* (3) *ḥr nḏ-ḥr it.f ḥḳt ḫnmw* (4) *ḥwt-ḥr nbt pr ḳ3w* (5) *nṯr*(*w*) *nṯr*(*w*)*t imyw 3bḏw* (6) *d.sn prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt k3 3pd šs mnḫt snṯr* (7) *mrḥt ḫt nb*(*t*) *nfr*(*t*) *wᶜbt* (8) *ddt pt ḳm3t t3* (9) *innt ḥᶜp*(*y*) (10) *ᶜnḫt nṯr im m* (11) *3bd ?nt w3g* (12) *ḏḥwtt* (*prt*) *mnw* (13) *prt spdt w3ḥ ᶜḥ* (14) *n k3 n*(*y*) *mr-mšᶜ* (15) *sḥtp-ib-rᶜ ir n* (16) *s3t-ᶜnḫw nb im3ḫ*

(1) An offering which the king gives to Osiris lord of Djedu (2) great god, lord of Abydos; Wepwawet; (3) Horus the avenger of his father; Heket; Khnum, (4) Hathor lady of the High House; (5) gods, goddesses (and) those in Abydos, (6) so that they may give a voice offering of bread, beer, ox, fowl, alabaster, linen, incense (7) and oils, everything good and pure (8) which the heavens give, which the land creates (9) (and) which Hapi brings (10) which a god lives on in the Monthly Festival, the Half-Monthly Festival, the Wag Festival, (12) the Thoth Festival, the Min (Procession), (13) the Sothis Procession (and) the Festival of Setting Up of the Fire Altar (14) for the *ka* of the overseer of the army (15) Sehetepibre, born of (16) Satankhu, possessor of veneration

MMA 65.120.2

(1) *mry nb.f m3ᶜ n*(*y*) *st-ib.f ḏd nfrt wḥm mrrt m ḫrt-ḫrw nt rᶜ-nb mr-mšᶜ sḥtp-ib-rᶜ ir.n s3t-ᶜnḫw* (2) *ḏd.f i srw imyw 3bḏw wnwt ḥwt-nṯr mi ḳd.s wᶜb nb n*(*y*) *s*(*y*) *imy* (3) *kiḥ ḏrt.f n nṯr mrr.ṯn wn tp t3 ḥr sn ṯᶜw n*(*y*) *m3ᶜw mrr.ṯn* (4) *wpw3wt nṯr.ṯn bnr mrwt ḏd.ṯn ḥtp-di-nsw ḫ3 m t ḥnḳt* (5) *k3 3pd šs mnḫt snṯr mrḥt ḫt nb*(.*t*) *nfrt wᶜbt* (6) *n k3 n*(*y*) *mr-mšᶜ sḥtp-ib-rᶜ ir.n s3t-ᶜnḫw m3ᶜ ḫrw*

(1) Truly beloved of his lord of his affection who says what is good and repeats what is loved during the course of every day, the general Sehetepibre born of Satankhu.

of the latter's niche.

[38] In this respect, it has been noted that one mummiform figure on MMA 65.120.2 appears to have been re-worked (Doxey, in Oppenheim *et. al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 266).

[39] The cropping of the hieroglyph is unlikely to be an artist's blunder, since the layout of the text and other elements are otherwise carefully rendered. It is difficult to imagine that the neatly cut rebate and incomplete niche are modern alterations or the bi-product of the slab's removal from its original location.

[40] E.g. three rectangular slabs from the chapel of *s3-ḥwt-ḥrw* in the Hermitage (Bolshakov, Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom Stelae in the Hermitage*, 94-104, pls. 21-3); Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pls. 21 [ANOC 12.1-3]; 70-1 [ANOC 52.1-3]; 74 [ANOC 55.2-4].

[41] Doxey, *Egyptian non-royal epithets*, 3.

[42] As suggested by Doxey, in Freed *et al.* (eds.), *The Secrets of Tomb 10A*, 63.

(2) He says: "O officials, those in Abydos (and) the entire temple priesthood and every *wab*-priest belonging to it, (3) who stretches out his hand (in a ritual gesture) to the god you wish being (to be) upon the earth smelling the breath of the (fair) wind (and) as you love (4) Wepwawet, your god, sweet of love (so) may you say an offering which the king gives a thousand (of) bread, beer, (5) ox, fowl, alabaster, linen, incense (and) oil, everything good and pure (6) for the *ka* of the overseer of the army Sehetepibre, born of Satankhu, true of voice

As can be seen even from the line drawings in Fig. 1, MMA 65.120.1 and MMA 65.120.2 so closely resemble the style of Turin 1630 that undoubtedly the same artisan/workshop was responsible for the production of all three. Not only are there similarities in the rendering of the male mummies, all but one with hands shown[43] and sporting bag wigs, and the female mummies with hands hidden and wearing the same lappet wigs (the only exception is one on MMA 65.120.2 sporting a wig with Hathor-curl terminals), but also the two-dimensional scenes on all three slabs are also comparable, with virtually identical internal detailing applied to the wigs, food offerings and the same style of leonine-legged chairs.

BM EA 8893 (limestone, 23.6 cm x 12.8 cm) is evidently trimmed from a larger composition as only part of the raised border that once framed the mummiform figures is preserved along the bottom and right edges;[44] the top and left borderless edges are trimmed with less care than the others.[45] Of the three slender mummiform figures, two are male (left and centre) with red faces and black painted bag wigs and beards while the third is a female with a black lappet (or possibly Hathoric) wig and yellow face, all with hands visible. Down the front of each is a single column of crudely scratched black-filled hieroglyphs opening with the epithet *im3ḫy* and followed by the owner's name and filiation (*ir.n* +N). Similar slabs with human-form figures, but without framing borders, are known to have been inserted into niches in Abydene stelae.[46]

UC 14347 (limestone, 30 cm x 31 cm) is another object displaying signs of having been trimmed from an original larger size; Harry Stewart noted that its upper edge preserves saw marks[47] and also the right edge is noticeably more damaged, perhaps where it was cut from a larger slab. The two long rectangular niches occupying most of the decorated surface are arranged one above the other, and each contains four mummiform figures. In the upper niche three of the four mummies are female, and all are embraced by a living-form figure carved in less bold relief; in the lower niche, all four mummiform figures are male. One living-form figure embraces the mummy on the far right and two more flank the leftmost. Only the living-form figures are accompanied with labels giving their names and filiations; there is no trace of inscription on the mummies or the raised borders around the niches, which suggests that another element (or missing portion of the same slab?) bore offering formulae and dedications.

Louvre C 44 (limestone, 44 cm high x 43.5 cm wide) belonging to an untitled man named Hor-benekh (*ḥr-bnḫ*) has a rectangular niche containing five mummiform figures, each embraced by a much smaller living-form figure achieved in sunk relief similar to those on UC 14347. The resemblance of this aspect on both stelae was noted long ago by Jean Capart,[48] though in all other respects the arrangement of their compositions is quite different. Above Louvre C 44's niche is a sunk relief scene of food offerings – with no accompanying human figure. Framing this scene and the niche are twelve vertical lines of inscription, six on each side, listing a total of seventeen men and women and giving two *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae, one invoking Osiris and the other Anubis.[49] Charles Boreux likened the niche and depictions of offerings to false-doors and their associated decoration,[50] no doubt because of the partially preserved raised border around the niche similar to those found on other false-door stelae.[51] However, this connection is less obvious on Louvre C 44 than it is for CG 20497, partly because running beneath its niche is an uncharacteristic horizontal line of inscription and also because it lacks the cavetto cornice above the composition typical for false-

[43] See above, n. 38.

[44] Taylor, *Death & the Afterlife*, 114, fig. 75.

[45] There are two square holes in the base which appear to be a modern addition to aid attachment to a plinth.

[46] Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*. *Part II*, 121-2, pl. XXIII.2. It seems less likely that BM EA8893 was fitted into the top of an offering-table as is known for comparable examples, but with half-round human-form figures, such as Louvre E 11573 (Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire*, 144-7). Similarly, a slab in a private collection which displays the same crude workmanship as BM EA8893 also suits an offering-table setting (Scott, *Temple, Tomb and Dwelling*, 76-7, no. 42 who proposes a niche setting). However, unlike BM EA8893, this has a bottom ledge bearing inscription on its upper face similar to that of Louvre E 11573. Likewise, Leiden AST 47 (Schneider, Raven, *De Egyptische Oudheid*, 67, no. 48) probably came from an offering-table setting since it also has only a bottom ledge.

[47] Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae. Part II*, 34, pl. 40.

[48] Capart, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens*, vol. II, unnumbered description and pl. 58.

[49] A full edition of the inscriptions has yet to be published and my notes are based on hand copies.

[50] Boreux, *Département des antiquités égyptiennes*, vol. I, 149-50.

[51] E.g. Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. IV, pl. 3, CG 20021-3.

door stelae. Having said that, the 'floating' location of the niche is somewhat reminiscent of the false-door found on a recently discovered shrine at Dahshur[52] and on a tomb slab from Hawara.[53]

Provenance

None of the rectangular slabs come from documented excavations, though internal evidence confirms an Abydene provenance for several. The 'Appeal to the Living' on CG 20497 calls upon Abydene temple staff and mentions the 'Terrace of the Great God' as well as two sacred districts of *nb.t ḏfȝw* and *nb.t ḥtp.t* located close to the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple.[54] Exactly where these are to be located has yet to be established, though the phrase on Vienna ÄS 109, [and established for it] offerings from every district (*ḥr wʿrt* (*y*) *nb.t ḥtpwt*), might be seen as a collective term for both *nb.t ḏfȝw* and *nb.t ḥtp.t* and therefore denotes a location close to the 'Terrace of the Great God' which occurs in both inscriptions.[55]

Both MMA 65.120.1 and MMA 65.120.2 were acquired from a private collection in 1965,[56] but an Abydene provenance is made virtually certain by the occurrence on MMA 65.120.1 of Hathor with the rare epithet 'Lady of the High House' (*nb.t pr kȝw*). [57] This form of the goddess occurs on just a handful of Abydene stelae of which three, significantly, have empty rectangular niches that once likely accommodated statuettes.[58] Also compelling is the list of seven festivals on MMA 65.120.1 that occur with some frequency on Abydene stelae [59] together with an 'Appeal to the Living' on MMA 65.120.2 tailored for local officials and the temple priesthood.[60]

The inscriptions on Turin 1630 provide no explicit locative information other than the ubiquitous mention of 'Osiris lord of Djedu, great god lord of Abydos' and 'Khentyimentiu' in the offering formula. The stela entered the museum via the collection of Drovetti, a known excavator at Abydos.[61] However, its styling and workmanship is so close to that of MMA 65.120.1 and MMA 65.120.2 that it is virtually certain to have been set up at Abydos also.

Louvre C 44 was acquired in 1826 from the collection of Henry Salt,[62] which included many stelae from Abydos. The only clue as to its provenance comes from the Anubis epithet string, *tpy ḏw.f imy-wt nb tȝ-ḏsr*, which is the most popular combination for this god on stelae from Abydos.[63]

According to Arthur Weigall, Petrie purchased UC 14347 at Abydos in 1901-1902, presumably during his time working at the site.[64] The provenance of EA 8893 British Museum is the least certain of all the rectangular slabs; all that can be said at present is that it was acquired from the bookseller and antiquities dealer Joseph Sams who is known to have purchased objects from the D'Athanasi collection, which included numerous Abydene stelae.[65]

Dating

General dating criteria can be found in the inscriptions on MMA 65.120.1 and MMA 65.120.2; the aforementioned

[52] Baba, Yazawa, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 1-24.
[53] Senussi this volume.
[54] For a discussion of *nb.t ḏfȝw* and *nb.t ḥtp.t* see Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, 13. Simpson suggests that both areas were prime chapel building locations where owners received offerings from the nearby temple establishments. However, it is thought that the two areas were in different locations at different periods.
[55] Regrettably, none of these inscriptions reveal anything more about the organisational aspects of the (re-)distribution of offerings that their names imply nor the relationship between the various *wʿrt* s, besides indicating that *nb.t ḏfȝw* and *nb.t ḥtp.t* were likely to have been topographically close. J. Wegner suggests that these regions were possibly associated exclusively with private memorial/funerary chapels with another location *wʿrt mnḫt nṯrw* ('excellent district (of the) gods') referring to the area where royal cult structures were built (Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III,* 135-6). In fact, Wegner's evidence seems to invalidate Miriam Lichtheim's suggestion (Lichtheim*, Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*, 92) that *wʿrt mnḫt nṯrw* as well as and another designation, *wʿrt ʿȝt hmhmt*, referred to the totality of the cultic area at north Abydos.
[56] Lilyquist, in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 66.
[57] Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, 96; Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos*, 64, 172.
[58] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. I, 395-6, CG 20397; vol. IV, pl. 27; vol. II, 338-40, CG 20713; vol. II, 381-2, CG 20748; vol. IV, pl. 57. See also the brief discussion of stelae with this epithet by Mareé, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 253.
[59] E.g. the comparable, though slightly more extensive festivals listed on two Twelfth Dynasty stelae for Wepwawet-aa (Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, 72-4, nos. 15a-b).
[60] While I also believe Denise Doxey's contention of where the stelae were set up (Doxey, in Freed *et al.* (eds.), *The Secrets of Tomb 10A*, 63), her statement that the inscriptions include "a brief description of the dedication of his monument at the Terrace of the Great God" needs comment since nowhere is this location mentioned on either stela.
[61] Ridley, *Napoleon's Proconsul in Egypt*, 91, 105 (referring to his work at Abydos), 250-71 (Drovetti and the Turin museum).
[62] Lebée, *La collection de stèles égyptiennes*, 6.
[63] Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos*,171.
[64] Weigall, *RT* 29, 217.
[65] I am grateful to John Taylor of the British Museum for this information. The sale catalogue of D'Athanasi includes many Abydene stelae, but none of the descriptions match BM EA 8893 (D'Athanasi, *A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt*, 162-3, 174-5, 185-6, 207-8, 222-4, 235-6, 248-50. For a short biography of Joseph Sams see: Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 485).

epithet 'lady of the High House' on MMA 65.120.1 occurs on a tiny number of stelae ranging in date from the late Twelfth to possibly the Seventeenth Dynasty.[66] The epithet *mry nb.f mꜣᶜ* on MMA 65.120.2 becomes most evident in the latter part of the Twelfth Dynasty.[67] The 'Appeal to the Living' on the same object opens with the phrase "O officials, those in Abydos" (*i srw imyw ꜣbḏw*) which is paralleled by the 'Appeal to the Living' on CG 20497, the latter dated by Franke to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty[68] and by Ilin-Tomich specifically to the reign of Senwosret III/Amenemhat III.[69] However, I wonder if these three stelae represent a somewhat later developmental phase than the earliest arch-topped stelae in the group, since their designs –especially of MMA 65.120.1 and MMA 65.120.2– represent such a radical departure. In a recent exhibition catalogue the latter are given a Thirteenth Dynasty date, based on the treatment of the faces and range of formulae.[70] Their close resemblance to Turin 1630 suggests that all three share the same dating.

BM EA 8893 has only the title-less names of five individuals[71] which offer little help with dating. Only one name, Hu (*ḥw*), belonging to a woman, is found in Ranke's *Personennamen*.[72] The female version occurs on a stela from the reign of Senwosret I –a dating incompatible with our object– whereas the single attestation for the male version (CG 20716) comes from the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty.[73]

In considering the date of UC 14347, one might suppose that the name of its owner, *sbk-nḫt-ḥtp*, would favour a Thirteenth Dynasty date; however, this is the only attestation of the name I am aware of,[74] unless we consider it to be a variant spelling of *sbk-ḥtp-nḫt* which occurs on a stela in Stockholm (no. 19)[75] and is datable to the Thirteenth Dynasty on account of its relatively uncommon lunette decoration with jackals on shrines flanking a pair of *wedjat*-eyes.[76] In his catalogue entry for UC 14347, Harry Stewart tentatively proposes an even later Second Intermediate Period date, though the basis for it is unstated.[77]

Detlef Franke dates Louvre C 44 to the end of the Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty on the basis that three of the ten names mentioned in its texts –the father Hor-bener (*ḥr-bnr*), mother Sat-Hathor (*sꜣt-ḥwt-ḥrw*) and Ipi (*ipi*), sister of the principal deceased– occur on arch-topped stela Musée Calvet 26;[78] however the silhouette-style figures on the latter may place it, and thus Louvre C 44, closer to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty when this decorative technique was most popular.[79]

Freestanding monuments

The two free-standing monuments in Group One are in some ways the most interesting because we can be certain that each is essentially complete. MMA 2014.283a-b is composed of two rectangular limestone blocks placed one on top of the other together measuring 65.3 cm long x 33.2 cm wide and 73 cm high.[80] The lower block is decorated on all sides with an elaborate niched panelling with inscribe symbols preserved on three sides indicating their orientation,[81] while the upper block represents a coffin or *per-nu* shrine with vaulted lid and vertical end boards.[82] Both longer sides incorporate a central false-door framing a pictorial offering scene carved in sunk relief depicting the monument's owner the 'overseer of drummers/sistrum players' Kemes (*imy-r ḫnww kms*). On either side of the false-door on the best preserved (east) side are three rows of pictorial scenes executed in sunk relief depicting family members with accompanying inscriptions; the false-door on the (west) side is framed by eight vertical columns of inscription. Each end of the coffin/shrine also has a central false-door incorporating a niche with a figure carved in half-round

[66] CG 20748 end Twelfth/ beginning of Thirteenth Dynasty (Franke, *Personendaten*, 231, Doss. 353; 418, Doss. 721); BM EA 1213 Senwosret III (283, Doss. 455); Garstang, *El Arábah*, pl. 13, E172, possibly Seventeenth Dynasty (162, Doss. 223).

[67] Doxey, *Egyptian non-royal epithets*, 134.

[68] Franke, *Personendaten*, 81, Doss. 77.

[69] Ilin-Tomich, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 145-68, who also suggests that they belong to the same workshop.

[70] Doxey, in Oppenheim *et. al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 266.

[71] *ipnw, tty, ḫns* (possibly an incomplete writing of *ḫnsw* (Ranke, *PN* I, 270.16), *ḥw, msꜣn*.

[72] Ranke, *PN* I, 234.10.

[73] Franke, *Personendaten*, Louvre C 168 dated to Senwosret I (112, Doss. 133; 114, Doss. 137; 198, Doss. 288; 228, Doss. 347; 438, Doss. 760) and CG 20716 dated to mid-Thirteenth Dynasty (239, Doss. 368; 240, Doss. 371; 426, Doss. 735).

[74] Ranke, *PN* I, 304.17.

[75] Ranke, *PN* I, 305.9; Mogensen, *Stèles égyptiennes*, 16-7, no. 19.

[76] This is the dating for Vienna ÄS 156 (Hein, Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 84-92) which bears the same decoration (for dating see: Franke, *Personendaten*, 71, Doss. 56).

[77] Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae. Part II*, 34.

[78] Moret, *RT* 32, 152-3, pl. II.2; Franke, *Personendaten*, 133, Doss.168; 273, Doss. 435.

[79] Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 115; Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 62-3.

[80] Lapp, *MDAIK* 50, 232.

[81] *Art. cit.*, 236-7.

[82] For a discussion of this type of shrine see: Arnold, in *LÄ* IV, 932-3.

Fig. 7 – MMA 2014.283a-b. Copyright: Pierre Bergé & Associés

relief; the northern niche contains the mummiform figure of Kemes (Fig. 7), who appears in everyday dress in the southern false-door niche. Besides fifteen *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae dedicated to Kemes and other members of his family, the extensive inscriptions include Coffin Text spells, CT 353, 387, 773 and 788,[83] as well as two 'pyramidia spells', one to Geb and the other to Anubis.

The truncated obelisk shape of the Tadross Collection monument (limestone, 60 cm high x 42 cm wide x 36 cm deep), belonging to the 'chief of tens of Upper Egypt' Senebrau (*wr-mḏw šmᶜ snb-r-ȝw*) is markedly different in form and layout to that of MMA 2014.283a-b. It has a rectangular plan, instead of square as one might expect for a pyramidion-topped object. The decoration and inscriptions are arranged on each of the four vertical sides, some of which is now missing through damage; the pyramidal top section is left plain (Fig. 8). The two wider sides each incorporate a large, almost square, niche framed on either side by single columns of inscription and above by a single line of text on one and two lines on the other, both comprising two mirrored *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae;[84] each niche contains a male and female figure in everyday dress carved in half-round relief. One male has close-cropped hair and wears a calf length kilt and holds the hand of the female who sports a heavy shoulder length wig and wears an ankle-length strap dress; the other male figure has a bag-like wig and knee-length tri-partite kilt and the female is similarly attired to her counterpart, but whose right arm is stretched out almost horizontally to embrace the man. Each narrower side displays a noticeably slimmer niche incorporating a single half-round figure of a mummy holding two *hes*-vases and sporting a heavy lappet wig. The area around both niches is almost entirely occupied by inscriptions – one niche is framed by three columns on either side with three horizontal lines above, the other has two columns either side and two lines above – comprising an uncommon version of the shabti spell.

Provenance

Neither monument comes from documented excavations, though a non-Abydene provenance has been proposed for both based on the regionally-specific deities and locales mentioned in their offering formulae. In the case of MMA 2014.283a-b, the crocodile god Sobek appears in

[83] Only part of this is preserved: … [*ȝḫ.t*]*ḏᶜi*[.]*f ḥr*[*.t*]. The spelling matches a version on the middle of three coffins for an overseer of priests at Meir dated to the reign of Amenemhat III or later (Kamal, *ASAE* 14, 76; for the dating: Willems, *Chests of life*, 87, *ḥᶜi-ḫpr-Rᶜ-snb* - C, no. 2; M20-21).

[84] The second line of inscription just above the top of the niche has no border lines unlike the others and appears to be a later addition.

Fig. 8 – Tadross Collection monument. Copyright: Pierre Bergé & Associés

its Heliopolitan manifestation, *sbk nb ỉwnw*,[85] as well as Anubis with the Middle Kingdom epithet, *nb ḥn*,[86] which originally was associated with the god's Memphis cult.[87] Furthermore, the opening of the 'pyramidion spell' to Anubis precisely copies the version on the Dahshur pyramidion of Amenemhat III.[88] It is worth noting also that the 'palace façade' motif decorating the base of MMA 2014.283a-b resembles not only the enclosure of the Step Pyramid of king Djoser at Saqqara, but temporally and symbolically more relevant the elaborately panelled outer casings of *mastabas* of late Twelfth Dynasty high officials at Dahshur and el-Lisht.[89] Perhaps then, the latter architecture had more bearing on its design.[90] Even the arm and hand positions of the mummiform figure are characteristic of Lower Egyptian manufacture,[91] whereas for all other mummiform figures in the corpus where arms are indicated their positions follow the predominantly Upper Egyptian tradition of right arm crossed over left.[92] Most significant of all, the style and execution of the false-doors and especially the internal decorative layout of those on the longer sides are virtually identical to one from a Hawara tomb.[93] If the monument's northern manufacture now seems certain (see also social context section below), it is equally likely that it was transported south and set up at Abydos. In fact, a miniature chapel carved from a single block of limestone found at Abydos by Mariette in the "nécropole du nord" (CG 20742) adds credence to this scenario,[94] bearing as it does an offering formula invoking several Memphite gods as well as the deified king Sneferu. The owner of this monument, the 'rower of the treasury' Horwerra (*ḫny n pr-ḥḏ ḫr-wr-rᶜ*), was connected to the royal palace at Lisht[95] and perhaps the pyramid town at Dahshur.[96] In his capacity as 'rower of the treasury' Horwerra was quite likely to have travelled to Abydos on official assignments, which would explain how his monument, and others with distinctly Memphite characteristics, came to be erected there.[97] Thus, MMA 2014.283a-b and

[85] Brovarski, in *LÄ* V, 998-1002 (Lower Egyptian ref. l).
[86] Lapp, *MDAIK* 50, 234.
[87] Kees, *ZÄS* 87, 132, n. 1.
[88] Maspero, *ASAE* 3, 207.
[89] Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, 16, pls. 2-6; Arnold, in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*.
[90] And even the decoration of full-size coffins (Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 89).
[91] According to Günther Roeder's analysis of Osiris statuettes, albeit applicable primarily for those of bronze rather than stone (Roeder, in Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, 249.
[92] Roeder, in Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, 249, pl. 1d.
[93] The block of Sobekhotep is published by A. Senussi in this volume and can be compared with Lapp, *MDAIK* 50, pls. 37-40. Note in particular in the false-doors on the longer sides, the same two plain horizontal bands running beneath the offering scenes, the substantial undecorated section underneath these borders, and the identical treatment of the seated figures (pls. 37-8).
[94] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 373-6, CG 20742; vol. IV, pl. 56. The Cairo catalogue erroneously states that the chapel's origin is unknown, but it is published in Mariette, *Catalogue générale des monuments d'Abydos*, 587-9, no.1496. Fine photographs of CG 20742 can be found in Russo, *The territory w*, pls. 7-10 (p. 55-6 for discussion).
[95] For a discussion of Horwerra's and related titles see: Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt*, 59-60.
[96] Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, vol. I, 140.
[97] Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt*, 59-60; Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 8. Also relevant in this regard is an unprovenanced Middle Kingdom miniature chapel in the Musée Calvert, Avignon, which is dedicated to an 'overseer of the house/department of reckoning *ḥᶜw*-ships' (Moret, *RT* 32, 146-52; Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient*

Horwerra's monument were likely manufactured in a northern workshop and transported to Abydos to commemorate their owners' actual or notional pilgrimages to the sacred site. As a consequence monuments such as these would have contributed to the southward transmission of Memphite religious beliefs and terminology, and explains how another phrase on MMA 2014.283a-b with Memphite origins, *m rwti iswt*,[98] becomes prominent at Abydos in the Middle Kingdom when it is associated exclusively with the syncretic god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.[99]

A similar explanation may be advanced for the Tadross Collection monument with its offering formula calling upon Hathor of Gebelein, which was regarded by Pascal Vernus as proof of its original location.[100] However, subsequent studies have shown that reference to a regional divinity is no guarantee of provenance.[101] In light of the positive evidence for an Abydene provenance for the majority of other objects from Group One presented so far we can be fairly confident that the Tadross Collection monument was set up there[102] and, even more convincingly, because the only parallel known to me of its extremely rare version of the shabti formula occurs on a crude limestone statuette of a 'steward of Divine-Offerings at Abydos' named Ipu, which was discovered by John Garstang at North Abydos in 1907.[103]

Dating

The mummiform figure of MMA 2014.283a-b provides us with a valuable clue for dating because, unlike any other figure in the corpus, it grasps the crook and flail associated with kingship/Osiris.[104] It is clearly not Osiris represented here, but an 'Osirianised' form of the monument's owner Kemes, whose name appears three times in the inscription around the niche.[105] As such, it belongs to a funerary tradition evident from the end of the Twelfth-Thirteenth Dynasties whereby the deceased was provided with physical or pictorial examples of Osirian/royal regalia in the tomb.[106] The date can be refined further by virtue of the manner in which the sunk relief living-form image of Kemes on the west side grasps the tail of his leopard skin garment, which follows those on stelae from the period of Sobekhotep III-Neferhotep I.[107] Equally unusual is the presence of several Coffin Text and two 'pyramidia' spells that contributed to Detlef Franke's "late first or early second quarter of the Thirteenth Dynasty" dating of the monument.[108] Having this many spells on just one monument would be somewhat at odds with a later dating when one would expect an ever decreasing range of spells to be used, ultimately condensing into the Book of the Dead.[109] On the other

Egyptian Nautical Titles, 57, no. 35).

[98] Wb V, 405-7; Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, 198.

[99] Lapp, *MDAIK* 50, 235; Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos*, 18-20, 178.

[100] Vernus, *RdE* 26, 107 (a).

[101] E.g. Hathor of Dendera appears in the tomb of Tetiky (TT15) at Thebes. This aspect has recently been discussed in: Hollender, *Amenophis I. und Ahmes Nefertari*, 15-6.

[102] I am also not aware of any even remotely comparable objects from Gebelein. Admittedly, the inadequacy of published reports of the Middle Kingdom cemetery at Gebelein make it impossible to accurately assess the material assemblages that may have come from votive or burial activity at the site. Even so, none of the recorded stelae display the variety of innovative styles apparent at Abydos (Fraser, *PSBA* 15, 498; Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs*, 11-34; PM V, 162-4; Donadoni Roveri, *Gebelein*, 41-59; Marée, *OMRO* 73, 7-22). The same is also true for the very few non-royal votive stelae of Middle Kingdom date recovered from nearby el-Tod (Postel, in Goyon, Cardin (eds.), *Actes du IXe Congrès international des égyptologues,* 1548-9).

[103] Whelan, *RdE* 65, 141-61.

[104] Two of the personal names inscribed on MMA 2014.283a-b are those of kings from two substantially different periods, but are less helpful with dating than might be imagined (Lapp, *MDAIK* 50, 232). The first name, *nbw-k3w-rᶜ*, is the prenomen of Amenemhat II, while the other, *snᶜᶜ-ib*, belongs also to an ephemeral king whose existence is so far attested only by a single Abydene stela found at Kom es-Sultan (Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 111-2, CG 20517). On dating see: von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte*, 68-9, 223 (*snᶜᶜ-ib* is there placed provisionally as the penultimate ruler of the Thirteenth Dynasty though it is unlikely that he can be accommodated very much earlier); Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 163 ff. (who makes him a king of the 'Abydos Dynasty'). It should be noted, however, that the writing of *snᶜᶜ-ib* on MMA 2014.283a-b is markedly different from the version on the royal stela which employs the scribal equipment sign to write the king's name, . Several variant writings of the name are known (Ranke, *PN* I, 312, 14, n. 1), though the closest parallel to that on MMA 2014.283a-b occurs on just one other stela known to me, CG 20215, which can be dated stylistically to the Thirteenth Dynasty (Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. I, 237-8, l. g). As such, the occurrence of this name cannot be taken as proof that MMA 2014.283a-b is contemporary with the like-named king of Ryholt's putative 'Abydos Dynasty', though when taken with other considerations does favour a Thirteenth rather than Twelfth Dynasty date.

[105] *Contra* Hans Schneider who states: "the private mummiform statue is never provided with the attributes of Osiris" (Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 66).

[106] And continued to influence funerary culture at Abydos and Thebes in conjunction with the appearance of new magical texts (Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 90-2).

[107] Patch, Allon, in Oppenheim *et. al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 266, n. 7.

[108] Franke, in Meyer (ed.), *Egypt – Temple of the Whole World*, 118.

[109] Lapp, *MDAIK* 50, 236.

hand, if we consider that chapters from the Book of the Dead were displayed on a greater number of small-scale objects than was previously the case,[110] then the inclusion of several spells may be seen as a remarkable example of experimentation along these lines at some considerable time prior to the New Kingdom and ties in with the innovative nature of both free-standing monuments.[111] It may, then, be no coincidence that three of its four Coffin Text spells made their way into the Book of the Dead.[112]

A slightly later dating can be proposed for the Tadross Collection monument on the basis of its rare variant of CT 472, which occurs on the aforementioned shabti of Ipu dated to the terminal Thirteenth Dynasty or early Second Intermediate Period.[113] A comparison of the two spells suggests that the Tadross Collection monument sits at the former end of this range[114] and is corroborated to some extent by the orthography of the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae on it,[115] and by the presence of Senebrau's wife's title 'royal ornament' (*ḫkrt-niswt*) with his title *wr-mḏw šmˁ*, which was a combination popular in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.[116] In addition, mummiform figures holding *hes*-vases appear no earlier than the Thirteenth Dynasty and is a style believed to have originated at Abydos.[117]

With their sophisticated combination of visual and textual content arranged in the round, MMA 2014.283a-b and the Tadross Collection monument stand apart from all other objects under study and, being amongst the latest examples, represent the zenith in the production of monuments incorporating half-round mummiform figures. Their dating also corresponds to the period defined by Detlef Franke (specifically the reigns of Sobekhotep II to Senaaib) as the climax in the innovation of hymns and other religious texts centred upon the Osiris cult and its renowned annual festival at Abydos.[118]

Based on the above analyses and in the absence of any certain data to the contrary, we can say that the latter part of Senwosret III's reign represents the *terminus post quem* for the appearance of mummiform figures in niches, initially on arch-topped stelae, on rectangular slabs perhaps a little later, and then freestanding monuments. The popularity of the style appears strongest during the late Twelfth Dynasty and continues to feature at Abydos at least into the late Thirteenth Dynasty.

Group Two Objects

The three complete stelae in this group, Vienna ÄS 109, CG 20353 and Pennsylvania E 9952, as well as the near intact Liverpool E 30 (though broken, most of its key decorative elements are largely preserved), are all distinguished by having a single centrally placed *ankh* symbol with its loop pierced through the thickness of the slab to create an aperture. Vienna ÄS 109 (and possibly Brussels E 4320) takes this a stage further having the entire rectangular aperture pierced through around the *ankh*, leaving only the ends of the 'arms', base of the 'stem' and uppermost curve of the loop attached.

Both sides of rectangular stela Liverpool E 30 (limestone, 51 cm high x 35 cm wide) are entirely covered with inscriptions and depictions of the deceased –the well-known official Amenyseneb (*imny-snb*)– as well as numerous members of his family, and perhaps colleagues and retainers performing various tasks (Fig. 9). The *ankh* is centrally located in the upper section of the stela; the arm and stem are lightly recessed on the recto but absent on the verso where only the shape of the pierced-through loop hints at the full form of the sign.[119] On the recto two standing figures of Amenyseneb (one damaged) carved in sunk relief with arms raised in an attitude of praise flank the *ankh*. Above the right figure,

[110] Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, viii.

[111] Besides the Osirianisation of the deceased, experimentation in burial practices evident in Upper Egypt at this time extends to tomb layout and a range of burial equipment, the variety of which "seems to defy classification or ordering" (Miniaci, Quirke, *BIFAO* 109, 368, (for quote) 370).

[112] CT 353 provides the opening section of Chapter 57 attested from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 142); CT 387 is incorporated into Chapter 29, found on papyri and on tomb walls from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (*ibid.*, 95); CT 788 occurs on stelae and statuettes –most frequently shabtis– as a version of Chapter 6 (Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, 9 Spell 6B, 246 (based on a Nineteenth-Twentieth Dynasty shabti). For more attestations see: Lohwasser, *Die Formel 'Öffnen des Gesichts'*, 91-105).

[113] Whelan, *RdE* 65, 161.

[114] Contra Vernus, who concluded that the monument was closer to the Twelfth Dynasty than to the Second Intermediate Period (*RdE* 26, 114), even though he noted that certain traits of its shabti spell conform to those from the later period (*RdE* 26, 110-1 notes *k* and *o*); the differences are also briefly discussed in: Whelan, *RdE* 65, 148.

[115] Smither, *JEA* 25, 34. The stela of prince Djehuty-aa dedicated by his father king Paentjeny, also considered by Ryholt to belong to the 'Abydos Dynasty' (Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 163-6), displays the later writing of the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula (Petrie, *Abydos. Part II*, pl. XXXI, XXXII.2 = Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, vol. IV, 9, no. 282 [BM EA 630], pl. 26).

[116] Vernus, *RdE* 26, 110 (h), 113, fig. 2; a more detailed discussion can be found in Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 48-51.

[117] Moje, *CdE* 83, 9-11.

[118] Franke, in Meyer (ed.), *Egypt – Temple of the Whole World*, 129.

[119] Kitchen, *JEA* 47, pls. 1-2; Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 61-2.

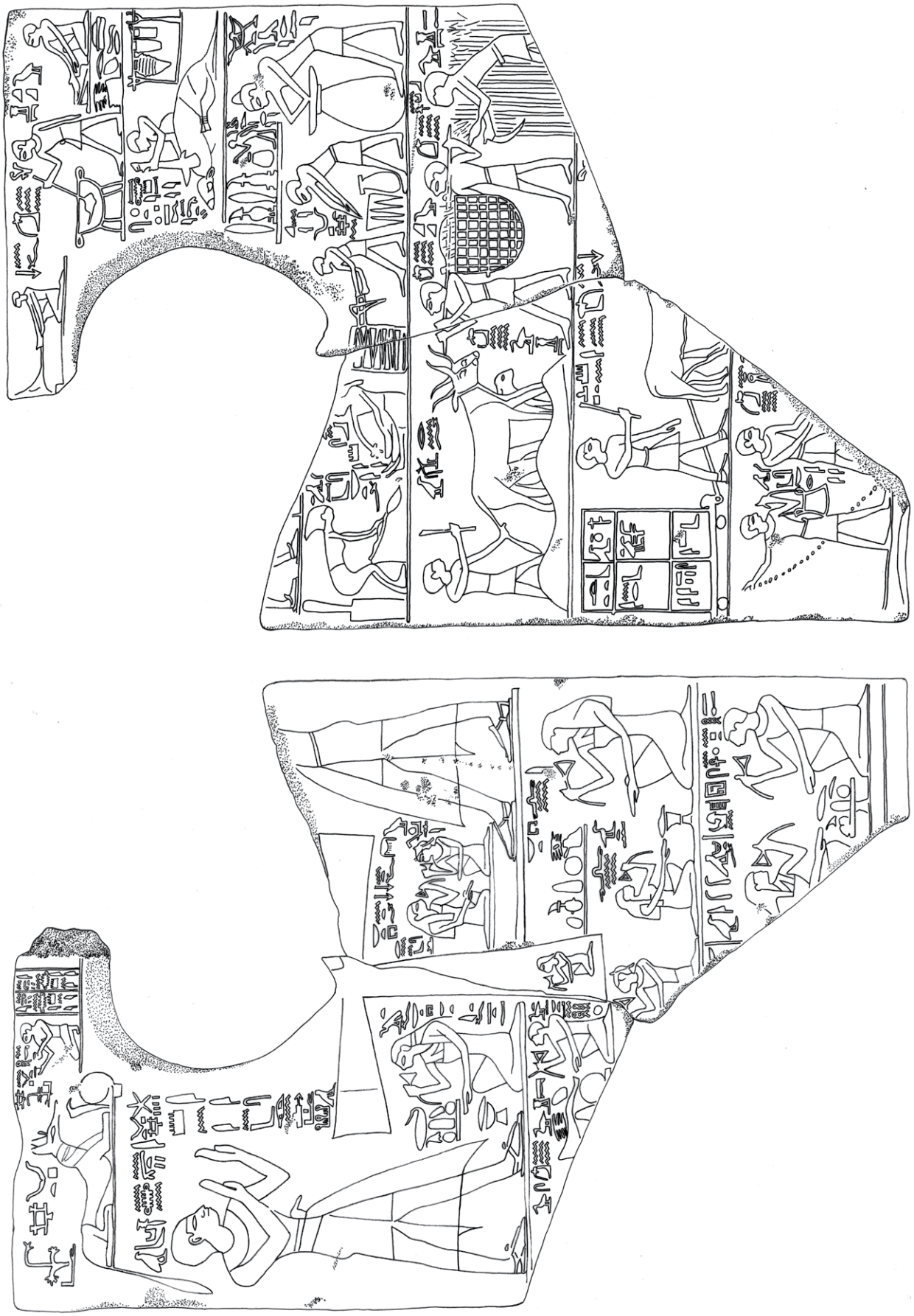


Fig. 9 – Liverpool E 30 recto and verso

and probably originally the left also, is the recumbent jackal of the Upper Egyptian Wepwawet.[120] The remaining space is occupied by four male and seven female kneeling figures arranged in four registers with accompanying text 'labels', all but one (male) holding a flower to their nose. The verso is arranged in six registers with fifteen male and two female figures engaged in various daily activities presumably connected with Amenyseneb's estate. Liverpool E 30 is included in Simpson's ANOC 58 group together with Amenyseneb's two other well-known biographical stelae, Louvre C 11 and C 12.[121]

Rectangular stela CG 20353 (limestone, 21 cm high x 18 cm wide) for the 'interior-overseer and controller of troops' Sobekhotep (*imy-r ḫnwty ḫrp skw sbk-ḥtp*)[122] was discovered by Mariette at North Abydos in 1862. The central *ankh* is finely carved in raised relief in a plain rectangular panel itself framed by a raised border. The arms of the *ankh* display similar elaboration to the *ankh* on Vienna ÄS 109, though the execution is of noticeably lesser quality. On each side of the recessed panel is a vertical column of inscription giving a dedication for Sobekhotep (left) and a prayer to Osiris 'Lord of Eternity' (right). This is the only stela from the group *without* a two-dimensional depiction of the owner (and other family members/colleagues) – an absence that might be explained because two (virtually destroyed) limestone mummiform statuettes, each 26 cm high and both dedicated to Sobekhotep, were found with the stela.[123] Each statuette stood upright on its own separately fashioned stone pedestal inscribed with a short *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula, one invoking Anubis, the other Osiris,[124] and probably served as the focus for offerings.

Pennsylvania E 9952 (limestone, 30 cm high x 25.5 cm wide) is undoubtedly the crudest stela from this group. Its overall form is less precise than the others and the inscriptions and decoration are more coarsely worked. The loop of the central *ankh* is pierced through the stela's thickness, diminishing in size towards the back and ending up noticeably smaller than it is at the front;[125] the 'arms' and 'stem' are achieved in shallow sunk relief with no internal detail and painted a dark yellow. The lunette contains a pair of *wedjat*-eyes surmounting water signs[126] and below to either side of the *ankh* and facing towards it, are sunk relief depictions of, on the left, the stela owner the 'commander of the crew of the ruler' Sobekhotep (*ȝtw n ṯt ḥḳȝ sbk-ḥtp*), sporting a close-cut coif and wearing a short kilt, while on the right is his wife Neferu-Ptah (*nfrw-ptḥ*) wearing a tri-partite lappet wig and a calf-length strap dress; before each of them is a single column of text giving their name and title.

Of the fifth stela in this group, Brussels E 4320 (limestone, 32 cm high x 37 cm wide), only the lower part survives which nevertheless preserves the tantalising remains of a vertical stem of a pierced-work *ankh* that once must have dominated the composition. Originally, the symbol was framed within a rectangular aperture similar to that of Vienna ÄS 109, but only part of the lower edge remains. Beneath the stem are two mirrored *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae arranged in six vertical columns and on each side is a figure of the 'overseer of Lower Egypt' Pepi (*imy-r tȝ-mḥw ppi*), wearing a calf-length kilt and facing the *ankh* with arms raised in an attitude of praise. The overall shape of the stela can no longer be determined with certainty, but the substantial raised border running vertically up either side closely resembles those found on rectangular false-door stelae and is hypothetically restored as such in Fig. 1.[127] It belongs in Simpson's ANOC 47.1 group with two other stelae and an offering table.[128]

Provenance

Leaving aside the already discussed Vienna ÄS 109, the four remaining stelae from this group come from documented excavations at Abydos which provide us with varying amounts of contextual information.

Brussels E 4320 was discovered in the surface sand by T. Eric Peet during the 1912-13 season for the Egypt Exploration Fund in Cemetery W which lay (local) west of the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple on the northern edge of the *wadi*.[129] Peet stated that Cemetery W and the areas immediately to the north and west contained predominantly "tombs of the XIIIth to XVIIth Dynasties".[130] Given Pepi's title of 'overseer of Lower Egypt' his burial

[120] Presumably its Lower Egyptian counterpart was in the now missing opposite corner.
[121] Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, 21, pl. 80.
[122] Ward, *Index*, no. 136.
[123] Mariette, *Catalogue générale des monuments d'Abydos*, 55-6, nos. 399-400 (for the statuettes).
[124] Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, Vol. IV, 128, nos. 1246-47 (for the plinths).
[125] Fine colour photographs are available on <http://www.penn.museum/collections/object/293538>, accessed 7.03.2016.
[126] Pennsylvania E 9952 may be closely related to stelae with the same lunette motif and with a sunk relief *ankh* symbol in between *wedjat*-eyes. For examples see: Hölzl, *Die Giebelfelddekoration von Stelen*, 17, 27.
[127] Noted by Jane Hill (Hill, in Hawass, Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees*, 235). A good example of a false-door stela with a similar plain raised border was excavated in Cemetery D around the same time as Brussels E 4320, for which see: Peet, Loat, *The Cemeteries of Abydos. Part III*, pl. XIII.2.
[128] Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 64.
[129] Peet, Loat, *The Cemeteries of Abydos. Part III*, xi, 37. For Peet's sketch plan showing region W see: Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*. *Part II*, xiv, fig. 1.
[130] Peet, Loat, *The Cemeteries of Abydos. Part III*, xv.

place would be expected to be in a northern elite cemetery and the stela may therefore belong to a non-funerary votive shrine set up amidst tombs close to the edge of the *wadi*.

Liverpool E 30 was discovered in 1907 by John Garstang not far from Peet's excavations. The stela was broken in two and each half was discovered in a different location. One was found "in redeem 6ft below (and) to south-east" of "two parallel walls 3ft below surface running north and south, about a metre apart. East wall slopes outwards about 2ft down".[131] There is no other information to reveal if the parallel walls were remnants of a shaft lining or tomb chamber, although their depth argues against them being part of an above-ground structure such as a chapel or votive shrine. The other half of the stela was discovered in another tomb together with a range of artefacts including inlaid eyes from at least two coffins, a fragment of a statuette and various vessels.[132] It is unclear if they belong to a single tomb assemblage, nor do we know how far apart the two find-spots were, though as their entries are separated by fifty-four other recorded *loci* we can assume they were some distance from one another.[133]

A more detailed, though ultimately inconclusive, contextual record is available for Pennsylvania E 9952, which was discovered by Arthur Mace during the 1899-1900 excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund in an area of the North Abydos necropolis labelled Cemetery D, situated between the (local) northern side of the great natural *wadi* and roughly 450 metres from Khasekhemwy's enclosure. This was itself a continuation of Cemetery E investigated by John Garstang in 1900.[134] The stela was found in a simple shaft burial, labelled D78, which also contained a substantial group of vessels and a jackal-headed ebony 'wand' inscribed with a cartouche of Sebkay,[135] an ephemeral ruler possibly of the Sixteenth or 'Abydos' Dynasty (see below). Since Mace found no intact burials in the cemetery it is highly doubtful that all the objects from tomb D78 belonged to a single interment.

CG 20353, which was discovered by Mariette at the "enceinte du nord – Kom es-Sultan",[136] is the only stela from this group excavated at Abydos not to have come from a cemetery/tomb location.

Dating

There are several reasons to believe that Vienna ÄS 109 (see Group One for dating), Brussels E 4320 and Liverpool E 30 represent the earliest examples in this group. Firstly, although incomplete, Brussels E 4320 displays the same carefully rendered bi-part fluting of the *ankh*'s stem as that of Vienna ÄS 109 and an equally skilful execution of text and figures. Indeed, the overall quality of these two sets them apart from the three other stelae in the group. An even firmer link between Brussels E 4320 and Liverpool E 30 can be made on account of the two sunk relief figures of their deceased owners who not only stand in the same attitude of veneration, which in itself is a relatively uncommon pose on Middle Kingdom stelae,[137] but rarer still, they also wear the same type of long kilt with prominent downward-pointing frontal pleat.[138] This is significant for dating because Amenyseneb of Liverpool E 30 carried out refurbishments to Senwosret I's temple of Osiris-Khentyimentiu at Abydos on behalf of the Thirteenth Dynasty king Khendjer.[139] The possibility that all three stelae were produced around this time ties in with a period of popularity at Abydos for the *ankh* symbol when also two-dimensional versions were frequently placed in the lunettes of stelae, particularly from the reign of Sobekhotep III.[140] Franke dates Brussels E 4320 to the end of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty.[141]

CG 20353 has been dated approximately to the reigns of Neferhotep I or Sobekhotep IV[142] which ties in with the dating of the majority of other stelae for individuals

[131] Snape, *Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos*, vol. I, 204 (304.A07).
[132] *Op. cit.*, 221 (360.A07).
[133] Kitchen places the stelae in Tomb 303 or 305 according to dockets on excavation photographs (Kitchen, *JEA* 47, 10), indicating that the find-spot of the second fragment was a secondary location.
[134] Randall-McIver, Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 63.
[135] *Op. cit.*, 69, 100, pls. 43, 54.
[136] Mariette, *Catalogue générale des monuments d'Abydos*, 339, no. 948; Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. I, 363-4.
[137] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. IV, pl. 4, CG 20039 (Neferhotep I-Sobekhotep IV: Franke, *Personendaten*, 65, Doss. 45; 401, Doss. 687); pl. 7, CG 20068, CG 20077; pl. 14, CG 20153 (with niche); pl. 15, CG 20177 (with rectangular niche); pl. 15, CG 20180; pl. 20, CG 20277 (Thirteenth Dynasty: Franke, *Personendaten*, 343, Doss. 572), CG 20281; pl. 23, CG 20314; pl. 26, CG 20348; pl. 27, CG 20360 (Twelfth/Thirteenth Dynasty or later: Franke, *Personendaten*, 312, Doss. 513, 333, 553 and 438; Doss. 759); pl. 28, CG 20397 (with niche); pl. 29, CG 20404 (Thirteenth Dynasty: Franke, *Personendaten*, 74, Doss. 63), CG 20410 (beginning Twelfth Dynasty: Franke, *Personendaten*, 226, Doss. 343); pl. 31, CG 20451; pl. 48, CG 20612 (Thirteenth Dynasty: Franke, *Personendaten*, 140, Doss. 179, 241, Doss. 373).
[138] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. IV, pl. 4, CG 20039; pl. 15, CG 20177 (with rectangular niche); pl. 19, CG 20240 (Thirteenth Dynasty: Franke, *Personendaten*, 215, Doss. 321; 254, Doss. 399); pl. 74, CG 20267; pl. 29, CG 20404; pl. 33, CG 20472; pl. 50, CG 20670.
[139] Louvre stelae C 11 and C 12, both recently discussed and translated in: Baines, in Magee, Bouriau, Quirke (eds.), *Sitting beside Lepsius*, 1-22.
[140] Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 67.
[141] Franke, *Personendaten*, 166, Doss. 232.
[142] *Op. cit.*, 352, Doss. 591.

with the uncommon title *ḫrp skw*.[143]

Pennsylvania E 9952 presents us with something of a dating puzzle. Detlef Franke places it in the Thirteenth Dynasty, possibly around the reign of Sobekhotep II,[144] when also the military title 'commander of the crew of the ruler' (*ꜣtw n ṯt ḥḳꜣ*) held by the stela's owner certainly occurs with greater frequency.[145] In addition, the ebony wand bearing the cartouche of king Sebkay, once thought to be a variant writing of one of the Sobekhotep kings[146] or another ephemeral king of the Thirteenth Dynasty,[147] is now thought to be a variant writing of king Seneb-kay whose recently discovered tomb at South Abydos is dated to the Sixteenth or the 'Abydos' Dynasty.[148] This later dating for Pennsylvania E 9952 is supported by another piece of evidence, as Sobekhotep appears to have added his name and title to a wood coffin made for someone else, fragments of which were discovered by Peet in a shaft of a plundered and emptied tomb not far from where the stela was found.[149] Presumably, Sobekhotep had re-appropriated the tomb and its coffin for his own burial. Sometime later the tomb was re-used or plundered and as a result Sobekhotep's funerary equipment was scattered over some distance. According to the inconsistent application of incomplete hieroglyphs in the coffin's original inscriptions, a dating at the very end of the Thirteenth or into the Second Intermediate Period is probable.[150] As Sobekhotep's name was added sometime later it is reasonable to place Pennsylvania E 9952 much closer in time to the ebony wand bearing the cartouche of king Sebkay and potentially making it the latest object from either Group One or Two.

Physical context

While we have details of the general find-spots for a number of objects from Group One and Two, nothing certain is known about their original architectural setting. This is of no real surprise as such information is equally lacking for almost all of the thousands of Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos. Another complication to contend with for stelae from this site is that aside from tombs, they could also derive from dummy tomb complexes (cenotaphs) or non-funerary chapels erected in pious commemoration of the Osiris cult and its annual festival. The situation is further compounded by the paucity of photographic evidence showing *in-situ* stelae by which we might more confidently judge the original location of others, and what there is does not represent all five architectural settings proposed by William Kelly Simpson in his seminal study of ANOC object groups.[151] Nevertheless, by assessing what we do know about the objects from Groups One and Two against Simpson's criteria I believe some constructive observations can be made about their possible original contexts, which are summarised in Table 2.

It should be noted from the outset that I am classing *all* Group One objects as belonging to non-funerary commemorative chapels/shrines set up by those who wished to have a presence at Abydos but were buried elsewhere. There are three main reasons for this; firstly, the tombs of Iykhernofret and other high officials would have been located in a northern elite cemetery closer to the royal residence.[152] Secondly, the work of Simpson established that many unprovenanced Abydene stelae as well as those Mariette designated as coming from the "nécropole du nord" –which includes CG 20569, CG20038 (and by association Basel III 5002) and even Brussels E 4860– are

[143] For the list see: Ward, *Index*, 136, nos. 1167 (for which see Franke, *GM* 83, 121) and 1173. CG 20075 (early Thirteenth Dynasty): Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 125-7; CG 20391 (Sobekhotep II): Franke, *Personendaten*, 132, Doss. 167; CG 20023 (Sobekhotep II-IV): Franke, *Personendaten*, 356, Doss. 598, see also index (464) for ten related objects; BM EA 238 (Neferhotep I-Sobekhotep IV): 352, Doss. 591; only Sinai inscriptions 89, 90, 406 are earlier (Amenemhat III): 270, Doss. 429, see also index (482) for five entries relating to Sinai 90.

[144] Franke, *Personendaten*, 345, Doss. 577.

[145] Stefanović, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles*, 72-94. The clear majority, around 43% (35 dossiers, including Pennsylvania E 9952), are dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty, followed by 20% to the Late Middle Kingdom-Second Intermediate Period, 15% are Late Middle Kingdom and 15% assigned to the Middle Kingdom. Other percentages: Late Twelfth Dynasty 2%; beginning of Twelfth Dynasty 1%; Twelfth Dynasty 3%; date unassigned 1%.

[146] von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte*, 46.

[147] Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 197, table 36, 219.

[148] The connection between Seb-kay Seneb-kay was, I believe, first noted publicly by Wolfram Grajetzki on www.egyptologyforum.org. For the discovery of Seneb-kay's tomb and discussion of the chronological implications see: Wegner, *World Archaeology* 64, 20-37; Wegner, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 78.2, 68-78.

[149] Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*. *Part II*, 61, pls. XIII.4, XXXVI). These are the only two instances from Abydos of an individual named *sbk-ḥtp* with this title (the Sobekhotep of the coffin is not listed in the relevant section of Stefanović, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles*, 89-90). Pottery vessels also found in the shaft (pls. 30-33) may not have belonged with the coffin, but suggest a date in the Seventeenth or early Eighteenth Dynasty (Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 42). Their forms however differ from those of the vessels found with Pennsylvania E 9952.

[150] Whelan, *RdE* 65, 158-9.

[151] Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, 10.

[152] See Table 3 and discussion in section below on *Sociocultural Context*.

very likely to have originated from, or close to, a dense cluster of memorial chapels with no associated real or dummy burials located a short distance local west of the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple complex, which were re-excavated in the late 1960's by the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition (Fig. 10).[153] Thirdly, the significant presence across the Group One corpus of 'Appeals to the Living' and CT 788, as well as two freestanding monuments –one bearing additional 'pyramidia spells'– strongly suggest that *all* monuments with mummiform figures were intended to be publicly visible in outward-facing settings rather than concealed inside a tomb chamber, chapel or shrine,[154] and thus more suited to the Pennsylvania-Yale memorial chapel area which comprised solely non-funerary above-ground structures, as well as similar structures built amidst or very close to tombs situated on the (local) northern bank of the natural *wadi*.[155]

By way of contrast, there is good reason to believe from their cemetery/tomb find-spots that Liverpool E 30, Pennsylvania E 9952 and Brussels E 4320 from Group Two belonged to settings associated with actual burials.

1) *Set up against the enclosure wall of the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple complex (and other enclosures)*[156]

Only Group Two stela CG 20353 can belong to this setting, having been found by Mariette at the northern wall of Kom es-Sultan. The only documented details for other *in situ* stelae from this area come from brief written accounts of Auguste Mariette and Gaston Maspero.[157] Though neither Egyptologist gave detailed information on individual stelae, Maspero likened them to the votives left by worshippers in Christian churches, arranged side by side against the enclosure wall.[158] His description is unlikely to apply to all of the stelae from here, since some of those recovered are decorated on more than one face and thus would not have been placed against a wall.[159] More recently, David O'Connor proposed that the stelae described by the Frenchmen were in a secondary location having been removed from the memorial chapel zone in the Nineteenth Dynasty during the building of Ramesses II's 'portal' temple, which covered many Middle Kingdom chapels as a result.[160] Interestingly, neither of the above scenarios adequately account for the circumstances of CG 20353 which was found with two free-standing mummiform statuettes and their separately fashioned plinths. It is doubtful that all five elements for the same person could have remained together over several millennia (especially if they had already been moved from the memorial chapel area) unless sheltered in some way, most obviously within some form of structure such as a small shrine built close to the enclosure wall (or even excavated within it?)[161] that simply went unrecorded by Mariette's men. The non-cemetery location also indicates that CG 20353 performed a commemorative rather than funerary role and thus belongs in Simpson's fourth setting. A plausible reconstruction could have CG 20353 attached to the front of a small mud-brick shrine serving, in effect, as an *ankh*-shaped 'window' so that only the decorated side was visible to passers-by, while behind the stela (*i.e.* sealed inside the shrine) stood the mummiform statuettes of the deceased facing out through the aperture.

2) *Freestanding stelae with or without an associated chapel or tomb*

Aside from MMA 2014.283a-b and the Tadross Collection monument, Liverpool E 30 is the only other object from the corpora conforming to Simpson's definition of freestanding stelae – those bearing decoration on two or more sides, either standing alone or within some kind of structure.[162] The records of the find-spots for Liverpool E 30 reveal nothing about its original setting, only that it came from part of the cemetery area filled with tombs

[153] Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, 9-10.
[154] Contra Kitchen who suggests that arch-topped stela Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427] was set up against the rear wall of a chapel (Kitchen, Beltrao, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection*, vol. I, 47).
[155] Franke proposes above-ground publicly visible settings for dozens of monuments with unusual texts and/or having an unusual appearance, including some from Group One: "They do not belong to a funerary context but are memorials for the immortalization of their owner's name" (Franke, in Meyer (ed.), *Egypt – Temple of the Whole World*, 131).
[156] "Nécropole du nord – zone de nord-est, contre le mur extérieur de l'enceinte" (Mariette, *Catalogue générale des monuments d'Abydos*, 134-7, nos. 604-7).
[157] Maspero, in Maspero (ed.), *Études de Mythologie*, 331-7.
[158] "Serrées côté à côté comme des ex-votos dans nos églises", *op. cit.*, 337.
[159] CG 20538 is decorated on all faces and edges (Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 145-50; vol. IV, pl. 11).
[160] O'Connor, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. II, 167-8, n. 18; Simpson, O'Connor, *Inscribed Material*, 33.
[161] For instance, a cavity was excavated in the southern wall of the Shunet es-Zebib which contained a shabti for Ramesses IV (Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. II, pl. 60; Mariette, *Catalogue générale des monuments d'Abydos*, 63, no. 409).
[162] Freestanding single-sided stelae were sometimes set up on their own, but these are exceptions such as the decree stelae of Wegaf/Neferhotep I (Randall-McIver, Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 63-4) and for such stelae one would still expect their back and sides to be finished smooth.

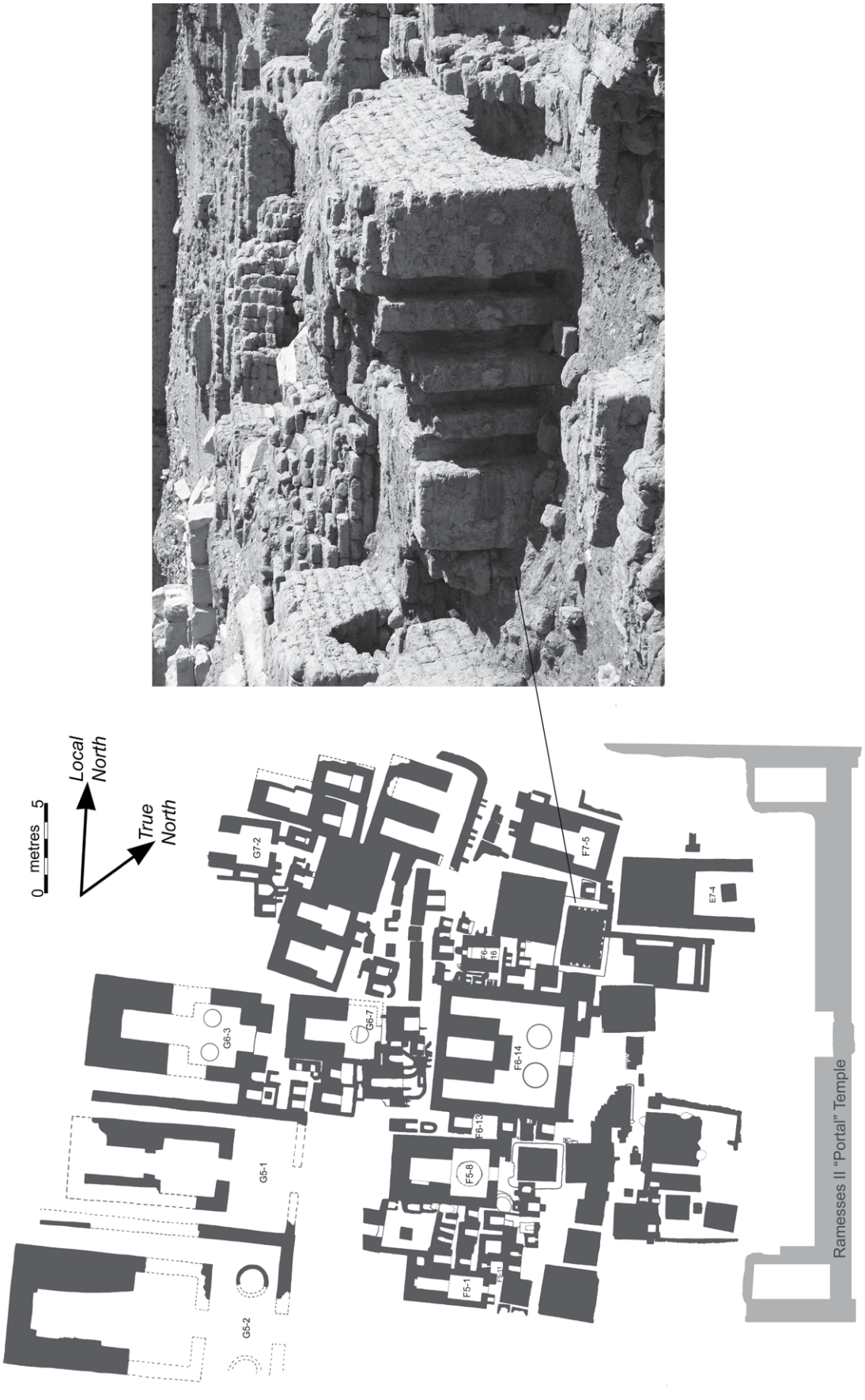


Fig. 10 – Plan of memorial chapel area excavated by the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition (adapted from O'Connor, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 169, fig. 2. Inset photograph of the solid mud-brick structure with palace-façade motif (author's photograph)

with *mastaba* superstructures and smaller (ancillary?) shrines of which some were attached to larger offering chapels. From a practical point of view it is difficult to see how Liverpool E 30 could have been freestanding since its scenes and inscriptions virtually fill both sides leaving no substantial undecorated border at the base by which it could be adequately secured to a plinth or offering table. Alternatively, the narrow undecorated borders framing the decoration could have been securely gripped by the inner edges of an opening in the wall of a chapel/shrine, thus allowing both sides to remain visible[163] and preserve the window/door-like aspect; this places its setting in category 3 or 4 below.

3) *Stelae erected in accessible interiors of mastaba or pyramidal tomb superstructures*

In his study of Liverpool E 30 Kenneth Kitchen commented that due to its double-sided decoration the stela could not have served as a "normal serdab squint" *–i.e.* placed in front of a void– and instead proposed that it was fixed against the wall of an otherwise undecorated mud-brick *mastaba*. Even though the verso would be completely hidden by such an arrangement and effectively block off the *ankh*-shaped aperture, he considered that the efficacy of the decoration would not be compromised.[164] This seems unlikely – after all, even the decorations and inscriptions in burial chambers that were certainly hidden from view once the tomb was sealed still remained *exposed* for the benefit of the deceased.[165] It would make more sense to have the stela placed before a void of some kind – at the entrance of a tomb, chapel or small hollow shrine. These settings would retain the full-effect of the *ankh*-shaped aperture and allow the agricultural and production scenes on the verso to function like those on the interior walls of elite tomb chambers of the period.[166]

A more sophisticated setting that emphasises both decorated sides was proposed by Jane Hill, whereby the stela served as a decorative 'fanlight' set in to the thickness of a wall above the entrance of a chapel and flanked by Amenyseneb's two larger rectangular stelae (Louvre C 11 and C 12).[167] Potential structures capable of accommodating such an arrangement were discovered beside a tomb not far from where one half of Liverpool E 30 was found, including a group described by Garstang thus: "*very much broken mastaba with kiosk to the north. South and east walls of kiosk complete, with fragments of the west. Behind the west wall, to the west and lower down a shrine (here a rudimentary sketch of a vaulted structure) facing east*".[168] It is not clear if the shrine adjoined the western wall of the *mastaba* tomb's funerary chapel ('kiosk') or stood a short distance from it. One thing we can be certain of is that the 'kiosk', and most likely the shrine too, belonged to a real tomb and not a cenotaph, because finds from the associated two-chambered burial compartments comprised a body within a fragile wooden coffin and a fragment of a gilded mummy mask, besides several vessels and a seal. Whatever the arrangement, the recto of Liverpool E 30 would have faced east on account of the image of the Upper Egyptian Wepwawet in the top left corner[169] with the verso facing towards the tomb of Osiris at Umm el-Qa'ab and the West.

It remains to be established if all the ancillary shrines encountered by Garstang in the cemetery were set up by family members and colleagues in honour of the deceased whose tomb they were built beside, or whether some served a non-funerary purpose like those in the memorial chapel zone (for which see below no. 4) and were simply mixed in amongst real tombs because of lack of space elsewhere.

Even with their undecorated backs, Pennsylvania E 9952 and Brussels E 4320 probably came from a similar setting to Liverpool E 30. However, the discovery of Pennsylvania E 9952 in a tomb shaft raises the question of whether the original setting was below ground, particularly because this is the only stela belonging to an individual whom we can be fairly certain was buried at Abydos. An underground setting for stelae with apertures is suggested by Kitchen based on a rectangular stela with centrally positioned circular aperture discovered by Garstang *in situ* at the bottom of the shaft of Tomb 1043, which he believed may have served as a 'serdab squint'.[170] This seems most compelling until one reads Garstang's unpublished record of the discovery where the stela is described as a limestone 'portcullis' blocking the entrance to the burial chamber.[171] Presumably the 'squint' is in fact the hole through which a rope was

[163] Dakin, *JEA* 24, 190, n. 5.
[164] Kitchen, *JEA* 47, 17, n. 4.
[165] Indeed, the circumstances of CG 20353 discussed above argues against Kitchen's view.
[166] Bolshakov, Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom Stelae in the Hermitage*, 101, n. a.
[167] Hill, in Hawass, Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees*, 239-40. The only issue with this scenario is that Hill assigns it to a memorial (*i.e.* non-funerary) chapel, when the stela was actually found amidst real burials and would favour a setting in an offering chapel of a tomb or ancillary shrine associated with it.
[168] Snape, *Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos*, vol. I, 203, no. 302 A'07.
[169] Baines, in Magee, Bouriau, Quirke (eds.), *Sitting beside Lepsius*, 3.
[170] Kitchen, *JEA* 47, 13, n. 8.
[171] Snape, *Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos*, vol. I, 387 (1043 A'09); vol. II, 641, pl. 52.

threaded in order to lower the slab down the shaft.[172] Although cursorily fashioned as a false-door, the slab is otherwise roughly finished and appears undecorated as one would expect of a primarily utilitarian object.[173] Actually, Kitchen gives details of another *in situ* stela with two "small holes", also found by Garstang, blocking the entrance to the burial chambers of Tomb 6.[174] However, closer inspection of the excavation photograph reveals that these circular apertures in fact accommodated cylindrical lugs spaced some distance apart, presumably around which a rope was secured for lowering the stela in to place.[175] Unlike the previous example, this stela is decorated with an offering scene and formulae dedicated for the 'leader of the broad hall' Khons.[176] Nevertheless, the lugs –or the holes they fill– do not form part of the incised decoration and, besides, the presence of two rather than one is strange were they to be portals or 'squints' of some kind. Furthermore, this stela is much larger than any of those from Group Two, measuring 150 cm x 105 cm, evidently because it sealed the entrance of a chamber large enough to receive a coffin.[177] Not only do these realisations effectively preclude a similar context for Liverpool E 30, Pennsylvania E 9952 and Brussels E 4320, the assured above-ground setting for CG 20353 (and likely Vienna ÄS 109) also argues against it.

4) *Set up in memorial chapels with no associated burials*

The most obvious setting for all Group One objects would be in the façade of a memorial chapel or in the internal/external courtyard walls belonging to one.[178] The area excavated by the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition contains the lower sections of many well preserved large chapels as well as more complete smaller shrines, yet so thoroughly were these stripped of stone elements in both the recent and ancient past that they encountered hardly anything *in situ*. They published just one limestone arch-topped stela still attached to its separately carved plinth that was found set up against the inner face of the (local) north forecourt wall of a large memorial chapel.[179] With their tenons for insertion into a separate pedestal base or offering table, CG 20497 and unfinished Brussels E 4860 are appropriate candidates for precisely this setting.[180] In fact, the back of Brussels E 4860 has a curved hull-like profile presumably to help bed it firmly into wet plaster when set up against a wall.[181]

It may be no coincidence to find that the only objects from Group Two associated with non-funerary memorial chapel settings are also the only ones either directly or indirectly associated with mummiform figures.[182] The possible context of CG 20353 has already been discussed in 1), while the larger and more elaborate stela Vienna ÄS 109 would perhaps be better suited to Hill's central 'fanlight' setting suggested for Liverpool E 30. The rough-worked 'tabs' in either top corner of the stela[183] likely served as tenons inserted into mortises in the internal corners of an arch-topped niche or as securing tabs that were covered over when the wall was plastered to create a more secure bond – a particularly important consideration for stelae situated over a doorway. The recessing of the 'tabs' below the decorated surface of

[172] On the use of portcullises see: Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, 73-4.
[173] As far as can be determined from the excavation photograph.
[174] Kitchen, *JEA* 47, 13, n. 7.
[175] Snape, *Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos*, vol. II, 609, pl. 4; images of this stela and another near identical one from the same tomb can be found at <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=3061>, accessed 9.03.2016.
[176] Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 93-4, fig. 42.
[177] At 51 cm high x 35 cm wide Liverpool E 30 is little more than a third of the size of Khons's stela yet represents the largest from Group Two.
[178] A good example of a courtyard wall setting, albeit from a cenotaph, was discovered and photographed by John Garstang in 1907, slightly further local west of the Pennsylvania-Yale memorial chapels and comprised a small courtyard surrounded by a substantial mud-brick enclosure in which stelae were set up in the inner faces of the northern, southern and eastern walls. A mud-brick vaulted chapel at the western end incorporated a niche for an arch-topped stela (Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 40 (Garstang's photograph) and 65, no. 50 (for description)). In the courtyard Garstang found a miniature stone sarcophagus with a wooden coffin inside containing a gilded wooden statuette (now lost). MMA 2014.283a-b represents something more complex and the Tadross Collection monument something quite different.
[179] Simpson, O'Connor, *Inscribed Material*, 36-9, fig. 61 and pls. 6B-7. According to the excavator "[a] few were found *in situ*", details of these remain unpublished (Simpson, O'Connor, *Inscribed Material*, 33), though presumably these are the small crude ostraca-like stelae mentioned by O'Connor (in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 177), that could easily have been missed or considered unattractive by early collectors and left.
[180] Basel III 5002 may have originally been set up this way as it is presented today attached to a plinth. For other examples see: Müller, *MDAIK* 4, 200-1, fig. 20; Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. IV, pl. 26, CG 20352.
[181] Whelan, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 132. Of course, as this object was never finished one would not expect to find traces of plaster on the back.
[182] Vienna ÄS 109 by virtue of its mention of the 'Terrace of the Great God' and CG 20353 from its find-spot just outside the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple precinct.
[183] Similar tabs are to be found on other stelae e.g. CG 20458 (Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 36) and CG 20050 (Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. IV, pl. 5).

the stela would make it easier to plaster up to the edge of the face, thus reducing the risk of overspill and conceal them in the process.[184] This setting would also hide the stela's undecorated and roughly dressed back[185](and those of Pennsylvania E 9952 and Brussels E 4320), which one would doubt was left visible to visitors to the chapel. This would matter less if it belonged to a type of chapel encountered by the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition which had no door yet had a hollow core that conceivably could have been linked to the outside via the *ankh*-shaped aperture.[186]

Whereas all of the arch-topped stelae from Group One with their obvious symmetry would serve as an appropriate focal point in whatever structure they once belonged to, the same cannot be said for some of the rectangular slabs, for reasons that will be discussed below.

5) *Miniature chapels constructed from three or four slab stelae*

No *in situ* examples for this particular arrangement have been documented, but their existence is virtually certain due to the format of two or three slab stelae for the same individual, often displaying the same checker-pattern border sometimes surmounted by a *khekher*-frieze.[187] This border motif is more frequently associated with an internal rather than external location in a small shrine, in imitation of Middle Kingdom tomb chambers and stone sarcophagi.[188] Typically two of the three associated slabs are longer horizontally (forming the two sides of the shrine), but a few are known where the vertical edge is longer and these presumably belonged to a taller, perhaps *per-nu*-like, shrine.[189] In addition, the orientation of texts and scenes on the two side slabs are usually mirrored so that both face towards the rear of the shrine where the third, usually squarer slab or arch-topped stela was set up often including a central *wedjat*-eye motif and/or symmetrical layout of figures and/or text.[190] At first glance, the rectangular slabs in Group One seem likely candidates for this setting, especially Turin 1630, CG 20497, Louvre C 44 and UC 14347 as their relatively symmetrical decorative layouts lend themselves to serving as the rear panel element. However, for reasons stated at the beginning of this section, I doubt that Simpson's format is applicable to these or indeed any of the rectangular slabs from Group One not least because the mummiform figures were most likely in exposed settings visible to all.[191] Furthermore, as discussed earlier, with their less than symmetrical layouts and doubts over their original sizes, MMA 65.120.1 and MMA 65.120.2 are not entirely convincing as two parts of a three-sided chapel.

Instead, I offer an alternative explanation that would have most of the rectangular slabs in Group One belonging to another type of Abydene shrine, remnants of which were actually found *in situ* during the Pennsylvania-Yale excavations in the memorial chapel area, yet remain unidentified. Amongst the identifiable miniature vaulted and open-ended shrines erected against the enclosure walls of larger chapels O'Connor noted the presence of a number of enigmatic solid mud-brick structures.[192] Most display a simple rectangular 'footprint', though a few low *ḥtp*-shaped examples were also found.[193] At the time, the excavator offered no explanation as to their function; however I propose that these may represent the solid inner cores of a type of shrine originally clad with rectangular stone slabs, including those from Group One. With scenes and texts necessarily facing *outward* their original appearance would have approached those of freestanding monuments such as MMA 2014.283a-b and that of the Tadross Collection, the only difference being that, according to the memorial chapel plan (Fig. 10), most of the blocks have one side attached to or against a chapel wall. Unlike the more conventional shrines and chapels, their design and

[184] The most elaborate example of this fixing method appears on an arch-topped stela of unknown provenance which has a 3 cm border recessed to a depth of 1 cm running all the way around it (CG 20672: Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 299-300; vol. IV. pl. 50).

[185] Hein, Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. I, 44.

[186] O'Connor, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 171, 174, fig. 5.

[187] For examples of checker-pattern borders without a *khekher*-frieze above see: Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. IV, pl. 2, CG 20012; pl. 5, CG 20053 and pl. 33, CG 20475. For checker-pattern borders topped by a *khekher*-frieze see: Garstang, *El Arábah*, pl. VI.E295 (= [ANOC 56]); Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 70 (Louvre C 17 and C 18 = [ANOC 52]). For plain borders see: Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 72 (Avignon-Calvet 5 and 6 = [ANOC 53]).

[188] Ilin-Tomich, *GM* 234, 171. Several Theban tombs with such borders are conveniently published in: Soliman, *Old and Middle Kingdom Theban Tombs*, 71 (burial chamber of Kawit); 73-4 (burial chamber of Nefru); 99 (burial chamber of Khety); 106-7 (sarcophagus of Meru – checker-pattern band only); 116-8 (sarcophagus of Ipi).

[189] For example: Satzinger, Stefanović, in Köhbach *et al.* (eds.), *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes M. Köhbach*, 337, n. 1 (with references for other examples).

[190] See n. 40 for examples.

[191] And may account for why none have a checker-pattern or even plain border with or without a *khekher*-frieze framing the decorated area.

[192] O'Connor, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 171.

[193] Conceivably the latter represent foundations for stone offering tables of the same shape.

decoration would have necessitated a slightly different approach since they did not offer accessible interiors to accommodate freestanding objects such as statuettes and offering tables nor the internal walls for decoration.[194] Added to the challenge of incorporating the necessary internal scenes and texts on to the exterior of a small monument was the need to incorporate the multiple mummiform figures found on every one of the rectangular slabs from Group One. One can imagine that this often required some compromise to the overall balance of the decoration, as can be seen with MMA 65.120.1-2 where the artisan's attempt to commemorate a large number of individuals, represented mostly by engaged mummiform figures, as well as incorporating a comprehensive array of formulae, dedications and two-dimensional pictorial elements has resulted in a less than symmetrical layout.[195] This is not so apparent from the much more balanced decorative elements on MMA 2014.283a-b and the Tadross Collection monument, though can be seen in the layout of a *monobloc* monument from Abydos, now in the Cairo Museum (CG 20704) (Fig. 11).[196] Fashioned from a single limestone block to resemble a slender *per-nu* shrine measuring 46.5 cm high x 15 cm wide x 23 cm deep and, while lacking any mummiform figures, it has an arch-topped niche containing a seated human 'block' figure carved in half-round relief located off-centre to the right in the lower half of the left side[197] with three rows of offering scenes carved in sunk relief arranged above and also aligned to the right edge. Only the monument's front is arranged symmetrically with a boldly executed panelled façade – similar in style to that of the two-dimensional shrine on Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427], beneath which is a seated figure of the 'overseer of goldsmiths' Nefer-Hor (*imy-r nbyw nfr-ḥr*) carved in sunk relief. The back, right side and rearmost portion of the left side are smooth and un-

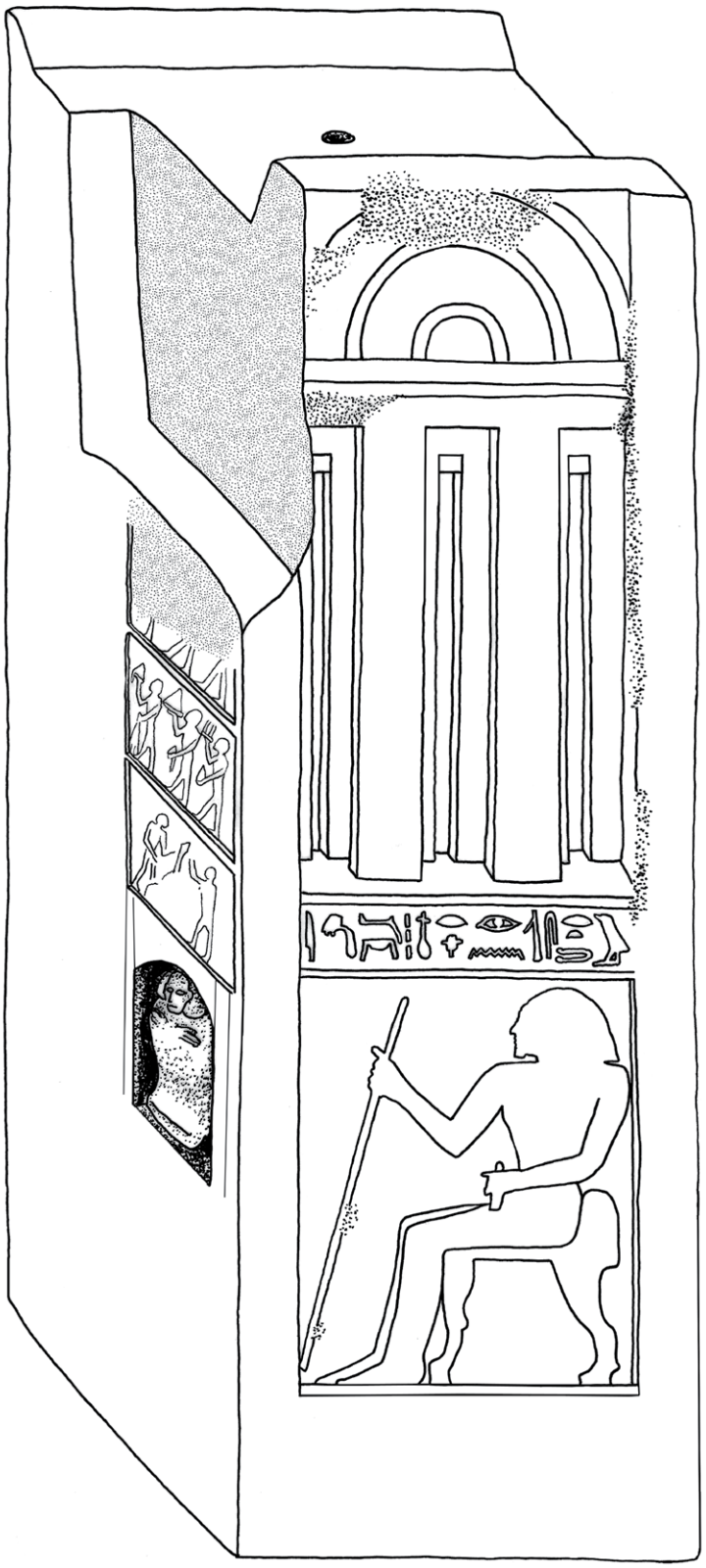


Fig. 11 – CG 20704

[194] Even the 'solid' type could accommodate statuettes in their hollow middles.

[195] This critique is not aimed at the quality of workmanship, which is of the highest standard, but in itself stresses that the layout must have been the result of a considered design made by a skilled artisan based on factors about which we can only speculate. On the whole the Egyptians would always favour symmetry over asymmetry even when displaying a variety of eclectic elements (Backes, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 1-15, particularly 14).

[196] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 331; vol. IV, pl. 53. It is dated to the end of the Twelfth-Thirteenth Dynasty (Franke, *Personendaten*, 298, Doss. 484).

[197] A good example of the usually symmetrical placement of this form of statuary can be seen with the monument of Sahathor whose block-statue is set up in a central niche of its own separately carved stela (both now in the British Museum (EA 569-570); Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 96-7, no. 25).

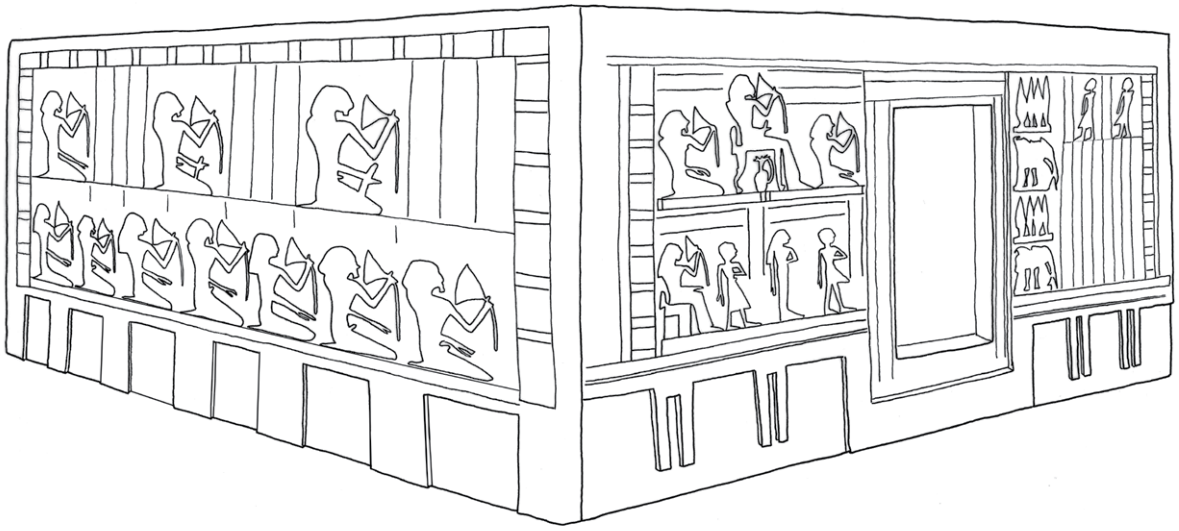


Fig. 12 – Hypothetical reconstruction of the slabs of Louvre E 25485

decorated[198] perhaps because the monument was placed against two perpendicular walls and/or amidst existing shrines that would otherwise have obscured any decoration on these surfaces. Interestingly, there is evidence of a (later?) adaption whereby a rebate is cut in to the top of the left side and partly through the uppermost figurative scene, reminiscent of the curious recess cut into the left side of MMA 65.120.1.

The proposed type of solid-core monument perfectly explains the original setting of four rectangular stone slabs now in the Louvre (E 25485) which were first published by Jacques Vandier in 1963.[199] All belong to the same individual and undoubtedly come from a single square plan monument with sides at least 65 cm long x 38 cm high. Vandier cautiously reconstructed their original arrangement with the decorated surfaces facing outward so as to appear like a solid stone block decorated all round with offering scenes and rows of family members similar to those of late Middle Kingdom stelae together with a false-door-like niche on one side and a palace-façade motif running around the lower part of each slab (Fig. 12).[200] Vandier assumed the provenance of Louvre E 25485 to be Atfih on the basis of a regional form of the goddess Hathor mentioned in the inscriptions[201] but, as has been discussed above, this is no guarantee of where it was actually set up. There is some justification in believing that it stood somewhere in the North Abydos memorial chapel zone on account of the fact that the panel façade motif decorating the lower portion of each slab, which is most elaborate on the side with the false-door niche, mimics the unequally decorated sides of Khasekhemwy's massive enclosure (Shunet es-Zebib) that is still clearly visible from the memorial chapel area. More significantly, Louvre E 25485's proposed reconstructed form bears a striking resemblance to a solid mud-brick structure situated in the north-eastern sector of the memorial chapel zone (see plan and inset photograph of Fig. 10). Designated F6-42, this so far unique rectangular mud-brick mass measures approximately 4m x 3m and has on its (local) north, east and south faces niched decoration seemingly inspired by Khasekhemwy's enclosure.[202] The west side is completely smooth for the obvious reason that any decoration here would have been hidden by the monu-

[198] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 331 "die Rückseite und die hintere Hälfte der rechten Seite nicht glatt bearbeitet". The undecorated areas might indicate that it was unfinished (though one would imagine that it was unlikely to have been set up in such a condition), or that it was intended to be a family shrine with other scenes and inscriptions to be added from time to time. This would likely only add to the lack of symmetry as displayed on its left side.

[199] Vandier, *Revue du Louvre* 13, 1-10.

[200] They are not displayed in this arrangement today. There are four figures carved in raised relief in a horizontal register on the reverse side of the slab with the niche, which are either an abandoned work or part of the intended overall decorative scheme for the monument. In the latter scenario, the partly worked side was almost certain to have faced inwards, suggesting that it could have been hollow. A slightly different variation of this proposed by J. van Dijk has the two-sided slab set into the thickness of a chapel wall with an aperture created around the figures (van Dijk, *BACE* 18, 56-7, n. 1). In this instance, the checker-pattern border on the slabs does not indicate that they should face inwards like other chapel 'wall' slabs, for the obvious reason that a hollow chapel composed of four slabs rather than three would have no opening for access.

[201] Vandier, *Revue du Louvre* 13, 5.

[202] F6-42 is even surrounded by a narrow secondary 'enclosure' like that of Khasekhemwy's – not visible today, but indicated on the excavator's plan (Fig. 7).

ment standing immediately behind it. The three heavily niched surfaces would also have been unsuitable 'canvases' for inscriptions of any length and pictorial decoration, which means that these must have been placed elsewhere; perhaps on a miniature shrine – or coffin-shaped monument that once may have surmounted F6-42, so that it resembled MMA 2014.283a-b. The logical focal point for decoration would be on the (local) eastern side which faced towards the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple complex and (notionally) the rising sun, thus following the orientation of entrances of other chapels in the memorial chapel zone. Louvre E 25485 possibly represents a more compact and squat version of this small-scale monument type, which incorporates niche panel decoration as well as scenes and dedications on a single slab.[203] Most importantly, the presence of F6-42 in the memorial chapel zone confirms beyond doubt the existence of small solid-core structures with *external* decoration in an area dominated by structures, both large and small, with accessible interior chambers.

With their smaller footprint, the development of solid-core shrines and *monobloc* monuments may have been a response to space restrictions in parts of the North Abydos cultic and cemetery zones. The cluster of mud-brick memorial chapels brought to light by the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition give a 'snap-shot' of just how densely populated the non-funerary cultic landscape immediately (local) west of the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple complex had become during the late Middle Kingdom.[204] Occupying roughly 32.5m x 45m, the concentration of chapels in this area represents only a fraction of what originally must have extended further out along the edge of the *wadi* overlooking the processional route that led out from the temple enclosure towards the Umm el-Qa'ab. The high number and density of structures is matched by the considerable variation in their sizes, with some less than a metre square and the largest, a chapel complex labelled G5-2, covering an area of over 16m x 10m. Situated in the (local) south-eastern corner of the group, G5-2 comprises a rectangular enclosure surrounded by a low wall with a central opening on its north-eastern side giving access to a small chapel fronted by a small courtyard measuring approximately 10m x 4m with two brick lined tree pits flanking the entrance. The chapel measures overall 7m wide x 11m in length and has a central narrow chamber 2.5m wide x 5m long with recessed stela emplacements, one in each side wall and another in the rear.[205]

As can be seen in Fig. 10, the entrances of the largest chapels, including that of F6-14 in the heart of the area, allow relatively easy access to the courtyard and the main building within. However, the same cannot be said for the multitude of smaller structures built around and against the enclosure walls of larger chapels which, in many instances, occupy virtually all of the available space and restrict or completely block access. Visitors to Abydos today can still readily appreciate the 'cheek by jowl' arrangement, which would have seemed even more confining when the upper parts of the larger chapels were intact.[206] This aspect must have impacted on the practicalities of cultic activity at Abydos, especially when one considers that besides family and friends honouring the memorial of a loved one or colleague, the chapel zone would have seen duly remunerated priests performing essential rituals on their behalf as well as other attendants involved in the general upkeep of the buildings and their immediate surroundings. Indeed, according to the aforementioned stela of Sehetepibre (CG 20538), the services of the priest and possibly secular attendants were secured upon or before completion of his chapel (*mʿḥʿt*).[207] It has been assumed that the smaller structures built against the enclosures of grander Abydene chapels belonged to those directly connected with its owner,[208] but it is worth considering that some could be later additions made by individuals with no direct familial, personal or professional connection, who simply wished to have their own memorial in this prime location or possibly even desired to be in close proximity to the chapel of an illustrious Egyptian (whether real or notional). Evidence for ancestor worship at Abydos in the Twelfth Dynasty has already been found in the Mid-

[203] Although it cannot be discounted that it too was surmounted by another (now lost) element.

[204] The earliest datable artefact found in the chapel zone bears the cartouche of Amenemhat II (Simpson, O'Connor, *Inscribed Material*, 36-7, fig. 59, pl. 6A), which might be when the first of the extant chapels was built. After this time no chapels appear to have been demolished and the entrance of one was blocked "presumably to protect its' contents" (O'Connor, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 171).

[205] O'Connor, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 175.

[206] This is in complete contrast to the far more orderly layout of the late Middle Kingdom sanctuary of Heqaib on Elephantine Island, with its series of peripheral shrines arranged around a relatively open courtyard (Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, vol. I, 140-57).

[207] Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 68, no. 13a. One can presume that Sehetepibre's memorial chapel stood close to, or was even one of, those exposed by the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition, since Mariette discovered his stela just a short distance away at the exterior of the main temple enclosure wall (Mariette, *Catalogue générale des monuments d'Abydos*, 34) and was perhaps another one of those believed to have been moved from the memorial chapel zone in the Nineteenth Dynasty at the time construction began on Ramesses II's 'portal' temple.

[208] O'Connor, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 171.

dle Cemetery at Abydos where commemorative chapels close to Old Kingdom *mastaba* tombs were built in veneration of illustrious ancestors within.[209] This might account for Senbef's copy on his Group One stela (CG 20569) of an 'Appeal to the Living' taken from the stela of Sehetepibre (CG 20538), for whom no connection is otherwise known.[210]

We know from the Neferhotep I decree that overcrowding in the North Abydos cultic zone was an issue in the Thirteenth Dynasty, particularly in the transitional zone between the cemeteries and already densely populated memorial chapel area. The decree sought to protect the processional route and memorial chapel zone from over-zealous tomb building,[211] specified as *ḥꜥt*, as opposed to memorial chapels (*mꜥḥꜥt*), which are nowhere mentioned in the document, perhaps because they were not the immediate concern.[212] We shall never know precisely what effect Neferhotep I's measures had at Abydos, but logic dictates that unless a systematic programme was in place for demolishing or re-appropriating older tombs and chapels to make way for new, the most sought after sector of North Abydos would eventually have become seriously overcrowded. Evidence of demolition is lacking in the area of Middle Kingdom chapels dating from the time of Amenemhat II through the Thirteenth Dynasty or later[213] and this could partly account for the significant number of smaller structures built around the few larger chapels.[214] A similar crowding of small structures was encountered by John Garstang during his 1907 excavations farther west of the Pennsylvania-Yale memorial chapel zone. He describes the presence of shrines and other enigmatic mud-brick blocks attached to or built beside funerary chapels and tombs in an area of the cemetery just beyond what one would imagine to be the prime 'Terrace of the Great God' location. Not far from where he discovered the two halves of Liverpool E 30 he came upon an "[o]ffering chapel superstructure of west and south walls of kiosk with trace of plaster. In west wall to south, a square projection 2 m x 1 m about, with oblong shrine".[215] Here then it seems Garstang had found a small presumably open-ended shrine, the interior walls of which may once have been lined with decorative rectangular slabs with an arch-topped stela at the back, together with a solid rectangular structure of no obvious purpose. This arrangement is comparable to the range of structures in the memorial chapel zone. Garstang also photographed another dense concentration of smaller structures consisting of a rectangular mud-brick shrine with central door-like aperture close to another with a more rounded top and the narrow space between them filled by a slender structure with a central opening containing what appears to be a statuette.[216] This disparate and seemingly *ad hoc* arrangement is perhaps further evidence of stone-clad monuments and a need to build ever-smaller chapels/shrines in ever-decreasing spaces in this part of the necropolis.

Both solid-core shrines and especially freestanding monuments provided the ideal compromise; with their modest 'footprint' and comprehensive array of pictorial and inscriptional decoration they could be placed with relative ease into the tightest of spaces and still fulfil the prevailing votive and religious needs of pilgrims wishing to set up a memorial. Furthermore, the logistics of transporting and erecting them, especially those manufactured elsewhere (as seems likely to be the case at least for MMA 65.120.1, MMA 65.120.2, Turin 1630, MMA 2014.283a-b and possibly the Tadross Collection monument), would be more straightforward than for shrines composed of a greater number of elements.

The desire to erect a memorial in this already built-up prime chapel location close to the Osiris temple and overlooking the festival procession route could easily have stimulated the innovation of monuments intended to function essentially in the same way as larger more architecturally complex structures, yet small enough to fit within the ever-decreasing available space. While the area close to the temple remained free of any tomb building at this time, farther (local) west, north and south it seems that any boundary existing between purely commemorative and cemetery zones as indicated by the Neferhotep I decree may, over time, have become blurred. Only through future excavations in the area of desert margin west of the Osiris temple complex will it be possible to clarify the full extent of the 'Terrace of

[209] Richards, *Expedition* 44/3, 22-3.

[210] Other inscriptions on Sehetepibre's stela also copy elements from an early Twelfth Dynasty stela (Leprohon, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 277 and *passim*).

[211] Leahy, *JEA* 75, 53. As the memorial chapels were built in commemoration of the annual festival of Osiris it would be counterproductive for them to obstruct the procession itself.

[212] The choice of term is briefly discussed by Leahy (*JEA* 75, 45 (p)).

[213] Simpson, O'Connor, *Inscribed Material*, 36, C3, fig. 59, pl. 6A (fragment with Amenemhat II cartouche). The latest fragment records the partial cartouche of a Second Intermediate Period king (48 C21, fig. 78, pl. 9A).

[214] Kei Yamamoto's limited excavations in the memorial chapel zone identified destruction levels of what he believed were memorial chapels of the earlier Twelfth Dynasty (Yamamoto, *A Middle Kingdom Pottery Assemblage*, 58-60).

[215] Snape, *Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos*, vol. I, 204 (305 A'07).

[216] The unpublished photograph (364 A'07 – book A07 11, 123) is now in the archives of the School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology, University of Liverpool.

the Great God' and whether a point of transition ever truly existed between funerary and non-funerary cults.

Socio-cultural Context

Eleven objects from Group One and all of Group Two[217] yield prosopographical data summarised in Table 3. Where it is possible to do so, the principal named individual on each monument is indicated with the symbol †. As can be seen from the range of titles, the majority of stela owners belong to the various administrative spheres proposed by Stephen Quirke,[218] and a good many fall into the three highest levels of the central administration: the palace, the treasury and the vizierate. Even taking into account fluctuations in the relative status of certain titles during the Middle Kingdom, for instance 'chief of tens of Upper Egypt' (*wr-mḏw šmʿ* – Tadross Collection monument) that gained extra importance during the late Thirteenth Dynasty and Second Intermediate Period,[219] and possible changes in location of the administrative centre to which such titled officials were connected (Lisht, Thebes), the overall impression is that many of these objects, including the earliest examples, were commissioned by Egyptian elites primarily linked with the royal court at el-Lisht in the north of the country. These included the military title *ꜣtw n ṯt ḥḳꜣ*, 'commander of the crew of the ruler' (Pennsylvania E 9952), who was a palace official[220] and the *šmsw*, 'guard' (Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427]), who protected the king.[221] Even the four individuals holding the title *imy-r mšʿ*, 'overseer of the army' (MMA 65.120.1, MMA 65.120.2 and Turin 1630) could have belonged equally to the royal court or a local Abydene militia organised by a regional governor.[222]

After positions connected to the Palace, the second highest number of titles relate to temple institutions and occur on CG 20497, CG 20038, Vienna ÄS 109, MMA 2014.283a-b, and Liverpool E 30. These five monuments list a total of nine different priestly titles, three belonging to the monument owner and the remainder to secondary individuals. Only titles on Liverpool E 30 are explicitly connected with Abydos which includes 'regulator of the watch of Abydos' (*mr*(*y*) *n sꜣ n ꜣbḏw*) held by Amenyseneb the stela owner who restored the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple under king Khendjer.[223] None of the other religious titles reveal the establishments to which they belonged, though on CG 20497 the Abydene-specific 'Appeal to the Living' leads one to suspect that the 'regulator of the watch' (*mr*(*y*) *n sꜣ*) represented by one of the mummiform figures (name not preserved), was attached to the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple where his responsibilities may well have encompassed other cultic establishments at the site.[224] Being closer to the cultic 'pulse' of Abydos than most Egyptians, it comes as no surprise to find priests like Amenyseneb embracing and probably thereby promulgating innovations centred on Osirian religion, just as high officials on royal mission were so clearly inspired to do.[225]

The emphasis on titles of the royal court leads one to suspect that the earliest objects from both groups were made by northern-based artisans. Alexander Ilin-Tomich proposes that Basel III 5002, CG20038 and possibly MMA 65.120.1 and MMA 65.120.2 were produced in the north, not least because of their owners' known or probable connection with the central administration.[226] If this is the case, then it seems they were made exclusively with Abydos in mind since no comparable objects displaying their main defining features are known from anywhere in the Memphite/Fayum regions. However, this raises an interesting question: assuming they were manufactured by northern sculptors, what should be made of unfinished stela Brussels E 4860 found at Abydos, and possibly even CG 20097, which appear to be roughly contemporary with the securely dated CG 20038? Three scenarios I believe are possible, which broadly follow those proposed by Detlef Franke for Middle Kingdom stelae in general:[227]

1) The stelae were produced in an unfinished state in a northern workshop and shipped to Abydos where they awaited a prospective purchaser for whom a local sculptor would have added the personalised portion of inscription (which for these two examples never happened).

2) They were produced in the north and sent south to serve as prototypes for local Abydene sculptors.

[217] Both given totals include Vienna ÄS 109.
[218] Quirke, *RdE* 37, 116 ff. The table includes the additional office 'Temple Administration' also proposed by Stephen Quirke (*Titles and bureaux of Egypt*, 119-31).
[219] Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 49.
[220] Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 222.
[221] For holders of this title see: Stefanović, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles*, 95-124.
[222] Chevereau, *RdE* 42, 46. For an updated list of holders of this title see: Stefanović, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles,* 182-202.
[223] The 'priest of Onuris' (*wʿb n in-ḥrt*) also mentioned on the stela could belong to Abydos and/or Thinis.
[224] Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt*, 119-20.
[225] Franke, in Meyer (ed.), *Egypt – Temple of the Whole World*, 129.
[226] See Ilin-Tomich, in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom*, 145-68. To these should be added Turin 1630 which is closely related in style to the two Metropolitan Museum of Art stelae.
[227] Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 108.

3) The stelae were made at Abydos by a northern palace sculptor who had accompanied a high official to Abydos on royal mission. Either they represent prototypes destined for local Abydene workshops or the northern sculptor produced them with potential customers in mind, but was unable to finish them before leaving for the north.

Given the proposed late Twelfth Dynasty dating of unfinished stelae Brussels E 4860 and CG 20097 the official may well have been Iykhernofret, whose intensive involvement in the Osiris cult at Abydos while on mission there for Senwosret III could have been the necessary stimulus behind the creation of the first Group One objects. It is not hard to imagine Iykhernofret commissioning a northern sculptor accompanying him on his mission to interpret certain prevailing themes of the local Osiris cult into a new type of object, the result of which was CG 20038, Basel III 5002, Brussels E 4860 and CG 20097. Such a scenario brings to mind the autobiography of the master sculptor Shen-Setji whose career began in the royal workshops at Itjtawy before being sent to work on the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple at Abydos in the time of Senwosret I and whose skills were likely imparted to local craftsmen.[228] If such innovations were initiated by the desires of high officials, it would not take long for local ateliers to capitalise on the demand by producing their own comparable objects. Detlef Franke believed that this type of localised customer-led innovation and demand was the driving force behind the transmission of religious hymns in the late Middle Kingdom, such as those borne by several objects under study here, which may have been personal copies of those recited during the annual festival of Osiris.[229]

Three Group One objects, MMA 2014.283a-b, the Tadross Collection monument and MMA 65.120.2 include two or more individuals with the same title suggesting the hereditary transmission of their positions. The owner of MMA 2014.283a-b and his father both hold the title 'overseer of drummers/sistrum players' (*imy-r ḫnww*). The owner of the Tadross Collection monument, two of his sons and another possibly related individual all bear the title 'Great One of Tens of Upper Egypt' (*wr-mḏw šmʿ*); two more of his sons are the 'Mouth of Nekhen' (*sꜣb r nḫn*). Both titles are associated with the administration under the vizier, but rather than representing specific functions within it they may have served as 'status markers' for elite individuals.[230] The most interesting of the three objects, MMA 65.120.2, includes an individual with the same title as the stela owner. The 'overseer of the army' Khenty-khety-Re (*imy-r mšʿ ḫnty-ḫty-rʿ*) is represented by the leftmost mummiform figure. His relationship to Sehetepibre is unstated, though the fact that his mummy is with others that are clearly identified as family members indicates a familial rather than professional connection. Intriguingly, Sehetepibre may himself represent a member of a multi-generational military family. Listed in Pierre-Marie Chevereau's catalogue of Middle Kingdom military title-holders is an 'overseer of the army' named Sehetepibre, known from a small arch-topped stela discovered by Mariette in the 'nécropole du nord'.[231] We can be certain that this Sehetepibre is not the same as the Sehetepibre of the Metropolitan Museum of Art slabs by virtue that each has a different mother. Nevertheless, a familial link may tentatively be proposed for both men through other individuals named in the inscriptions. On the Mariette stela one of Sehetepibre's sons is named Ankhu (*ʿnḫw*), while on both MMA 65.120.1 and MMA 65.120.2 the mother of Sehetepibre is named 'daughter (of) Ankhu' (*sꜣt-ʿnḫw*), presenting us with the possibility that the three stelae could record as many as four generations of the same family spanning some 80-100 years.[232]

The honouring of superiors by subordinates is evident on several stelae, notably CG 20038, which includes the names of several lesser officials who worked under the treasurer Iykhernofret,[233] and Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427] whose owner is of lower rank than other officials named in the inscriptions and therefore represent his superiors and/or other colleagues.[234] It is likely, then, that these stelae belonged to shrines built next to, or set

[228] Faulkner, *JEA* 38; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*, 91.

[229] Franke, in Meyer (ed.), *Egypt – Temple of the Whole World*, 133. This topic will be explored further in the final section of this article. Objects of known Abydene manufacture include: statuettes: Snape, in Eyre, Leahy, Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed*, 304-14; stelae: Marée, in Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 241-81; inscribed bowls and mud figurines of New Kingdom-Late Period date: O'Connor, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. II, 168, n. 19.

[230] Grajetzki, in Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 236-7.

[231] Chevereau, *RdE* 42, 54, no. 84 (no Cairo Museum number); Mariette, *Catalogue générale des monuments d'Abydos*, 172, no. 656; Stefanović, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles*, 198, Doss. 1059. Unfortunately the present location of this stela in the Egyptian Museum Cairo is unknown and is not listed in Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*; as a result it is not possible to fully investigate and refine the dating.

[232] Evidence for the hereditary transmission of military offices is noted for other stelae (Stefanović, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles*, vii).

[233] Leprohon, *JARCE* 15, 34-5.

[234] As is known from other stelae, for example: Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 63-4; Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 70-3.

into the enclosure wall of, the chapel of their superior.

However, not all of these distinctive monuments were commissioned solely by the upper echelons of society; there is evidence that some belong to lower status Egyptians from the less visible 'middle class' of ancient Egyptian society,[235] namely the untitled people on UC 14347, Louvre C 44 and BM EA 8893. In this respect, the objects from Group One represent a similar social range to that attested on more traditional stelae recovered from Abydos, including those from the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition memorial chapel zone.[236] The presence of numerous individuals on a single monument may coincide with the 'demotization' of certain aspects of cult religion in the Thirteenth Dynasty that previously had been confined to the elite class, as is believed possible for hymns.[237] Another influential factor may have been the practice of multiple burials apparent in late Middle Kingdom Abydene tombs, which are thought to have developed for reasons of economy, space restrictions and/or as part of the changing funerary culture at that time.[238] The same social diversity is not evident in the Group Two objects with the exception of Liverpool E 30, which includes depictions and inscriptions of untitled workers presumably belonging to Amenyseneb's estate.

The prominence of the high officials from the central administration as well as non-local elites on many of the monuments under scrutiny testifies to the powerful draw of Abydos and the cult of Osiris on the upper echelons of Egyptian society in the late Middle Kingdom, fuelled at least in part by the considerable royal activity at the site at certain times during this period. It was the high officials sent on royal missions to Abydos who would have been exposed to the stimulating religious fervour surrounding the Osiris cult and therefore it comes as no surprise to find that they make up many of the individuals represented on the objects from both groups. Even so, it is also apparent that the Group One corpus represents the same broader range of Egyptian society as is found on many other Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos including those from the memorial chapel area.[239] Thus the appeal of this particular style, from its initial association with the elite class, gradually broadened to include the less visible middle classes too.

I know of no royal objects directly comparable to those from either Group One or Two, an indication perhaps that the impetus behind both styles was likely to have come from the non-royal (yet nonetheless elite) sphere and not by ultimate 'top-down' imitation.[240] That being said, the recently discovered fragments from two or more miniature rectangular limestone sarcophagi near the entrance to Senwosret III's tomb/cenotaph at South Abydos at least present us with small-scale royal objects that might have played some kind of *extra-sepulchral* role – an aspect shared with the Group One corpus.[241] They display the same kind of niche panelling and vaulted lid with end boards as MMA 2014.283a-b, but as they are hollow boxes rather than solid, they were made to contain something (whether notional or real).[242] Regrettably, there are no inscriptions to reveal their exact function. Nevertheless, they do offer the possibility that Senwosret III (or perhaps a later Middle Kingdom king buried nearby) partook in certain votive practices outside the tomb that previously were known only in the non-royal sphere and, tantalisingly, that such activity could have involved miniature mummiform figures.[243]

The Conception and Function of Mummiform Figures in Niches and Pierced-work Ankh Stelae

What, then, was the impetus behind the appearance of these two distinctively styled monument types at Abydos in the late Middle Kingdom, especially as neither replaced more conventionally decorated stelae at this time? From their relatively small numbers it is reasonable to assume that they served a more specialised role in cult activity, and one that remained in vogue for sev-

[235] Franke, *GM* 167, 33-48.
[236] O'Connor, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. II, 175-7; Simpson and O'Connor, *Inscribed Material*, 33-53.
[237] Franke, in Meyer (ed.), *Egypt – Temple of the Whole World*, 125.
[238] For an overview and discussion of such burials: Grajetzki, in Grallert, Grajetzki (eds.), *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 25, 30-3.
[239] E.g. Simpson, O'Connor, *Inscribed Material*, 45-7, C16-18.
[240] The only example of a relatively *small-scale* royal object bearing figurines carved in high relief that comes to mind is the striking red granite altar of king Khaankhre-Sobekhotep, believed to have come from Abydos and now in Leiden (Schneider, Raven, *De Egyptische Oudheid*, 73, no. 60). The rectangular altar measures 1.14m high x 1.6m long x 1.2m deep and carved in half-round relief around it below the offering platen are eight living-form depictions of the king all posed in the same attitude of reverence. Apart from their comparably small size and similar sculptural technique, there is no obvious reason to believe that these living-form statuettes are conceptually the same as those from Group One.
[241] Wegner, in Hawass, Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees*, 351-78.
[242] Such as visceral remains from the embalming process or mummiform figurines.
[243] This would be significant since, at present, the earliest mummiform statuette for a king belongs to Ahmose of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Hall, *JEA* 17, 10-2).

eral centuries at least.[244] That being said, the inclusion of traditional images and offering formulae suggests that these monuments should not be entirely isolated from the vastly greater corpus of more conventional Abydene stelae. One cannot discount the possibility that a practical motivation lay behind the use of engaged mummiform statuettes and to some extent pierced-work *ankhs* – namely a means of ensuring the integrity of a small memorial by preventing the theft or accidental damage that could more readily befall a separately modelled statuette or symbol – all potential hazards in the highly crowded cultic zones of North Abydos. However, such a motive is too simplistic to fully account for their development, not least because the number of magical spells, formulae and 'Appeals to the Living' found across the two groups argue that more complex issues lay at the heart of their conception and their role in the cultic milieu of Abydos. Regrettably, these texts make no explicit reference to the mummiform figures or pierced-work *ankhs* that so dominate these objects, but they do point us in a direction that leads to the working hypothesis discussed in this section.

Whereas the pierced-work *ankh* style is not found elsewhere in Middle Kingdom material culture, engaged mummiform figures do occur in roughly contemporaneous *non-royal* contexts from the mid-late Twelfth Dynasty, and it is worth considering these briefly here for any insight into the development of Group One objects.

The earliest instance of niches containing half-round mummiform figures,[245] albeit on a larger scale than those under study, occur in the imposing rock-cut tomb at Aswan belonging to the district governor Sarenput II who held office during the reigns of Senwosret II and III.[246] Cut into the walls either side of the narrow corridor leading to the rearmost cult chamber are a total of six niches each containing a life-size mummiform statue carved in half-round relief. Of these only one is completely finished with a broad multi-coloured bead collar and black tripartite wig framing the red-painted face (now mostly missing) and a single column of inscription naming Sarenput (Fig. 13).[247] Significantly, like the owners of several objects from Group One, Sarenput is also depicted in living-form in images elsewhere in the tomb and by a hardstone seated statue set up in the false-door styled niche in the cult chamber.[248] As the mummiform statues are located in the corridor immediately before the cult chamber, we can presume that they functioned differently to the *k3*-statue of Sarenput within the rearmost niche (and indeed other two dimensional representations of the official elsewhere in the tomb). Even though no other *non-royal* equivalents are known, the engaged statues of Sarenput[249] demonstrate that by the late Middle Kingdom mummiform imagery was beginning to be boldly employed outside the burial compartment in above-ground and accessible areas of the tomb.[250] Around the same time, the earliest of the

[244] For general conclusions about the facilitating role of mummiform statuettes in rituals see Pumpenmeier, in Fitzenreiter, Loeben (eds.), *Die ägyptische Mumie*, 77-8.

[245] The use of integrally carved high-relief living-form human figures goes back much earlier to the early Fourth Dynasty when they were employed as part of the decoration in king Snefru's valley temple of his ('Bent') pyramid at Dahshur (Fakhry, *ASAE* 52, pls. 18-9; Ricke, *ASAE* 52, 615-6, figs. 5-6). The trend was adopted by members of the royal family and the elite in their tombs with one of the earliest, the Giza *mastaba* of Meresankh III, notably containing six niches varying in depth from 15 to 34 cm in which were sculpted a total of fourteen standing female and six seated male figures. (Dunham, Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, 7, 17-20, pls. 4, 8, 9, 11). Where, presumably for technical reasons, it was not possible to cut the niches and figures directly into the rock, the entire niche and statues could be made as a separate unit and inserted into the tomb structure. For an example of this see: Borla *et al.*, *The Egyptian Museum of Turin*, 47, fig. 45. It is also noted that niches containing *freestanding* statues occurred in the First Dynasty, or perhaps even earlier, for which see Bárta, *MDAIK* 54, 66. It is uncertain whether this development directly inspired the creation of half-round figures carved out of the tomb walls.

[246] Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine,* 64-88, Abb. 37-42, pls. 27, 30-6. For a detailed discussion of Sarenput II's family and dating see: Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, vol. I, 47. Its overall appearance closely resembles the near contemporary inner coffin of Userhat discovered by Garstang at Beni Hasan (Garstang, *Burial customs*, 173-5, fig. 181). The precise date of Userhat's burial is uncertain, though pottery styles suggest the reign of Senwosret III (Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 91).

[247] Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten*, 72-4. The remaining five uninscribed mummiform figures were probably intended to represent other male family members, contra Müller proposed that they were multiple images of Sarenput II because no other family members other than his son Ankhu are represented anywhere else in the tomb (Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten*, 73).

[248] Jiménez Serrano, *Nova StudAeg* 9, 323. The back wall of the niche was also decorated with a stela depicting Sarenput before offerings (Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten*, Abb. 39, pls. 29, 31, 33).

[249] Müller posited that Sarenput's use of niched mummiform figures in his tomb design was influenced by the series of limestone Osiride statues in Senwosret I's pyramid complex at Lisht that lined the causeway leading to his mortuary temple (Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten*, 98; see also: Winlock, *BMMA*, 24, fig. 25; Arnold, *The Temple of Mentuhotep*, 46-9). Equally influential in this respect are the colossal painted limestone 'Osiride' statues of Senwosret I from the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple built by the king at Abydos (Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, 66 (CG 28230), pl. 12).

[250] The royal statues closest in scale and appearance to those

Fig. 13 – One of six near life-size mummiform statues in the tomb of Sarenput II at Aswan (author's photograph)

Group One monuments appear, attested by the securely dated CG 20038 and Basel III 5002, as well as other novel types of group statuettes with individuals depicted mostly in living-form[251] but also as mummies[252] often separately modelled and placed into stelae niches[253] or shown standing before an integral stela-form back slab. Collectively, these objects point out the late Middle Kingdom as a time of innovation in the presentation of notions centred on the cult of the deceased, with increasing visual references to the mummy-form, employing a wider range of small-scale religious objects than in previous periods, many of which functioned in

in Sarenput's tomb come from above-ground chapels of the 'labyrinth' of Amenemhat III at Hawara. Although surviving only as fragments, several statues represent not only the king, but also mummiform deities (Blom-Böer, *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III*, 149-53).

[251] E.g. Fischer, in Terrace, Fischer (eds.), *Treasures from the Cairo Museum*, 81-4; Schulz, Seidel, *Egyptian Art: The Walters Art Museum*, 48-9, no. 16; Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 70-1, no. 56; Engelbach, *Harageh*, 13, pl. XXV.162.

[252] Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet*, 101-2, fig. 91; Fischer, in Silverman (ed.), *Searching for Ancient Egypt*, 128-9.

[253] Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*. *Part II*, 121, no. 27, fig. 86; pl. XXIII, 2. See also the group statue contained within a niche set on an offering table in Turin published in Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, vol. II, tfl. IV, 42.

extra-sepulchral settings.[254]

Previous studies on objects from both groups under study have focussed on the *kꜣ* and *bꜣ* elements of the body. Alexander Badawy proposed that the pierced-work *ankhs* functioned like false-doors, providing a portal through which the *bꜣ* of the deceased was able to leave the tomb,[255] a connection seemingly corroborated by examples of stelae with empty niches styled as false-doors.[256] A subtly different explanation was proposed by David O'Connor in respect of a stela with a rectangular aperture discovered in the memorial chapel zone, calling it a 'window' through which the *kꜣ* of the deceased, presumably represented by a statuette placed within (or behind) it, was able to witness the important Osirian festivities.[257] Equally then, we might consider that CG 20353, which was found in a prime location just outside the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple precincts, served as an *ankh*-shaped 'window' enabling the two mummiform statuettes of the deceased recovered with the stela to witness the great procession of the god's statue as it left the temple enclosure.

It is easy to accept the portal aspect of Badawy's and O'Connor's explanations as applicable to both niches in stelae and fully pierced-through apertures, and thus potentially to every object in the corpus, but neither accounts for the use of mummiform rather than living-form images of the deceased, nor why the *ankh*-form aperture was sometimes favoured over a plain rectangular one. Jane Hill addressed some of these questions by presenting the pierced-work *ankh* as a versatile device that offered a portal for the *kꜣ*, sweetened and made holy any offerings passing through it, and symbolised the ideal divine eternity only the worthy deceased could attain.[258] However, it is difficult to accept without question that the presence of mummiform statuettes is connected solely with the *kꜣ* or are even his *bꜣ*. Besides the fact that none in the corpus is unequivocally identified as either,[259] seven of the objects also include two-dimensional depictions of the living-form deceased in food offering scenes more readily identified with the *kꜣ* as the traditional recipient of the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae.[260] With MMA 2014.283a-b this distinction is made virtually certain as the owner of the monument is represented in half-round relief both as a mummy and in living-form. The close connection between mummiform statuettes and *ankh*-form apertures is shown by their inclusion on Vienna ÄS 109 and also by the two mummiform statuettes recovered with CG 20353, although the reasoning behind the 'marriage' of these two otherwise distinct styles and what lay at the heart of their symbiotic potency is not obviously stated in any inscription. Nevertheless, I believe it is possible to make some headway in this area if instead of regarding them as an 'additional home for the *kꜣ*',[261] largely duplicating the role served by other living-form images of the deceased in the offering cult, we consider for a moment that the each mummiform figure in Group One serves as the proxy for the *actual* mummified body, whose revivification and transformation to the blessed dead is sought through the utterance of specific magical texts and some form of ritual performance. This hypothesis, for it cannot be anything more than that at present, is supported by the presence of certain magical formula, phraseology and specific decorative elements found on many of the objects in this study.[262] As a starting point, I

[254] Other innovations in areas of the funerary/mortuary cult include the appearance of small-scale magical objects such as wands and rods (Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.) *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 15).

[255] Badawy, *BIE* 35, 138. Kitchen suggested that the pierced-work *ankh* may have served as a motif of the epithet *bꜣi-ʿnḫ*, 'the living-ba', and specifically the *bꜣ*'s ability to move freely (Kitchen, *JEA* 47, 13).

[256] E.g. Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. IV, pl. 52, CG 20686; pl. 57, CG 20748 = Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 52 [ANOC 34.2].

[257] O'Connor, *Expedition* 21, 49. In fact, O'Connor follows Badawy's suggestion that statuettes were placed in these apertures (Simpson, O'Connor, *Inscribed Material*, 39, C6).

[258] Hill, in Hawass, Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees*, 243.

[259] In two- and three-dimensional art the *kꜣ* is represented as the deceased in living-form (Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 358). The *bꜣ*'s connection with representations of mummiform figures is usually explicit – most notably on New Kingdom shabti figures where it appears as a separate bird-like entity about to fly from the breast of the deceased (Taylor, *Journey through the Afterlife*, 25, no. 2).

[260] Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427], CG 20038, MMA 65.120.1-2, Turin 1630, MMA 2014.283a-b, Vienna ÄS 109. For a discussion of the *kꜣ in* two-dimensional offering scenes see: Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, 135-52.

[261] This definition was used by Taylor, *Death & the Afterlife*, 112 for shabtis in general although BM EA 8893 is included in the discussion (114, fig. 75).

[262] As obvious as it might seem, there is no clear consensus on the role(s) played by funerary figurines, shabtis and other mummiform statuettes in mortuary and funerary cults. In the recent Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition catalogue the idea that the mummiform figure of Kemes on MMA 2014.283a-b could represent his actual mummy is one of two different explanations referenced in a footnote (Patch, Allon, in Oppenheim *et. al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 266, n. 5). The basis for this definition is John Taylor's general discussion about the embalmed body of the deceased (Taylor, *Journey through the Afterlife*, 20) –though he does not refer to the roles of mummiform statuettes (which, in an earlier work, he associates with the *kꜣ* (see above n. 261)– and a catalogue entry for a 2/3 life-size limestone tomb 'sah'-statue (1.08 m high) of an Eighteenth Dynasty Chantress of Amun Ipay (Taylor, *Journey through the Afterlife*, 24, no. 1). Neither

briefly outline here the role mummiform imagery played in the developing Osirian-solar funerary religion of the late Middle Kingdom, as this sets the stage for the appearance of the Group One objects.

In his interpretive exploration of funerary iconography Stephan Seidlmayer proposed that the appearance of the mummiform image resulted from changes in perception of the deceased's body linked to new embalming techniques.[263] More specifically, whereas Old Kingdom tomb scenes represented the deceased as a living person laying on a bier as though asleep, by the end of the First Intermediate Period/early Middle Kingdom the embalmed and wrapped corpse was no longer perceived to be paralleled by any activity of the living but a distinct intermediary stage[264] represented by the cocoon-like mummy, that eventually came to be known as the *sʿḥ*. While this new imagery permeated Middle Kingdom funerary art, its certain connection with the *sʿḥ* name can rarely be made in texts of the period. This is no better illustrated than by the many dozens of occurrences of *sʿḥ* in the Coffin Texts where the word is almost invariably translated as 'dignity' or 'dignitary'[265] and attractively explained as referring to "the privileged deceased ones or Saḥu (who) lived in the company of the ruler of the Beyond".[266] In only one CT spell can it be more clearly understood as referring to the physical 'mummy',[267] yet from the context where *sʿḥ* occurs in other spells it is possible to see how interpreting the word as (the deceased's) mummy also makes sense. For example, in CT 50 the phrase "your *sʿḥ* in the House of Two Bas" (*sʿḥ.k m pr bȝ-wy*) has been interpreted by Harco Willems as likely referring to 'your (the deceased's) mummy' rather than 'your dignity', and thus characterising the deceased as Re united with Osiris.[268] It is tempting to see here the beginnings of a clearer association between word and image that becomes explicit by the New Kingdom when *sʿḥ* not only refers to the mummified body[269] but is depicted as distinct from other key elements of the deceased, the *kȝ, ib* and *bȝ*, in tomb scenes.[270] Likewise, the mummiform figures from Group One may already be regarded as separate from the *kȝ*, especially as the latter continues to be the recipient of food offerings in the *ḥtp-dinsw* formulae inscribed on eleven of the objects,[271] and distinct also from the two-dimensional living-form depictions of the deceased and/or other individuals found on ten.[272] According to Jan Assmann, like the *kȝ*, the *sʿḥ* defined the person in the social sphere and similarly was also the focus of cult attention,[273] which further promotes the idea that the mummiform figures on all Group One monuments represent a strand of ritual belief distinct –though not entirely divorced– from those related to the *kȝ*. By the New Kingdom the *sʿḥ* was certainly regarded as a stage in the corporeal remains of the deceased requiring rituals in order for it to be transformed into the revivified dead called the *ȝḫ* and re-take the form of a living human being.[274] One of the rites at this time was even performed over the mummy in the tomb courtyard so that it could be exposed to the revivifying rays of the sun, firmly highlighting the centrality of solar-Osirian religious beliefs surrounding the deceased's revivification.[275] These concepts are maintained in later funerary texts in which the *sʿḥ*-form image is linked to the necropolis, the Osiris cult and the sun, highlighting their enduring role as an essential component in the revivi-

does this entry refer specifically to MMA 2014.283a-b or any of the Group One objects. The second reference more specifically relates to the Group One corpus since it is Pascal Vernus' judgement that the Tadross Collection monument figures are shabtis (Vernus, *RdE* 26, 107-12). However, as will be discussed at the end of this section, this may not be quite so clear cut even despite the presence of the shabti spell on the monument, and is unlikely to relate to MMA 2014.283a-b or any of the other Group One objects.

[263] Seidlmayer, in Willems (ed.), *Social aspects of funerary culture*, 227-30.

[264] Some time ago Berlev noted (*КСИНА* 46, 50) the 'blurred' use of the mummy on a bed determinative for the euphemism "repose" (*ḫpt*) instead of "death" (*ḫpi*) that seems to highlight a transitional phase of from the deceased in sleeping human-form to that of mummiform. Such images occur at the same time as the earliest appearance of the mummiform corpse, as indicated by the inscriptions on the sarcophagus of Kawit from the mortuary temple of Montuhotep II (Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, vol. I, pls. 20-1).

[265] Wb IV, 49-50; van der Plas, Borghouts, *Coffin Text Word Index*, 245-6.

[266] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 65.

[267] CT Spell 45 (CT I, 198e) *ḥwʿ tw ip.t(i) swḏȝ.t(i) m sʿḥ pn nty m-bȝḥ.i*, "you can be counted (and) preserved in the shape of this mummy which is in front of me!".

[268] Willems, *Chests of life*, 154.

[269] Wb IV. 51-2; Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 486.

[270] Assmann, *JEA* 65, 72-7 (for discussion and references), pl. 10. In TT163 the mummiform body is actually labelled *ḫȝt*, though it is referred to as *sʿḥ* in other comparable funerary scenes/texts assembled by Assmann.

[271] MMA 65.120.1-2, Turin 1630, CG 20497, Louvre C 44, Vienna ÄS 109, Basel III 5002, Brussels E 4860, CG 20038, MMA 2014.283a-b and the Tadross Collection monument.

[272] MMA 65.120.1-2, Turin 1630, UC14347, Basel III 5002, CG 20038, Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427], Vienna ÄS 109, MMA 2014.283a-b, Tadross Collection monument.

[273] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 91-2.

[274] The mention of *sʿḥ* in Coffin Texts (where it does not clearly mean 'mummy') has nevertheless been interpreted in some instances as having close connections to the *ȝḫ* (Demarée, *The ȝḫ ikr n Rʿ-Stelae*, 227, n. 169).

[275] *sʿḥʿ.tw sʿḥ.k n rʿw m wsḫt is.k* (Assmann, *MDAIK* 28, 126-7).

fication process.[276] Even though no text on any Group One object mentions the *sᶜḥ* or the *ɜḫ*, the mummiform imagery they employ cannot so easily be dismissed as simply another form of, or repository for, the deceased's *kɜ* – and it takes no great stretch of the imagination to understand them as being early visual manifestations of the *sᶜḥ* concept, prefiguring their unambiguous presence in the religious texts of the New Kingdom and when they became the subject of specific rituals. That they could belong to such a transitional and developmental process is not without precedent as a number of other characteristically New Kingdom funerary/mortuary practices are now believed to have origins firmly rooted in the Middle Kingdom.[277]

Even though the *sᶜḥ*-mummy cuts an elusive figure in pre-New Kingdom literature, the theological belief underlying the transformation of the deceased to an *ɜḫ* is nonetheless firmly entrenched in Middle Kingdom liturgies as CT Spell 93 reveals: "The Netherworld has been opened….for I have gone out in this day in this form which is mine, in this true form which is mine of a living *ɜḫ*".[278] The original concept of this transformation appears much earlier in the Pyramid Texts where Horus revives Osiris by reciting magical words as utterance §2264 of Spell 734 makes clear: "Hear, hear the word which Horus said to his father Osiris, so that you may be an *ɜḫ* thereby".[279] In an act of reciprocity, we are also told in §1730 of Spell 612 that Osiris transfigures Horus.[280] Already in the early Middle Kingdom this concept was adapted for use in the non-royal sphere at Abydos where it can be found in the stela inscription of the priest Montuhotep, which calls upon passers-by to beseech Osiris-Khentyimentiu to transform him to an *ɜḫ*.[281] When viewed through an Abydo-centric lens we can see that the *sᶜḥ*-mummy image of the deceased, especially with its obvious similarity to the quintessential form of Osiris, would serve as a most appropriate recipient of such recitations and may reasonably explain the role of all mummiform figures from the Group One corpus.[282] Indeed, of the four objects bearing 'Appeals to the Living'[283] which, like Montuhotep's version, expressly encourage the intercession of passers-by to recite the texts for the benefit of the deceased,[284] three are aimed specifically at the Abydene religious institution and priests.[285] Of these, the most comprehensive appeal belongs to MMA 65.120.2 with its call to: '…officials, those in Abydos (and) the entire temple priesthood and every *wab*-priest belonging to it, who stretches out his hand (in a ritual gesture) to the god…', which surely alludes to the participatory aspect of the annual festival when the Abydene populace and pilgrims alike raised their arms in veneration as the statue of Osiris was carried along the processional route before them.[286] In the cultic environment of Abydos, the objectified *sᶜḥ*-mummy would have provided a more tangible focus for rituals especially those seeking the transfiguration of the deceased, whose resultant *ɜḫ* status would enable them to participate in the Osiris festival. This was especially relevant for palace officials, such as Iykhernofret, whose actual mummies lay in tombs far away in northern cemeteries.

In addition, like Osiris's reciprocal transfiguration of Horus, the *ɜḫ*(*w*) were likewise capable of perpetuating rituals for other deceased individuals as revealed in an 'Appeal to the Living' from Saqqara: "[As for (any)] skilled lector-priest (or any properly) equipped *ɜḫ*-spirit, who shall read aloud for any man his invocation offering of bread and beer for me".[287] To the Egyptians, then, both living and dead were equally qualified to perform rituals for the benefit of another deceased individual (even one unrelated to them). This would have benefitted the multiple individuals listed on many of the objects from the two groups under study, not all of whom were related to the principal deceased.

The restoration of breathing was an essential requirement in the transfiguration process, as stated in a late Twelfth – mid Thirteenth Dynasty offering formula: "that he may give voice offerings (of) [...] the sweet breath of life, the status of *ɜḫ*, might, justification and satisfaction in the beautiful West […]".[288] The very act of breathing, poetically described as 'the sweet breath of life' (*ṯɜw nḏm n ᶜnḫ*), was hugely important in the transformation of the deceased (as a mummy) to an *ɜḫ*, and is something that also features across the Group One and Two corpora; the 'sweet breath of life' is mentioned in the offering formula inscribed on MMA 2014.283a-b and the base

[276] Reymond, *ZÄS* 98, 133.
[277] Roberson, in Silverman, Simpson, Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 428-9 (with additional references).
[278] CT II, 65-66b: *wn n dwɜ.t ist N pn pr*(*.w*) *m hrw pn m irw.i pn m irw.i pnm ɜᶜ ɜḫ ᶜnḫ*(*.w*).
[279] Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 314.
[280] *Op. cit.*, 255.
[281] *ḏd.ṯn sɜḫ ɜsir ḫnty-imntyw Mntw*-[*ḥtp*] (first line of main body of text). Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pls. 22-3.
[282] This aspect of mummiform figures is discussed by Hans Schneider (*Shabtis*, vol. I, 65-7) who is, however, inclined to associate the half-round versions in niches with shabtis (63-4).
[283] CG20497, CG20569, MMA 65.120.2 and Basel III 5002.
[284] Shubert, *Those who (still) Live on Earth*, 438.
[285] CG 20497, MMA 65.120.2 and Basel III 5002.
[286] […] *i srw imyw ɜbḏw wnwt ḫwt-nṯr mi ḳd.s wᶜb nb n*(*y*) *s*(*y*) *imy kiḥ ḏrt.f n nṯr* […].
[287] Shubert, *Those who (still) Live on Earth*, 66-7 (with additional bibliography).
[288] Bolshakov, Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom Stelae in the Hermitage*, 43 (Hermitage 1086). The stela is almost certainly from Abydos.

of one of the statuettes found with CG 20353.[289] MMA 65.120.2 refers to the deceased "smelling the breath of the (fair) wind" and CG 20497 the ability to "inhale incense that comes forth and that I be provided with the fragrance of the god". Comparable sentiments are expressed in the text on Vienna ÄS 109 with the phrase, 'I smell incense coming forth and I am satisfied by the god's fragrance',[290] which refers to Senbef who is represented only as a mummy.[291]

The ability to breathe/smell epitomised the difference between the inanimate mummified corpse and the revivified *3ḫ* and became a tenet of later prayers.[292] On a deeper theological plane, it may have intentionally mirrored the role played by Shu in resurrecting his father Atum by providing him with air – a concept firmly rooted in the Coffin Texts[293] where Shu is actually called 'Ankh'.[294] Likewise, in one of the New Kingdom Underworld books dealing with the awakening of Osiris by Horus the phrase "I have given sweet breath on your behalf, to your very nose" alludes to the dry air of Shu at the moment of creation.[295]

From the perspective outlined above one can see how this could relate to the dominant *ankh*-form feature on all Group Two objects. Any breeze or wafting aroma of food offerings and incense passing through their shaped apertures could be magically transformed into the 'sweet breath of life' fundamental to the transfiguration of the deceased. It would be hard to find a more appropriate and aesthetically pleasing visual metaphor for symbolically facilitating the moment of revivification through the restoration of the senses of smell and sight.[296]

Pictorially, the ability to breathe and smell is frequently symbolised by the deceased holding a flower close to his/her nose to take in its perfume. On at least one stela from around the same time as the earliest appearance of mummiform iconography an *ankh* was used instead of a flower.[297] And Liverpool E 30 takes this connection between *ankh*/smell/flower a step further, with its depictions on the recto of ten kneeling figures (both men and women) each holding a single flower to their nose; as if to reinforce the link, one is even carved upon the stem of the central *ankh* motif itself. Interestingly though, except for Vienna ÄS 109, neither Liverpool E 30 nor any other object from Group Two bears any phrase mentioning or even alluding to breath, smell or breeze – though neither do they feature mummiform figures.[298] Perhaps such texts were written elsewhere in the chapel/shrine where these stelae were set up. This is certainly true for Liverpool E 30, as the phrase 'sweet breath of life' occurs on Amenyseneb's Louvre C 11 stela.[299] The absence of engaged mummiform figures would also be logical if the *ankh* motif related to an actual body in a tomb or a separately modelled statuette, as appears to be the case for CG 20353. The mummiform figures of Vienna ÄS 109 would serve not only as effective replacements for the actual mummies of the deceased or their separately modelled statuettes, but also comfortably integrate into a single monument the ideological link between the life-giving properties of the *ankh* and the revitalisation/transformation of the deceased's *sʿḫ*-form. Furthermore, the prominence of the *ankh* here seems to tie in with a period of popularity for the symbol during the Thirteenth Dynasty, when it also appeared on Abydene stelae as a central element in lunettes sometimes flanked by jackals,

[289] Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, 128, CG 1247.

[290] Hill, in Hawass, Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees*, 239 mentions this phrase in her discussion, though a possible connection between the mummiform statuettes and the *ankh* stela is not explored.

[291] One of whom is also represented by a mummiform figure. Shubert suggests (Shubert, *Those who (still) Live on Earth*, 428-9) that the "sweet breath of life" was given to the *ka* of the deceased "so that the deceased may breathe easier in the Afterlife", but this rather overlooks the breath's fundamental life-giving property stressed by the phrase.

[292] E.g. One written on the Eighteenth Dynasty statue of Minnakht reads: "*The sky for your soul, the netherworld for your corpse, linen raiment for your mummy* (*sʿḫ*)*, the breath of the north wind at your nose, and mortuary offerings of bread and beer every day, (O) Osiris* NN" (Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, 168, n. 272). Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, 170-1, CG 624). The writing of *sʿḫ* is here abbreviated using just the goat sign (Gardiner E 31).

[293] Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 272, n. 1564.

[294] Willems, in van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, 361.

[295] Roberson, *The Awakening of Osiris*, 23.

[296] It has been reasonably suggested that the *ankh* provides an appropriate motif on the stela symbolising the benefits of Amenyseneb's eternal 'life' (Yamamoto, in Oppenheim *et. al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed*, 268), as opposed to a rather more active role in ritual practices associated with the deceased as this article proposes.

[297] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. I, 6; vol. IV, pl. 1, CG 20006. For a brief discussion of this object see: Fischer, *ZÄS* 100, 24.

[298] I am not entirely convinced by Jane Hill's suggestion (Hill, in Hawass, Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees*, 240) that libations could have been poured through the *ankh*'s pierced loop. While liquids often formed a part of offering rituals, on a purely practical level it would be difficult pouring water through such apertures unless the stelae were horizontal. I can see no evidence of water marks, staining or wear on any of the stelae to suggest this occurred and, furthermore, from an ideological standpoint a connection to lustration on these objects is far less obvious compared to the clear textual and visual references to breath/smell.

[299] Baines, in Magee, Bourriau, Quirke (eds.), *Sitting beside Lepsius*, 8.

wedjat-eyes, or by the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula.[300] The basis for the symbol's connection with the mummy is probably the hourly vigil (*Stundenwachen*), in which the deceased was presented with an *ankh* and a *wꜣs*-sceptre.[301] In these contexts the *ankh* also embodies a strong solar connection, evident in some vignettes from the Book of the Dead where it is shown supporting the rising sun.[302]

Similarly, versions of CT 788 on Basel III 5002, Vienna ÄS 109 and MMA 2014.283a-b contain a solar theme by invoking the deceased to open his eyes in order to see the splendour of the sun god.[303] Some time ago Jan Assmann suggested that the original meaning of the *wn-ḥr* element (lit. 'opening the face') of the spell refers to the opening of the doors of a shrine so that the statue inside could 'see',[304] *i.e.* the moment its face is first illuminated from its concealment in the dark. This visual effect likely lies at the heart of CT 788 and may owe its origins to the development of the serdab in Old Kingdom tombs where the 'squint', sometimes labelled "the eyes of the *kꜣ*-house", provided the statue(s) with the ability to 'see' the mortuary cult activities.[305] The formula first appears in the non-royal sphere on rectangular wooden coffins dating to sometime before the reign of Senwosret II as a 'deviant' coffin spell[306] and was part of a ritual primarily intended for the actual body of the deceased.[307] From the reign of Senwosret III, the spell finds its way onto objects not necessarily directly associated with real burials, but employed in non-funerary cultic activity, to which stelae Vienna ÄS 109, Basel III 5002 and MMA 2014.283a-b firmly belong.[308] Used on its own or combined with other 'pyramidia spells' such as those found on the latter monument,[309] the spell ensured for the deceased the restoration of sight, enabling them to witness and bathe in the sun-god's transformative light. In the context of Abydos it also served to emphasise personal piety insofar as once ritually transformed from their mummy-form and endowed with sight the deceased were able to witness the festival of Osiris.[310] This much is explicit in two versions of the spell on the Abydene stela of Nebupusenwosret, which enabled the deceased to witness Osiris and Wepwawet in his procession.[311] The overtly Osirianised version of CT 788 on Vienna ÄS 109, which invokes Re's favour by stating: "so that you may give your hand to guide for the Osiris" (*di.k ꜥ.k snnḫ n ꜣsir*), alludes to the final stage of the deceased's journey through the hours of the night, before being reborn at dawn into the realm of Osiris, and serves to remind us of the Egyptian's reliance, expressed in spells, rituals and through imagery, upon the divine protection and guidance believed necessary to reach this ultimate destination.

Besides the insights provided by the physical appearance of the aforementioned Louvre E 25485, one of its texts also aligns with CT 788. Inscribed over its doorway-like niche is the opening from a restorative spell that eventually becomes Chapter 22 from the Book of the Dead.[312] In the earliest complete version of the spell which appears on the coffin of queen Montuhotep dated to the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty[313] the deceased is likened to Osiris[314] and restored with voice (for which one needs to breathe), paralleling the restoration of senses in the versions of CT 788 on Vienna ÄS 109, Basel III 5002 and MMA 2014.283a-b.[315]

In addition, the three other Coffin Text spells, 353, 387 and 773 inscribed on the upper half of MMA 2014.283a-b's eastern side are also designed to offer protection and facilitate the deceased's journey through the netherworld; spell CT 353 gives the deceased power over water and occurs on coffins of the early Middle Kingdom and then forms, in part, Chapter 57 of the Book of the Dead, attested from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.[316] Spell CT 387 protects the deceased's heart and would later become Book of the Dead Chapter 29 found on pa-

[300] Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, vol. II, 490-1, fig. 298; Fischer, *ZÄS* 100, 23-4. To these references can be added Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 13-4, CG 20415; vol. IV, pl. 30.

[301] Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. 3*, 49-50. Coffin Texts funerary rituals are also believed to be closely linked to the Hourly Vigil (Willems, *Chests of life*, 156-60).

[302] E.g. BM EA 10541 (Taylor, *Journey through the Afterlife*, 234-5); Leiden T2. For a brief discussion of this aspect with other examples see: Derchain, in *LÄ* I, 268-9.

[303] Lohwasser, *Die Formel 'Öffnen des Gesichts'*, 31.

[304] Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder and den Sonnengott*, 249.

[305] Blackman, *JEA* 3*,* 252.

[306] Willems, *Chests of Life*, 168-9, n. 171a.

[307] Roeder, *Mit dem Auge sehen*, 108-9.

[308] In the royal sphere CT 788 is not securely attested until the reign of Amenemhat III whose pyramid capstone is inscribed with a version (Lohwasser, *Die Formel 'Öffnen des Gesichts'*, 31).

[309] Willems (*Chests of Life*, 168-169) summarises the spells to Anubis and Geb with Osiris, as found on MMA 2014.283a-b, as referring to the burial of the deceased who comes under the protective arms of Anubis, with Geb and Osiris supporting his/her body, whereas CT 788 with its *wn-ḥr* formula is concerned with the celestial afterlife.

[310] Badawy, *BIE* 35, 123.

[311] Lohwasser, *Die Formel 'Öffnen des Gesichts'*; Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, 174.

[312] Van Dijk, *BACE* 18, 53-6. See also Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 250-1.

[313] Geisen, *Ein Totentexte*, 14 (for dating); 39-40, 89 (the spell).

[314] And those of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 82-3).

[315] Lapp, *MDAIK* 50, 233-7. For the connection between the deceased and Osiris in this formula see: Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 247, n. g.

[316] Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 40-2.

pyri and tomb walls from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.[317] Finally, spell CT 773 refers to the celestial ferry crossing and links with water-related CT 353 and ultimately also with CT 788 as the culmination of the deceased's solar barque journey and exposure to the first rays of the sun.

If further proof were needed that CT 788 was specifically intended for the mummiform figures from Group One, we can look to another unusual arch-topped stela discovered by Mariette at North Abydos (Fig. 14).[318] Its owner, Nefer-hotep, is represented as a mummy carved in sunk relief before whom are two vertical columns of inscriptions giving a version of CT 788. Behind Nefer-hotep stands a second smaller mummy of his father Re(n)seneb. Both mummies hold the flail of Osiris and thus represent the 'Osirianised' deceased, similar to that of Kemes on MMA 2014.283a-b.[319] The positioning of the spell directly before Nefer-hotep's mummiform figure leaves no doubt that it relates to this image, which is not labelled as his *kꜣ* and thus may be understood as something distinct from it, not least because his *kꜣ* is mentioned as the traditional recipient in a separate *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula inscribed in the central column on the stela.[320] When Nefer-hotep's spell is counted with those of Basel III 5002, Vienna ÄS 109 and MMA 2014.283a-b they represent around a third of all known versions on Middle Kingdom stelae,[321] almost all of which were found at (or considered to be from) Abydos. Such a significant percentage emphasises the close relationship between spell, mummiform figure and Abydos, and leads one to suspect that some conceptual elements were drawn from the Osiris Mysteries during which the cult image of the god was symbolically revived. We know that a non-royal version of Osiris's revivification ritual was incorporated into Coffin Texts and was meant to be performed by the son of the deceased (or a priest), sometimes accompanied by other family members who may have presented offerings and recited parts of it.[322] According to CT 241 the ritual was performed on the deceased as Osiris who "goes to Rostau to know the secret of the Duat into which Anubis is initiated. You can open my mouth, you can open my two eyes, you can transfigure/glorify me".[323] Here, the opening of the mouth and eyes of the deceased's mummy (as Osiris), preceding its transformation into an *ꜣḫ*, are the same processes alluded to in CT 788 and in phrases on Group One objects. Fire was also a feature of the ceremony,[324] including the burning of incense to create a fragrant air to aid the restoration of life to the deceased – seemingly echoed in the 'sweet breath of life' phrase frequently mentioned in stelae texts. The flame was itself also an essential element and quintessence of the *ꜣḫ* as described in CT 316: "Look with your eyes [...] on this *ꜣḫ* who has come here. He has become a flame, it is he that has come into the Island of Fire".[325] It is certain that some late Middle Kingdom *monobloc* monuments with statuettes were employed for similar rituals involving fire –and thus the possibility that this might include Group One objects– most convincingly from the example discovered by Ahmed Fakhry during his excavations in the valley temple of king Sneferu's Bent pyramid at Dahshur.[326] Belonging to the 'overseer of sculptors' Seshenu (*imy-r gnw.tyw sšnw*), the limestone monument measures 61 cm high x 35.5 cm wide and 35.5 cm deep and is shaped like a *per-nu* shrine with a sizeable niche that once accommodated a statuette of a god or owner (now missing). Originally a burner was attached to the top of the shrine supported on copper rods and lit during the recitation of the 'Hymn to a Torch' inscribed around it.[327] This hymn is better known

[317] *Op. cit.*, 95.

[318] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. I, 66-8, CG 20056; vol. IV, pl. 6; Lohwasser, *Die Formel 'Öffnen des Gesichts'*, 83.

[319] Somewhat curiously they do not hold the crook as well, as one might expect.

[320] Nefer-hotep's stela is one of three making up Simpson's ANOC 16 group with dates ranging from Senwosret III/Amenemhat III to the Thirteenth Dynasty and so fits perfectly within the timeframe of objects from Group One (Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 25; Franke, *Personendaten*, 215, Doss. 321 (Thirteenth Dynasty); 231, Doss. 352 (Amenemhat III/IV or beginning of Thirteenth Dynasty); 254, Doss. 399 (Thirteenth Dynasty)).

[321] Most of the stelae are conveniently listed in: Lohwasser, *Die Formel 'Öffnen des Gesichts'*, 123.1; to which one can add Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 245-6.

[322] Willems, in Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture*, 288, 358-61.

[323] CT III, 325: *iw.i i.k*(*w*) *r rꜣ-stꜣ.w r rḫ sšꜥꜣ n*(*y*) *dwꜣ.t ib.s*(*w*).*t inpw ḥr.s wp*(*w*).*t rꜣ.i wp*(*w*).*t ir.ty.i sꜣḫ*(*w*).*t w*(*i*).

[324] Smith, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth*, 31, col. II, l. 12 and 32, col. IV, l. 5 (there, the deceased holds a wick in the presence of Osiris). According to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty official Peftuaneith, braziers were set up around the notional tomb of Osiris at Umm el-Qa'ab and presumably featured in ceremonies performed over the statue of the god during his annual festival (Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. III, 35). The discovery of the remains of a stone fire-altar connected with Ptolemaic or Roman Period activity at Umm el-Qa'ab lends weight to Peftuaneith's statement (Effland, Effland, *Abydos*, 123, Abb. 1). A graphic depiction of a ritual burner/torch set up before Osiris appears in the burial chamber of Pashedu at Deir el-Medineh (Bierbrier, in Weeks (ed.), *Valley of the Kings*, 358, 362-3).

[325] CT IV, 101-2: *mꜣ m ḥr.ṯn nṯr.w smsw.w ḫpr.w tp-ꜥ.wy m-bꜣḥ.w r ꜣḫ pn i*(*.w*) *min ḫpr n.f m ꜣḫ.t i n.f m iw nsrsr*.

[326] Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, vol. II, 63-9, pls. 68-9.

[327] Besides this monument, Fakhry discovered a number of stelae fragments, an altar and another miniature *per-nu* shrine (none with features of Groups One or Two), all of which

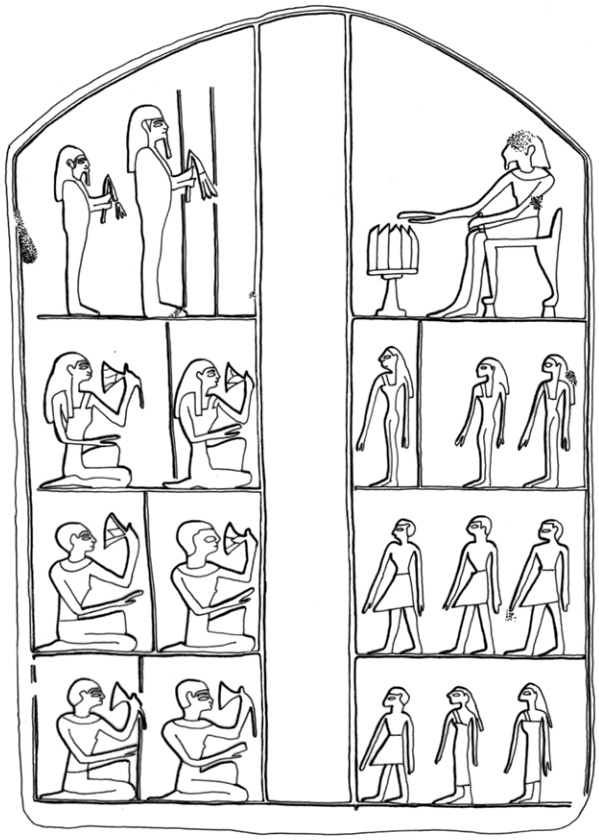


Fig. 14 – CG 20056

from New Kingdom sources when it appears in several tombs[328] and is related to Chapter 137 of the Book of the Dead.[329] Both the recitation of Seshenu's hymn and the lighting of the torch were performed at night, when the bright flames dramatically 'animated' the statue within the niche, mimicking the effect of dawn sunlight on the deceased after its perilous night-time journey. The performance of the ritual is described thus: "wash your face, wipe away your tears and open your mouth with these fingers of bronze", which closely resembles elements from the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony.[330] If one substitutes the separately modelled statuette from Seshenu's shrine for a mummy of the deceased carved in half-round relief, such revivification rituals take on even greater relevance in respect of the Group One objects.[331]

The likelihood that such torch ceremonies were performed in similar circumstances at Abydos is supported by two *per-nu* styled *monobloc* monuments from the site each with a central recess in the top likely to have accommodated a ritual burner. One is the above mentioned CG 20704, which has a circular hole in its vaulted top[332] and the other, CG 20742, discovered by Mariette in the 'nécropole du nord',[333] has a more elaborate rectangular recess measuring 5 cm x 5 cm x 2.5 cm deep that more closely resembles the Dahshur example (Fig. 15).[334] With the integration of such features and employing entirely outward-facing decorations, the compact and self-contained aspect of these monuments had a practical advantage in the confined spaces of the memorial chapel zone. Even with these, there would still remain obvious difficulties in performing any kind of ritual or presenting offerings in the most congested areas, as is apparent with the dense clusters of smaller peripheral shrines shown in the Fig. 10 plan.[335]

belonged to non-royal religious activity in an area where the mortuary cults of earlier kings had been revived and considered to be of great sanctity, and thus not directly associated with burials (Fakhry, *ASAE* 52, 573-4). A similarly shaped *monobloc* shrine has recently been discovered at Dahshur, for which see the article by Baba, Yazawa in Miniaci, Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom*, vol. I, 1-24.

[328] Haikal, in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. I, 362.

[329] Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 306-12.

[330] Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, vol. I, 64. The night-time performance of torch rituals was also firmly entrenched in the funerary liturgies inscribed on Middle Kingdom coffins. For a convenient summation of their place in Osirian-solar religious context see: Willems, *Chests of life*, 155. The 'fingers of bronze' in this spell find parallels in the Opening of the Mouth ceremony in which the mouth and eyes of the deceased are opened with a finger of gold (Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, vol. I, 91). More elaborate versions of the torch ceremony were sometimes performed, all still related to the transfiguration of the deceased's mummy to an *ꜣḫ*, as revealed in the rubric of one Eighteenth Dynasty torch hymn: "*Formula for the four torches, (for) transfigurations performed for an ꜣḫ, when you have made four clay basins struck with incense, filled with milk of a white cow, in which the four torches are extinguished*", Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 307.

[331] This association is alluded to in a charming vignette on the Eighteenth Dynasty papyrus of Nu which depicts four torch bearers standing before a smaller image of a mummy (Lapp, *Catalogue of Books of the Dead*, pl. 76). Such rituals may have exerted a long-lasting and deep-rooted influence at Abydos; for instance, in Ptolemaic Period temple liturgies the use of torches for night-time illumination of rituals performed over the embalmed deceased developed from earlier Osirian (Abydene) cult traditions (Assmann, in Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology*, vol.I, 7, 33, no. 13).

[332] Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 331.

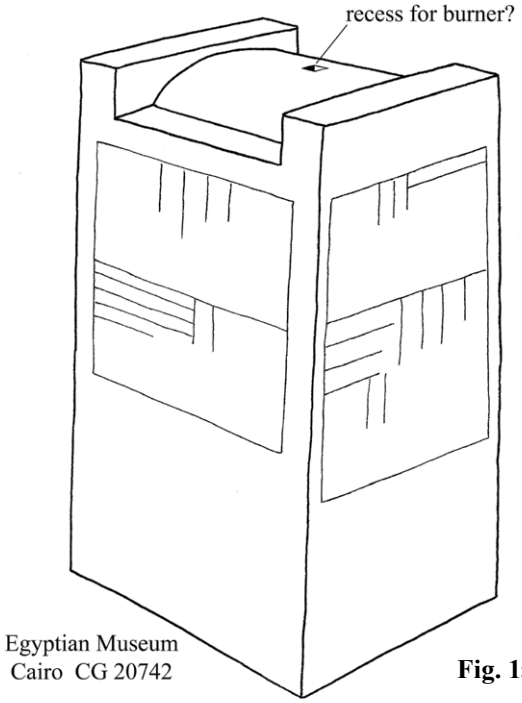
[333] Mariette, *Catalogue générale des monuments d'Abydos*, 587-8, no. 1496.

[334] Interestingly, a connection can be made between Seshenu's Dahshur shrine and Abydos since he is known from a stela in the British Museum (EA 844) considered to be from the latter site (Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, vol. V, 6, pl. 13), which lists members of his family, some of whom were also sculptors.

[335] Since the most viable space belonged to the courtyards of larger chapels, rituals intended to benefit the smaller inaccessible shrines around their periphery may by necessity

Yet the active participation of the living in rituals for their beloved dead was vital for their effectiveness and is implicit on several objects from Group One which depict male and female relatives embracing the mummiform figures.[336] The largest number appear on UC 14347 with seven, all male, living-form figures embracing both male and female mummies. Whereas two-dimensional depictions of a wife embracing her husband are fairly commonplace in offering scenes,[337] emotionally charged physical acts between males are rarely shown except when carrying out ritual activities such as the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, which was performed by the son or priest. In pictorial scenes of this event, female relatives are also shown mourning the mummy and are perhaps the influence behind the depictions on the Group One stelae. Female relatives in scenes of the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony are considered to play a double role as Isis and Nephthys attending to the body of Osiris,[338] which appears with such frequency in funerary art of the New Kingdom and later, but may itself have developed out of the activities of embalming attendants in the Old Kingdom.[339] This interpretation is even more applicable to the two female relatives flanking the central mummiform figure on CG 20097.

A subtle visual metaphor for the solar aspect of the deceased's transfiguration contained in CT 788 may be suggested for the overall form of the Tadross Collection monument. Although described by Pascal Vernus "faute de mieux" as a 'pseudo-naos' on the basis that each of the four sides represents types of naos or niched-stelae firmly attested in the Middle Kingdom,[340] closer inspection leads one to suspect that this is an over simplification of the design which fails to acknowledge specific differences in decoration and layout (Fig. 8). It is true that with the niches containing living-form figures of the monument's owner Seneberau and his wife in one and his brother Sobekemheb and wife in the other, the appearance of each longer side resembles the stela type proposed by Vernus, [341] yet their overall arrangement is not without issue. Firstly, it is noticeable that each niche is larger than is necessary to accommodate the figures within, partly it would seem to avoid leaving what would have been an unduly wide undecorated border between the niche and the single line of inscription framing it.[342] In contrast, the niche on each narrower side is considerably tighter around the single mummiform figure which fills it entirely. This was necessary to accommodate the lengthy shabti spell written in multiple horizontal and vertical columns around each niche.[343] It is strange why the living-form figures and minimal text were not placed on the narrow sides and the mummiform figures and lengthy inscriptions on the longer sides. This incongruity cannot be explained away as simply the result of poor workmanship, since the inscriptions and borderlines are well executed and neatly aligned, and the details on the figures skilfully rendered. Rather, it seems that the sculptor deliberately made the monument with unequal sides and placed the decoration accordingly to make some kind of visual statement. Whereas each longer side resembles a late Middle Kingdom naos-stela, both narrow sides –especially when viewed front-on– look very much like an obelisk with a pyramidal-top and provide a fitting solar inspired backdrop for the Osirianised figures of the deceased in niches. The tradition of using obelisks to



Egyptian Museum
Cairo CG 20742

Fig. 15

have been performed there as well.

[336] UC 14347 and Louvre C 44. In addition, Basel III 5002 has four living-form figures surrounding though not embracing the mummy. Nevertheless, their attendant nature is indicated by their close proximity and that they all face towards the figure.

[337] Sometimes the female figure is the mother (e.g. CG 20456: Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 53; vol. IV, pl. 32 recto).

[338] Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 311-2.

[339] Altenmüller, in Bárta, Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara*, 305-16.

[340] Vernus, *RdE* 26, 103.

[341] E.g. Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno*, 52-3, no. 51, pl. 51; Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. IV, pl. 12, CG 20136.

[342] See n. 87 regarding the second horizontal line of inscription on one of the sides. The niches in the Rome and Cairo examples cited in the note above are tighter around the figures.

[343] Vernus, *RdE* 26, pls. 10-1.

express the deceased's connection with the Heliopolitan solar cult goes back to the Old Kingdom where they were placed at the entrance or in the forecourt of private tombs.[344] In funerary contexts, the obelisk served on a functional level as a focal point for offerings in the forecourt of the tomb complex,[345] while also conceptually symbolising the Egyptian belief in the solar rebirth and an object associated with Osiris.[346] In later periods this relationship was even more popular, attested by the production of vast numbers of miniature votive obelisks combined with either an integral or attached statuette of Osiris. [347] Even though very few non-royal Middle Kingdom obelisks have been found –perhaps because their use for much of that time had become a royal prerogative–[348] there is a little more evidence to suggest that by the Thirteenth Dynasty small obelisks and 'obelisk stelae'[349] were used as dedicatory objects by non-royal Egyptians and, perhaps intentionally, differentiated from their royal counterparts by being far smaller and by leaving the pyramidion-like top undecorated.[350] The dating of the object certainly accords with this period of use.

A further observation about this monument relates to the identification of its two mummiform figures, both reasonably classified as shabtis by Pascal Vernus due to the presence of CT 472.[351] No other object from Group One can be so assuredly defined as such. However, as clear cut as Vernus' definition appears to be, it is the Tadross Collection monument alone that brings into focus the contradictory relationship that exists between mummiform statuettes inscribed with the shabti spell and those without – a relationship that continues to vex Egyptologists to the present day.[352] Unlike numerous inscribed freestanding shabtis of the late Middle Kingdom,[353] the monument's mummiform statuettes do not bear the spell even though they are large enough for this to be entirely feasible.[354] By serving as the carrier of the spell, the monument adopts a role similar to rectangular coffins on which the earliest versions of the spell were inscribed.[355] There is no suggestion in the latter circumstance that the spell defined the occupant of the coffin as a shabti, but was there to exempt the deceased's *3ḫ* from onerous menial labour in the Afterlife. Should, then, we consider that the similar separation of spell and figure on the Tadross Collection monument was actually a deliberate attempt to identify the latter as a *sʿḥ*-mummy and not a shabti, with the spell intended for Senebrau's *3ḫ* just as it was on rectangular coffins? While it is unlikely that we will ever be able to answer this with certainty, it is an intriguing possibility to consider in light of the discussion in this section. We can be sure that such conundrums rarely troubled the mind of the ancient Egyptian!

Conclusion

This study shows that the Osiris cult at Abydos was the primary stimulus behind the development of objects from Group One and Two. The Group One corpus spans a considerable period of time beginning in the reign of Senwosret III through to the late Thirteenth Dynasty, first with arch-topped stelae and joined a little later by rectangular stelae/slabs. Freestanding monuments were the last of the objects to appear, perhaps in response to space and even economic constraints affecting the cultic zone of North Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty. Most,

[344] Martin, in *LÄ*, IV, 542. Examples come from the Memphite area and as far south as Aswan.
[345] Martin, *Ein Garantsymbol*, 58.
[346] It is no accident that obelisks were placed either side of a tomb entrance, for it was here that the deceased would first exit the tomb and be bathed in sunlight. For solar rebirth in funerary theology see: Assmann, *The Search for God*, 104.
[347] Hastings, *The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis*, 29, pl. 30, no. 94; 30, pl. 34, no. 98; 27, pl. 35, no. 88.
[348] Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 66. The paucity of evidence may of course be the result of chance survival and discovery of such objects.
[349] Bourriau's observation on an obelisk-stelae that "the shape would appear to be almost fortuitous – simply a means of providing four stelae from one piece of stone" (Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 66), fails to account for the object's deliberately slender obelisk-like proportions. Only the use of horizontal lines of inscription is unusual for obelisks, none, for example, are recorded in Kuentz, *Obelisques*. Therefore, it would seem that again the artisan may have intentionally combined two objects –as proposed for the Tadross Collection monument– the distinctive slim shape of an obelisk and the text and figure layout of a stela.
[350] If one excludes obelisk-form monuments with rounded tops, there are very few examples of non-royal obelisks where the decoration extends onto the pyramidion – I know of none from the Middle Kingdom (Kuentz, *Obelisques*, 1-2, 1308 (Old Kingdom), pl. 1; Martin, *Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens*, Abb. 6 (Late Old Kingdom), 11a-d (Late Period)). Seneberau's plain pyramidion also contrasts the substantially decorated royal pyramidions of Amenemhat III (Maspero, *ASAE* 3, 206-8 with plate) and the chronologically more relevant Khendjer (Jéquier, *Deux pyramides du moyen empire*, 19-26, pl. 6).
[351] Vernus, *RdE* 26, 107-12.
[352] The topic has been broached in many studies, but more specific articles dealing with the identity of shabtis include: Poole, in Eyre, (ed.) *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 893-901; and the recent study by Miniaci, *JEA* 100, 245-73.
[353] A number of examples are listed in Whelan, *RdE* 65, 146.
[354] Almost 30 cm high, the two figures are actually larger than most Middle Kingdom shabtis bearing the spell e.g. Renseneb BM EA 49343 is 23 cm high (Taylor, *Death & the Afterlife*, 118, fig. 78 top left).
[355] Schneider, *Shabtis*, vol. I, 46-9.

if not all, were commissioned by Egyptians desiring a presence at Abydos, but who were buried elsewhere. The first of the Group Two objects most likely appeared in the early Thirteenth Dynasty and correspond to a period when the *ankh*-symbol was employed with increasing prominence in stelae decoration. These were commissioned by Egyptians buried at Abydos or elsewhere.

Three distinct theological concepts can be identified across the two corpora. Firstly, the notion of the deceased's revivification from his/her transitional mummified state (frequently referred to in later texts as *sʿḥ*) to that of the transfigured and immortal *3ḫ*. This is symbolically embodied by all the pierced-work *ankh* monuments and implicit in both the *wn-ḥr* element of CT 788 and phrases referring to breathe/smell, and may even be subtly implied through the obelisk-form appearance of the Tadross Collection monument. Secondly, securing food offerings for the cult of the deceased. This was achieved primarily through the use of the *ḥtp-di-nsw* and *prt-ḫrw* formulae found on the majority of inscribed objects and supplemented on occasion with pictorial offering scenes. The third concept sought to forge an explicit link between the monument owner and the Abydene Osiris cult by ensuring that the mummiform figure (itself an Osirianised likeness) once transformed by the necessary spells was able to witness the renowned annual festival of the god. It was through this expression of piety that the deceased would garner the god's favour and protection. And, once transfigured, the deceased could perform the same service to others, in an act of reciprocity mimicking the myth of Osiris and Horus. Thus personal piety and ritual became intertwined into a circular self-reinforcing act, the ultimate goal of which was to ensure the deceased's successful transformation into an immortal being and so become one favoured by Osiris in the realm of the dead.

It is virtually certain that all Group One objects come from non-funerary settings in the commemorative chapel zone close to the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple. In contrast, the majority from Group Two were found in cemetery locations, which suggests that the pierced-work *ankh*'s revitalising symbolism was intended primarily for the actual mummy of the deceased. Even the two stelae from Group Two with non-funerary contexts can be straightforwardly explained because of their association with 'proxy' mummies of the deceased – represented by the engaged and freestanding statuettes.

Postscript: Is there a legacy of Groups One and Two objects?

The production of monuments bearing mummiform statuettes in niches and pierced-work *ankhs* seems to have waned by the end of the Middle Kingdom or early Second Intermediate Period. It remains to be seen if this is simply an accident of preservation or evidence that both styles had fallen out of fashion. I know of no objects from any later periods directly analogous to the pierced-work *ankh* monuments of Group Two.[356] However, we find an intriguing situation that, after an apparent hiatus of three or four centuries, an object appears that is so closely comparable to those from Group One its inspiration seems virtually certain to have been drawn directly from Middle Kingdom prototypes at Abydos.

Carved from a rectangular block of diorite with all four sides entirely covered by 22 mummiform figures carved in raised relief (Fig. 16),[357] the object is without provenance, but can be firmly dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty since it belonged to the 'overseer of works in the Ramesseum' Imeneminet who served under Ramesses II. While the role of the figures is ambiguous –the single column of text inscribed down each gives only a name– the object also bears an 'Appeal to the Living', indicating that it came from an above-ground setting visible to passers-by,[358] which also stresses an affinity to the Group One objects.[359] A possible Abydene connection can be established through Imeneminet's connections with the well-known High Priest of Osiris Wenennefer.[360] Moreover, Imeneminet served under Ramesses II, whose own connection with Abydos ran deep; not only did the king complete Seti I's huge memorial complex, but also constructed several substantial temples of his own and made additions to existing buildings.[361] It is also worth noting the prominent re-appearance around this time of CT 788 on shabtis and other statuettes,[362] and even the inclusion of the *wn-ḥr* element of the spell in festival and feast lists

[356] Closest to them perhaps are the dozens of faience and wooden *ankhs* recovered from the tomb of Amenhotep II (Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, 118-32, pls. 27-9) and more relevant is a rectangular wooden stela with a large painted central *ankh* recently discovered in an Abydos tomb dating to the terminal Late-Ptolemaic Period (Landvatter, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 76/4, 242, fig.13).

[357] Now in the Museo Archaeologico Nazionale di Napoli; see: Trapani, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 1169-76.

[358] Visitors are asked to make offerings to Imeneminet's *kȝ* (Trapani, in Eyre (ed.) *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 1169). Here, as with Group One inscriptions, mention of the *kȝ* does not occur on the figures themselves, but in the accompanying formulae.

[359] Trapani notes the visual similarity between this and three of the Group One objects (*Op. cit.*, 1170, n. 6), but not the 'Appeal to the Living'.

[360] Pirelli, in Eyre (ed.) *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 877.

[361] Kemp, in *LÄ* I, 28-42.

[362] Lohwasser, *Die Formel 'Öffnen des Gesichts'*, 95-105.

on Ramesses II's Abydene memorial temple.[363] Could it be that Group One objects were amongst other Middle Kingdom stelae encountered during the demolition of memorial chapels to make way for Ramesses II's own 'portal' temple and these served as the inspiration for a minor revival of the late Twelfth-Thirteenth Dynasty imagery and formulae?

Interestingly, another object bearing an even closer resemblance to those from Group One dates to the Twenty-fifth/Twenty-sixth Dynasty when cult activity and temple building at Abydos reached another zenith. Carved from sandstone, the rectangular slab displays a rectangular niche containing two mummiform and four living-form figures carved in half-round relief (Fig. 17).[364] Although stated to have come from Memphis, the archaising wig styles of both male and female figures is undeniably like those on several of the Group One monuments.[365] It is entirely conceivable that these Middle Kingdom monuments were encountered once again, either in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty when Abydos became the only place in Egypt apart from Thebes where Nubian royalty chose to be buried,[366] or in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty which saw an even greater focus on the Abydene cult of Osiris with temple building activity under kings Apries and Amasis.[367]

To this example can be added another object dated to the Twenty-sixth or perhaps Thirtieth Dynasty that recently appeared on the art market.[368] Carved from black basalt with three niches each containing a figure carved in the half-round; two niches each containing a human-form figure flank a central smaller niche with a *per-nu* shaped roof containing a figure of Osiris, reminiscent of the shrine on Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427]. Even its possible dating to the Thirtieth Dynasty coincides with the last great phase of temple building at Abydos under Nectanebo I and II.[369]

In addition to these physically similar examples, there are at least two conceptual parallels that warrant mention here especially because they are closer in time to the Middle Kingdom. The first comes from the early Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tomb complex of the high official Tetiky (TT15) who served under the Eighteenth Dynasty kings Ahmose and Amenhotep I.[370] Placed in four niches cut in to the western wall of the tomb's courtyard were dozens of crudely fashioned wooden mummiform statuettes mostly provided with their own miniature coffins.[371] With their deliberate setting in above-ground and east-facing niches, the shabtis embodied the sentiments of CT 788 by being able, symbolically, to 'open their sight to see the sun-god'. The second example is found in another Theban tomb of a similar date which incorporates three above-ground mud-brick shrines built beside the burial shaft. The overall form of each shrine is different – one distinctly pyramidal in form, one resembling a squat obelisk with what appears to be an integral offering slab and another of rectangular shape with integral offering slab and possible traces of a palace-façade decorated exterior. Several artefacts found around these modest structures include a number of crude wooden shabtis and miniature coffins.[372] It is not difficult to see the similarities between the elements of two of these shrines and the forms of MMA 2014.283a-b (palace-façade) and the Tadross Collection monument (pyramidal-/obelisk-form). Furthermore, whereas the practise of depositing shabtis in above-ground cult areas of the tomb has been seen as a Theban development of the Second Intermediate Period,[373] the existence of the Group One objects show that inspiration could easily have come from cult practices at Abydos in the late Middle Kingdom.

Acknowledgements
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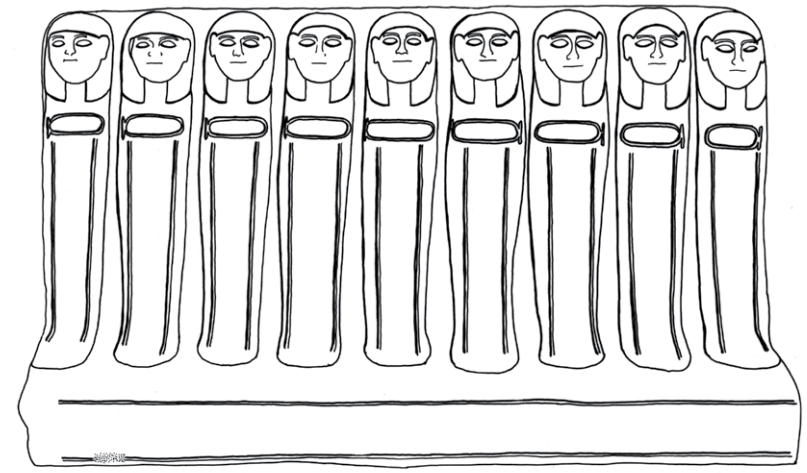
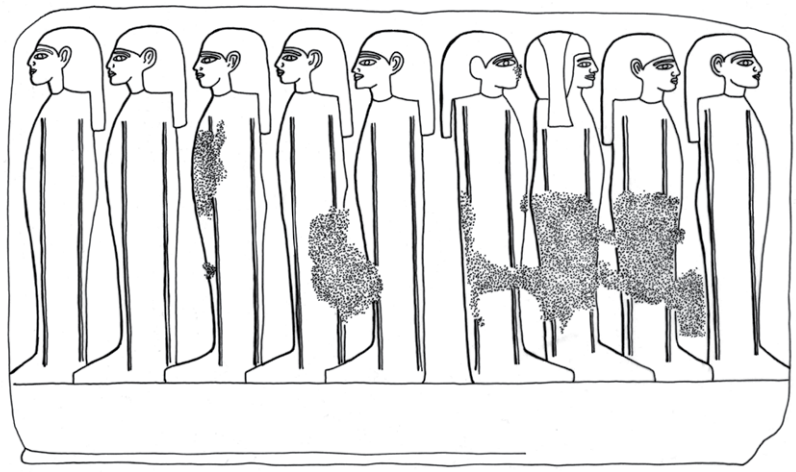
[363] el-Sabban, *Temple Festival Calendars*, 56-7.
[364] Mahran, in Bareš, Coppens, Smoláriková (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 269-71, fig. 1.
[365] CG20038, CG 20497, CG 20569. Also noted by Mahran, in Bareš, Coppens, Smoláriková (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 270.
[366] Leahy, in Eyre, Leahy, Leahy (eds.) *The Unbroken Reed*, 171-92.
[367] Kemp, *MDAIK* 23, 146-7.
[368] Charles Ede Ltd., *Egyptian Antiquities*, 15.
[369] Marlar, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos*.
[370] For a discussion of the features with additional bibliography see: Whelan, *17th-18th Dynasty Stick Shabtis*, 10-4.
[371] Although usually referred to as stick shabtis, very few are actually inscribed with the shabti spell.
[372] Whelan, *17th-18th Dynasty Stick Shabtis*, 15-9.
[373] Willems, in Claes, de Meulenaere, Hendrickx (eds.), *Elkab and Beyond*, 518, no. 2.

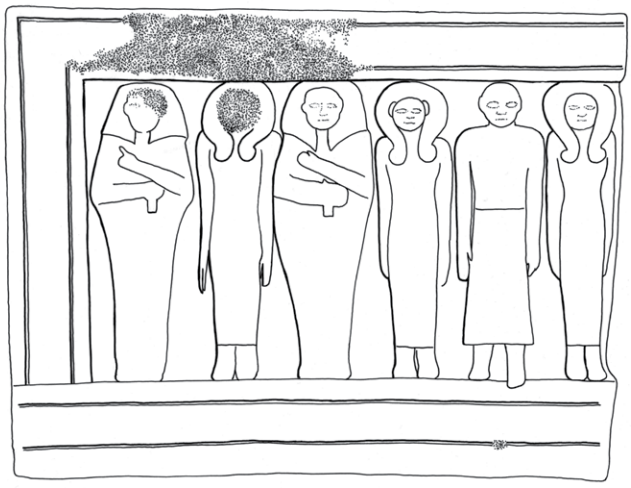


Front



Back

Fig. 16 – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, 1069



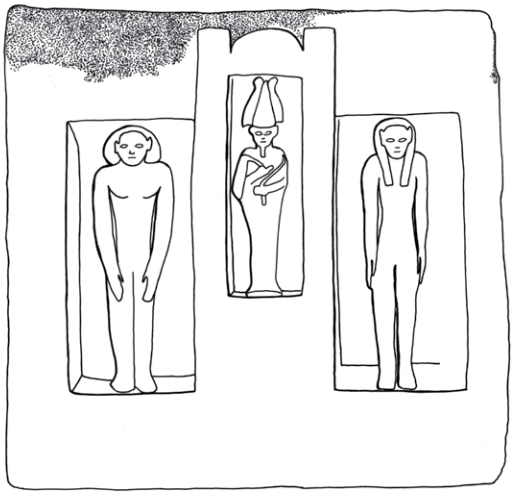


Fig. 17 – (lower left): JE 36728; (lower right): Private collection

GROUP ONE	ABYDOS	Dynasty	*ḫtp dỉ nsw*	Appeal to the Living	*CT* 788 (with other 'pyramidia spells'†)	Other *CT* spells	Name only (with or without title/epithet)
MMA 65.120.1		Late 12th	■				
MMA 65.120.2		Late 12th	■	■			
Turin 1630		Late 12th	■				
British Museum EA 8893		13th					■
Cairo CG 20497		Late 12th	■	■			
Petrie Museum UC 14347	■	13th					■
Louvre C44		12th /13th	■				
Cairo CG 20097		Late 12th					
Cairo CG 20569	■	12th /13th	■	■			
Basel III 5002		Late 12th	■	■	■		
Brussels E.4860	■	Late 12th	■				
Cairo CG 20038	■	Late 12th	■				
Vienna ÄS 109		13th	■		■		
Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427]		12th /13th	■				
MMA 2014.283a-b		13th	■		†	353,387,773	
Tadross Collection		13th / SIP	■			472	
GROUP TWO							
Brussels E.4320	■	13th	■				
Liverpool E30	■	13th	■				
Cairo CG 20353	■	13th					■
Pennsylvania E 9952	■	13th / SIP					■

Table 1: Summary of dating, provenance and inscriptional information for objects from Groups One and Two

GROUP ONE	Against temple enclosure wall	Free-standing	In tomb chapel/ associated shrine	In non-funerary chapel/ shrine	Slab from wall of miniature chapel/ shrine	Slab from solid core shrine
MMA 65.120.1					▒	■
MMA 65.120.2					▒	■
Turin 1630					▒	■
British Museum EA 8893				▒	▒	▒
Cairo CG 20497				■		
Petrie Museum UC 14347					▒	■
Louvre C44					▒	■
Cairo CG 20097				■	▒	
Cairo CG 20569				■	▒	
Basel III 5002				■	▒	
Brussels E.4860				■	▒	
Cairo CG 20038				■	▒	
Vienna ÄS 109				■		
Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427]				■	▒	
MMA 2014.283a-b		■				
Tadross Collection monument		■				
GROUP TWO						
Brussels E.4320			▒	■		
Liverpool E30			■	▒		
Cairo CG 20353	▒			■		
Pennsylvania E 9952			■	▒		

Table 2: Proposed setting of objects from Groups One and Two
Grey = possible / Black = most likely

Administrative Spheres	Object Number	Title
PALACE	Cairo CG 20497	*ỉmy-r ḫnwty* †
	Basel III 5002	*ỉmy-r ḫnwty* †
	Cairo CG 20038	*ỉmy-r st*
	Cairo CG 20038	*wdpw*
	Vienna ÄS 109	*ỉmy-r st*
	Vienna ÄS 109	*wdpw*
	Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427]	*sḏd sš(w)*
	MMA 2014.283a-b	*ḫkrt nswt*
	Tadross Collection	*ḫkrt nswt*
	Tadross Collection	*bꜣk.t nt ḥkꜣ*
TREASURY	Cairo CG 20569	*ỉmy-r pr n(y) wḏꜣ n(y) ḫrp kꜣwt* †
	Cairo CG 20038	*ỉmy-r ḫtmt* †
	Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427]	*ỉmy-r pr* †
	Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427]	*rḫ nsw* †
	Cairo CG 20353	*ỉmy-r ḫnwty ḫrp skw* †
BUREAU OF THE VIZIER	Tadross Collection	*wr-mḏw šmᶜ* †
	Tadross Collection	*sꜣb r nḫn*
BUREAU OF FIELDS	Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427]	*ḫtmw bity*
	Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427]	*ỉmy-r ꜣḫwt*
ORGANISATION OF LABOUR	Tadross Collection	*ḥry n tm*
LOCAL ADMINISTRATION	Brussels E.4320	*ỉmy-r tꜣ-mḥw* †
MILITARY	New York MMA 65.120.1	*ỉmy-r mšᶜ* †
	New York MMA 65.120.2	*ỉmy-r mšᶜ* †
	Turin 1630	*ỉmy-r mšᶜ*
	Rio de Janeiro 635+636 [2427]	*šmsw*
	Pennsylvania E 9952	*ꜣtw n ṯt ḥkꜣ* †
TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION	Cairo CG 20497	*mt(y) n sꜣ*
	Cairo CG 20038	*ḥm-nṯr*
	Vienna ÄS 109	*ḥm-nṯr wᶜb ḏbᶜw*
	Vienna ÄS 109	*ỉrỉ ᶜḥt nṯr* †
	MMA 2014.283a-b	*ỉmy-r ḫnww* †
	Liverpool E30	*mt(y) n sꜣ n ꜣbḏw* †
	Liverpool E30	*mt(y) n sꜣ*
	Liverpool E30	*wᶜb n ꜣbḏw*
	Liverpool E30	*wᶜb n ỉn-ḥrt*
	Liverpool E30	*ỉry-ᶜꜣ n ḥwt-nṯr*

Table 3: Titles on objects from Groups One and Two and their administrative spheres

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Errata corrige

Page 243, n. 3: to be deleted the following line: "a scarab of queen, Aya (Martin, in Bietak, Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millenium BC*, 106;";

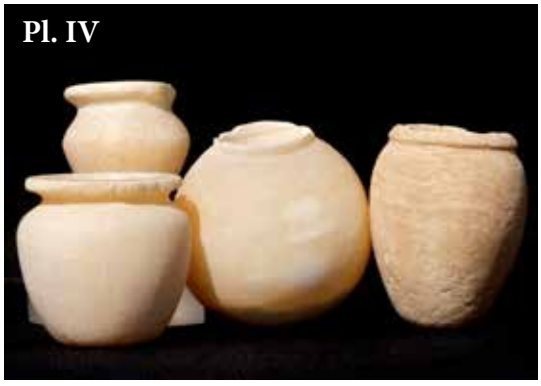
Page 244: the scarab is actually 0.95 cm thick, so there's nothing unusual with it;

Page 246: to be deleted the first entry of Table 1 (Queen *Jy*).

Tomb A17, chamber E. Pottery spoon with duck head (photo F. Giani © CEFB)

Tomb A17, chamber E. The mirror with ivory handle (photo F. Giani © CEFB)

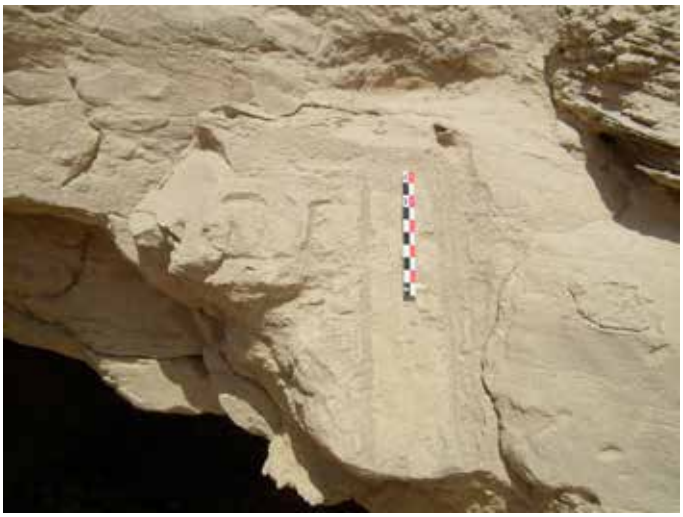
Detail of the handle of the mirror (photo F. Giani © CEFB)



Tomb A17, chamber E. Group of calcite vessels (photo F. Giani © CEFB)

Pl. V Elkab, Tomb 73, façade

Pl. VI Elkab, Tomb 73, façade, lintel, left end



Pl. VII Elkab, Tomb 73, façade, lintel, right end

Pl. VIII Elkab, Tomb 73, façade, section of left jamb (Pl. VIII)

Pl. IX Elkab, Tomb 39, façade, right jamb, detail (Pl. IX)

(All photos: W.V. Davies)

Pl. X Two fragments of the painted ornamental frame on the exterior of a Middle Kingdom box coffin, from shaft 16L25/1C (2710/151)

Pl. XI Fragment of the interior decoration of a Middle Kingdom box coffin with Coffin Texts, from shaft 16L25/1C (2710/149)

Pl. XII

Pl. XIII

Model of a scribe from shaft 16L25/1C (2710/144)

Pl. XIV

Pl. XV

Model vat from shaft 16L25/1A (2456/17) (Pl. XIV)
Extremity of a model papyrus boat from shaft 16L25/1A (2456/27) (Pl. XV)

Pl. XVI

Fragment of a model solar bark (2455/10) from shaft 16L25/1A (side view) (Pl. XVI)

Pl. XVII

Fragment of a model solar bark (2455/10) from shaft 16L25/1A (top view) (Pl. XVII)

Pl. XVIII

Model solar bark Reisner nr. 4953 (JE 32823) from the tomb of Sepi II at Dayr al-Barsha (photo taken by the author in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo). The arrow indicates the element to which 2455/10 is identical

Pl. XIX

Head from model of man, from shaft 16L25/1A (2460/26)

Pl. XX

Head from model of man, from shaft 16L25/1A (2460/26)

Pl. XXI

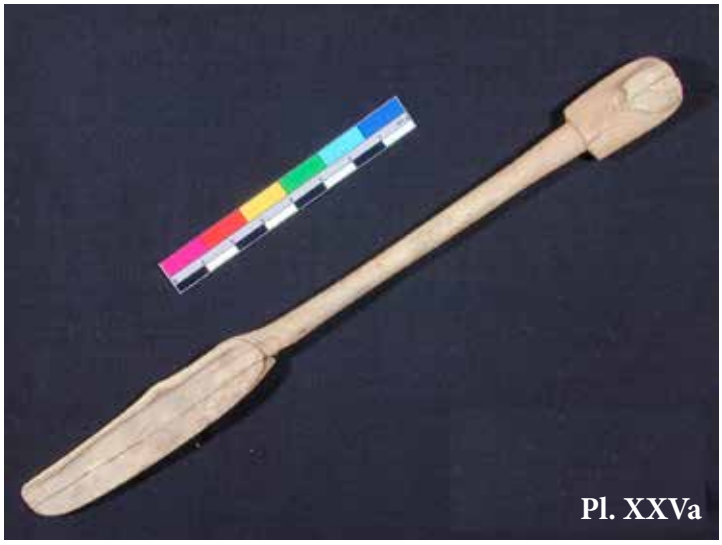
Arm from model of man, from shaft 16L25/1A (2464/5)

Pl. XXII

Wood utensil UC16534
© Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Pl. XXIII

Wood and ivory duck head from a cosmetic spoon, from Lahun UC16689 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL



Bone spoon with falcon-head terminal and shell dish, UC30132 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Wood falcon-head terminal, from Lahun, UC2437 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

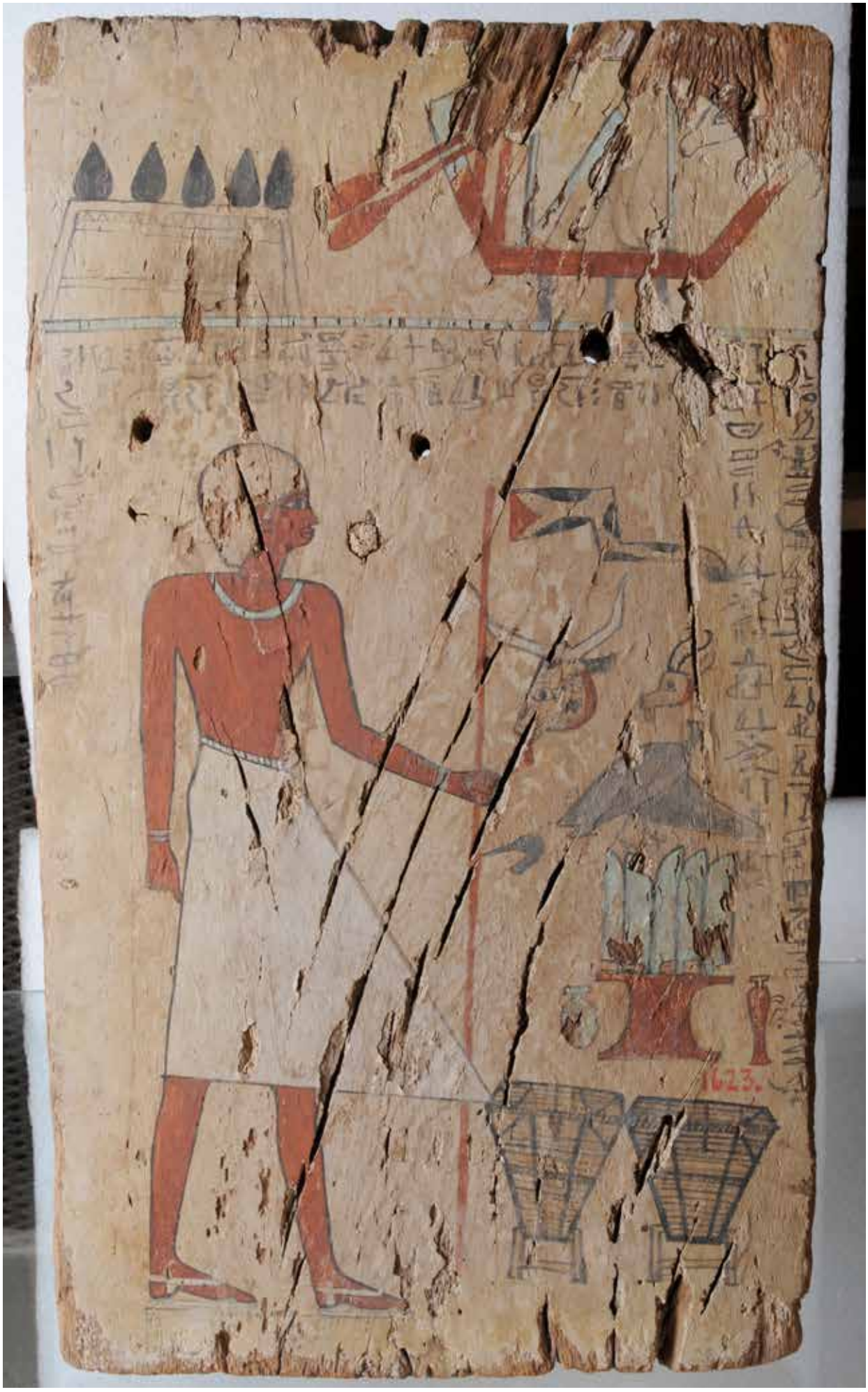
Underside of spoon with falcon-head terminal, showing hand beneath shell UC30132 © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Panel stela BM EA 55278 (Image © The British Museum) (Pl. XXVI)

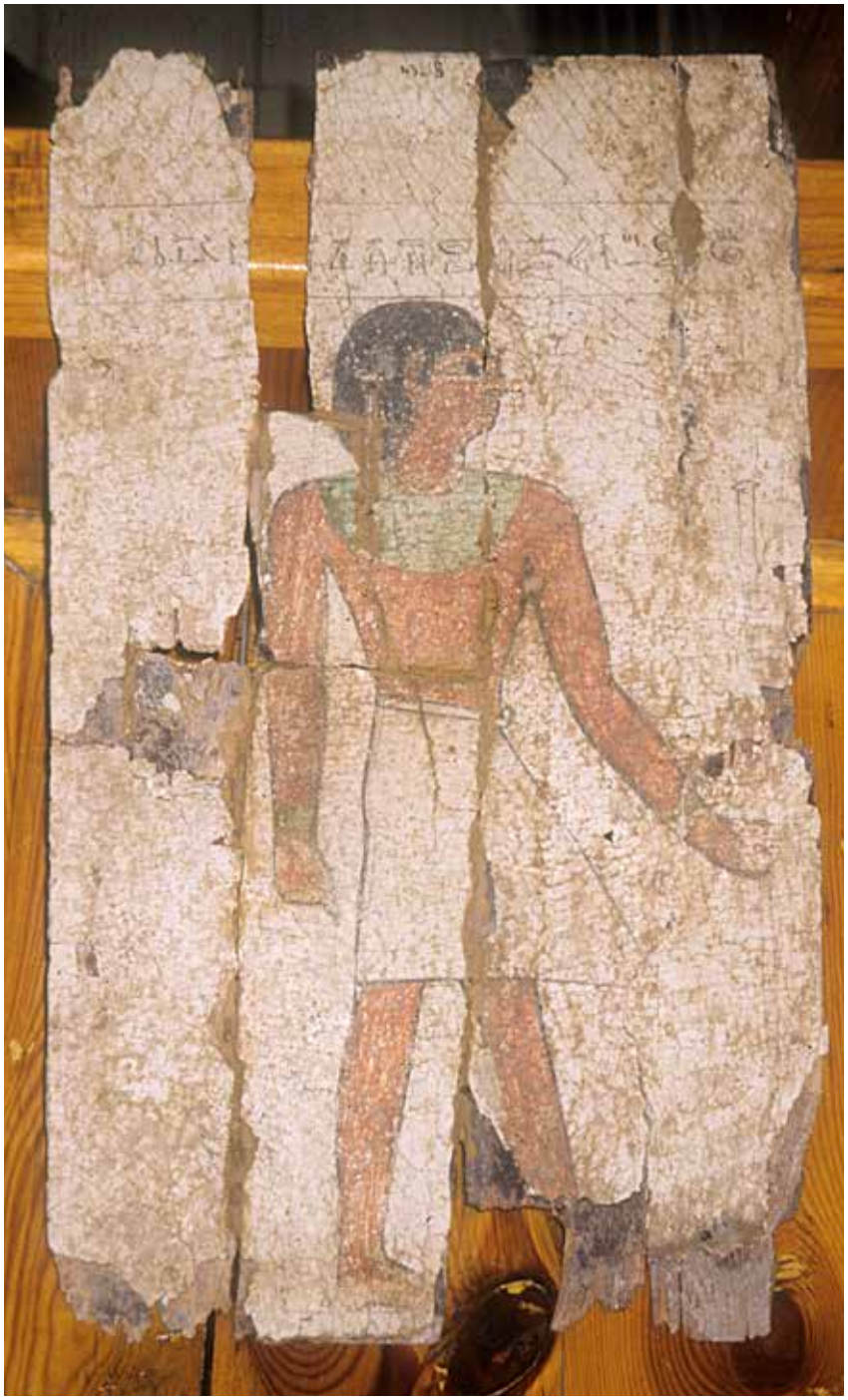
Panel stela Cairo JE 43215 (Photo: Gloria Rosati, 2003. Reproduced by courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo) (Pl. XXVII)

Pl. XXVI

Pl. XXVII



Pl. XXVIII Panel stela CG 1623 (Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Photo: Ahmed Amin, 2010)



Pl. XXX

Panel stela Cairo JE 43218 (Photo: Gloria Rosati, 2003. Reproduced by courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo) (Pl. XXX)

Pl. XXIX

Panel stela Cairo JE 43219 (Photo: Gloria Rosati, 2003. Reproduced by courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo) (Pl. XXIX)